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The Role of Emotions in the Production of Literature: An Exploration of Edinburgh's Creative Entrepreneurial Ecosystem

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Declaration

This is to certify that that the work contained within has been composed by me and is entirely my own work. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signed:

Marta Bernal Valencia

Partial findings of this research have been presented at the following conferences, workshops and doctoral consortia:

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Abstract

The main objective of this three-paper thesis is to explore the role of emotions in the production of culture, examining how books and writers are selected to be part of the production of literature. It focuses on small companies and entrepreneurs because they are the most common type of organisation in the creative industries, and also because of the high level of involvement they have with their ventures. These circumstances provide this thesis with a context in which social interactions and networks are as important as the business ideas and opportunities identified as compatible with the ethos of these micro and small organisations. This dissertation reflects the interdisciplinarity needed to understand the complex relationship between entrepreneurship, creative industries and emotions, whose different facets are arguably best studied adopting different theoretical lenses. The three papers of this thesis show the evolution, as the dissertation moves from the initial research questions to the last ones, of the framework developed to achieve a holistic view of the role of emotions in the selection and production of cultural goods.

This thesis adopts a qualitative approach to map out the most relevant networks and actors of a creative entrepreneurial ecosystem. The data collection consisted of historical data, policy reports, participant and non-participant observation of professional events and 33 semi-structured interviews with professionals belonging to the different networks of Edinburgh's publishing industry.

The first paper is based at the individual level and it considers the psychological factors influencing the selection of creative goals and the creative processes of entrepreneurs, making a series of propositions within which the concept of emotional innovation is developed to explain the socio-emotional features of the production of culture.

The second paper explores a creative entrepreneurial ecosystem, as opposed to the dominant literature on high tech entrepreneurial ecosystems. It focuses on the macro-level, investigating its socio-emotional characteristics and how emotions influence the way in which entrepreneurs engage in social interaction to access resources and knowledge.

In the third empirical paper of this dissertation, the processes of social interaction between stakeholders of the publishing industry are examined in depth by unpacking the development of a literary festival. This study is based at the meso-level of analysis and examines how stakeholders capitalise on their emotions and personal connections to mobilise resources, engaging in entrepreneurial activities beyond the political arena of the festival. The thesis concludes reflecting on the theoretical contributions and findings, the under-researched areas that may be explored in the future, the limitations of this research and the implications it has for practitioners and policymakers.

The inclusion of emotions as part of the framework that explains how creative goals are selected by creative industries' entrepreneurs, allows us to unpack a key entrepreneurial process that remains under-theorised. It is important to recognise the inevitable weight emotions have on the recognition of business opportunities and also as part of the soft skills that allow entrepreneurs to materialise these creative projects. Along the same lines, the study of social interaction would benefit from a more nuanced view on emotions, linked to specific entrepreneurial processes, to reach a better understanding of our situated activities and contribute to the advances of the literature on creative industries entrepreneurship. Finally, acknowledging the socio-emotional characteristics of creative entrepreneurial ecosystems would enable a more nuanced view of the collaborative relations among its different elements and networks. It will help understand the importance of its local characteristics, target public support and potential opportunities to improve professional practices.

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List of Abbreviations

ASA: Attraction-Selection-Attrition

CI: Creative Industries

DCMS: Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport

EIBF: Edinburgh International Book Festival

EE: Entrepreneurial Ecosystems

GVA: Gross Value Added

LGBTQ+: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual, Queer, Plus

NGO: Non-profit Organisation

SPEX: Specialist Publishers' Exhibition for Librarians

UNESCO: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UK: The United Kingdom

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This PhD thesis explores the role of emotions in different entrepreneurial phenomena, such as the selection of creative goals, the mobilisation of resources and the socio-emotional characteristics of an entrepreneurial ecosystem. Emotions have recently started to be explored in the entrepreneurship field (e.g. Baron, 1998; Cardon et al., 2012; Foo, 2011; Goss, 2005; Shepherd et al., 2013), but the multiple theoretical lenses employed have led a to a rather fragmented literature where positivist and social constructionist approaches use contrasting definitions and measurements, reaching different conclusions about emotions. The creative industries' literature acknowledges the relevant role emotions play in the production and consumption of goods and services (e.g. Hesmondhalgh et al., 2008), but more conceptual and empirical work is necessary to address the influence of emotions on the different aspects of creative production. This dissertation offers some conceptual and empirical insights as to how entrepreneurs select and pursue creative goals.

This thesis seeks to synthesise different streams of literature with the intention of creating a cohesive view of the role emotions play in the production of creative products, putting social interaction at the heart of this creative task. It turns to the entrepreneurs, rather than focusing on the artists, to explore how they balance their own interests and motivations according to the clues coming from the environment, increasing their chances to succeed and materialise business opportunities.

1.1 Research Background: Creative Industries, an Interdisciplinary Field

The UK Government defines the creative industries as *'those industries that have their origin in individual creativity, skill, and talent, and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property'* (DCMS, 2001: 5). This definition emphasises the use of copyright to protect and control creative products as the main characteristic that differentiates creative

industries from other sorts of industries. The challenge for these industries to generate economic wealth lies in the management of creative processes and professionals which are not linear or predictable (Townley and Beech, 2010). In fact, career paths are also a challenge for those trying to enter the creative industries, as they are frequently asked to work for free and show their potential to be considered for a more permanent position (Siebert and Wilson, 2013). Therefore, creative professionals need to be highly invested in their jobs (Hesmondhalgh, 2010) and at the same time ready to resist low wages and periods of unemployment (McGovern et al., 2004). These precarious working conditions limit the access of social and ethnic minorities to job posts, and the lack of material support can cause them to leave a labour market concentrated mainly based in cities (Gong and Hassink, 2017) and with limited career perspectives (Alacovska, 2018; Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009).

The social mechanisms by which professionals gain access to or find themselves excluded from work opportunities (Baumann, 2002) are also reproduced in the way in which creative products and services are consumed (Potts et al., 2008). Both production and consumption processes are different from those in other industries because of the material and symbolic characteristics that these products and services have. These symbolic aspects of cultural goods are linked to their capacity to encapsulate and transmit ideas and emotions related to imaginary experiences and social realities (Hesmondhalgh, 2002). They bring us aesthetic, intellectual, religious, historical and emotional experiences, allowing us to recognise, conform to or challenge the existing social order (Bourdieu, 1984, 1993; DeFillippi et al. 2007; Hirsch, 1972, 2000; Markusen et al., 2008). However, other industries are purposefully increasing the aesthetic and semiotic substance of their goods (Scott, 2000), which is observed as a culturation of the economy and an economisation of culture (O'Connor, 2015). The development of meaning and symbolic value for the economic objects is a fundamental aspect of their cultural construction , while culture, traditionally understood as a space apart from the economy, is increasingly monitored in monetary terms, being forced to justify how it adds value to our capitalistic society.

Scholars have also investigated the relationship between creativity and place using different lenses, ranging from economic geography (e.g. Florida, 2002; Drake, 2003) to cultural policy (e.g. Bilton, 2015; McRobie, 2019). The potential of the creative

industries to generate economic and social benefits has been linked to the attributes of the place from which its mainly small firms and entrepreneurs can benefit as well. The places in which these creative clusters emerge, influence the creative process of entrepreneurs, both individually and collectively as part of its relational economy and social dynamics (Lee, Florida and Acs, 2004; Mateos García et al., 2018). The culture of the place in which entrepreneurs materialise their projects can also be a resource of visual materials and stimuli, fostering creative inspiration. The history and reputation of the place as a cultural hub is regarded as part of the explanation of the emergence of creative ideas and projects (Drake, 2003). The spillover effects of the creative industries for the rest of the economy and their tendency to cluster in the same regions and cities, increases the mobilisation of resources, generating opportunities for individuals, firms and policymakers (Howkins, 2001). The creative process and the place in which it occurs, are being shaped by each other's attributes.

The characteristics of the socio-emotional environment, in particular the existence of creative local communities, affect the development of imaginative projects and attract creative professionals that see these cities as incubators of tendencies, fashions and trends (Grabher, 2002; Scott, 2000). In the process of recognising and selecting creative ideas and experiences, as entrepreneurs discover who they are, building their identity around the experience of these ideas and emotions (Cardon et al., 2005), so do consumers, who tend to select those goods and experiences that help them build and display their own identity Cultural products enrich our daily life through these emotional experiences, which are a source of entertainment and connectedness with other individuals in different domains (Potts et al., 2008).

The actual definition of creative industries does not reflect on the bonds between individuals, networks and places (Drake, 2003) and how these contribute to the creative process and creation of wealth and intellectual property. As per their output, it does not provide a reflection on how to calculate its cultural and symbolic values, or how much should these prevail over the practical functions of these services and goods (Peltoniemi, 2015; Scott, 1999).

This gap is also present in the creative industries' entrepreneurship literature, which fails to explain the qualitative features of the criteria behind the selection of creative ideas and projects as well as collaborators. It is argued here that the identification of

entrepreneurs and allies with the semiotic values of creative ideas and projects, may correspond to the personal values that inspired creation and production, manifesting an underlying role of emotions in the creative process and the selection of ideas and projects as business opportunities.

Creative industries produce stories, ideas, codes and designs that help theirs and other businesses. Their products are easy to scale-up and diffuse, although the indispensable need of individual talent makes this work harder to replace by algorithms and automation (BEIS, 2017). Although the next generations will be employed in roles that do not exist yet (Mateos García et al., 2018), what we know is that creative and digital jobs will continue growing in relevance in our economy.

Due to its global reputation and high export potential, especially in the light of Brexit, the United Kingdom Government has identified the creative industries as one of its key assets for its Industrial Strategy (BEIS, 2017), mentioning the productivity and growth of small and medium-sized businesses, as well as the long tail of lower productivity firms as one of its priorities. It is currently engaging with academic institutions and businesses to collect evidence on the challenges and areas in which policies can support and maximise the benefits for these industries.

In 2018, the DCMS industries contributed £224.1 billion to the UK economy, accounting for 11.7% of the UK's Gross Value Added (GVA). The creative and cultural sectors have experienced double-digit growth rates in the last ten years (43.2% and 21.9%, respectively), contributing £144 billion to the economy. The DCMS comprises an eclectic range of industries, including civil society, creative industries, the cultural sector, the digital sector, gambling, sports, telecoms and tourism. These are depicted in the Figure 1.1 below.

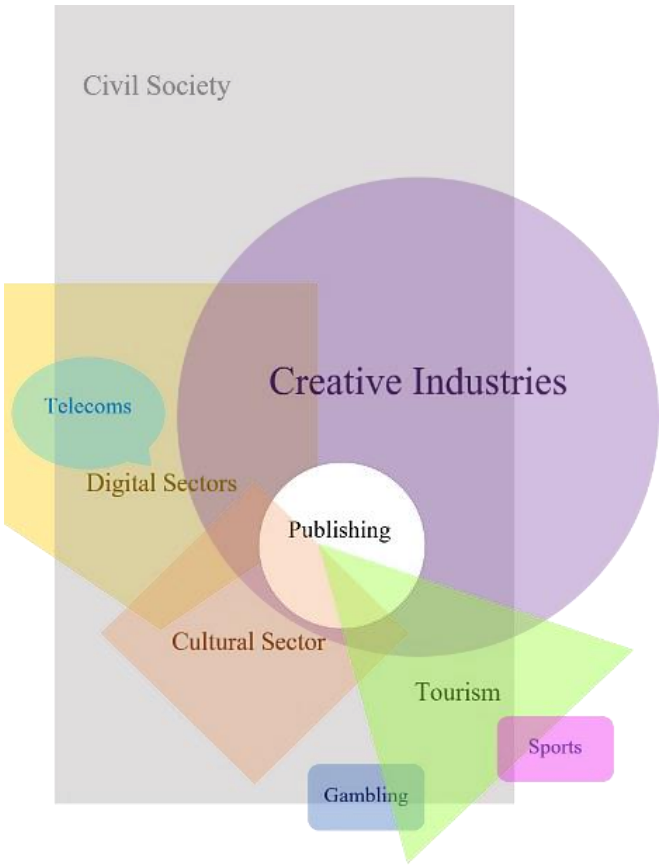

Figure 1.1 Graphic representation of the creative industries.

Adapted from DCMS reports (2017)

Creative industries tend to concentrate in clusters in a small number of locations, being a motor of growth for local economies (Mateos García et al., 2018). Policymakers invested in mapping out UK's creative clusters to understand how these ecosystems emerge and eventually participate in the replication of conditions which may lead to the development of new clusters in other locations. Currently, creative clusters are mainly located in London, Manchester, Bristol, Cardiff, Glasgow and Edinburgh. The re-creation of these conditions in other regions would help to achieve a balance in the economic differences between regions (Mateos García et al., 2018). There are creative clusters in the UK that could reach world-class status, and many middle-ranking clusters that could scale-up. The challenge is for local businesses, universities and councils to develop long-term strategies that are supported from government and national agencies (Bazalgette, 2017).

These industries are also contributing to a vibrant and growing phenomenon of creative industries entrepreneurship that is impacting upon local economies more than other business sectors. In the creative industries, 94% of companies are micro-businesses, this percentage being 10% higher than in other economic sectors. These companies are mainly project and client-based, which makes it harder to undertake initiatives to improve productivity, such as training in management skills, investing in research and development or looking for business advice (Bazalgette, 2017).

Creative industries are subject to enormous challenges that they need to overcome to be able to continue expanding these benefits to the UK's knowledge economy. On the one hand, it is difficult for most of these ventures to find ways of scaling-up their businesses and increasing their productivity. Collaboration has been pointed as one of the main areas of opportunities for small businesses but, as it implies agreeing on the nature of the goals different parties want to achieve, it can be quite challenging. Research on the emotional side of collaboration is scarce, despite the balance exercise between artistic sensitivity and profit-driven rationality that managers engage with. The outcomes of their selection criteria are measured according to both dimensions (Peltoniemi, 2015). Studies in this area will help evaluate the effectiveness of different strategies and to the extent to which contradictory goals, such as achieving a highly innovative outcome while avoiding risk, can be managed to achieve collaborative agreements (Alvedalen and Boschma, 2017; Peltoniemi, 2015).

On the other hand, the characteristics of different locations cannot be taken for granted and it is important to attend to their specific needs, tailoring the means of support to the expressed requirements of local communities (Mateos García et al., 2018). The study of entrepreneurial ecosystems, especially the interconnections between its different elements, would allow us to better understand how to increase the productivity of a region (Mack and Mayer, 2016).

1.1.1 The Publishing Industry

The creative sub-sector of publishing faces the same challenges. The publishing industry is becoming less concentrated, reflecting the decline of some

traditional creative clusters such as Peterborough. However, there is still a high concentration of publishers in London and the southeast of England (a total of 49% of registered firms) and, to a lesser extent, in the Midlands, Wales and Scotland (Mateos García et al., 2018). The Publishers Association (Frontier Economics, 2017, p. 8) defines the publishing industry as "traditional enterprises engaged in book publishing and academic journal publishing, whether or not it is their primary activity" and depicts a landscape in which there are a few large international players and a range of mainly small publishers run, often part-time, by individuals or co-operatives, which operate nationally.

Small publishers, which are 79.4% of the enterprises in the sector, are focused on niche and specialist areas such as poetry, local interest subjects and books in Gaelic, Scots or Welsh. Digitisation is also providing them with opportunities to revise their operational processes to adapt to new technologies, including online distribution, dynamic pricing and print-on-demand (Frontier Economics, 2017).

In 2017, the UK publishing industry had a record-breaking year with income up 5% to £5.7 billion, coming from a wide range of genres, formats and platforms, nationally and internationally. The UK industry is already the number one exporter of books in the world and its income rose a further 8% to £3.4 billion in 2017, accounting for 60% of total revenues (Publishers Association, 2018).

Some of the adjacent sectors to which it makes indirect economic contributions are printing, traditional and digital distribution, retail, education, marketing, research, rights, literary agents, authors and other creative industries (Frontier Economics, 2017). Publishing is key when it comes to content discovery for film, television and theatre. Publishers select and polish stories and ideas, signposting its quality. Publishers take the initial risk to test the market with their selected books, building a brand for them that sometimes allow them to offer long term support to authors, who can focus on developing their storytelling skills, reaching a level in which they can adapt their books to other formats. In terms of marketing, other creative industries benefit from the efforts made by publishers to build a brand for the books and their authors. Literature-based projects tend to attract top talented teams, which have spill-over effects for the book and the screen and stage formats, which benefit from higher

levels of visibility and success (Frontier Economics, 2018), creating more synergies among these industries.

Literary festivals also present an enviable trajectory. The most traditional literary festivals in the UK are Cheltenham, Hay and Edinburgh, all of them created before the 1990s. The number of festivals has grown exponentially, from the 40 literary festivals in 2008 to the over 350 book festivals active nowadays throughout the UK and Ireland (Lodge, 2015). The study of these festivals is mainly undertaken from a marketing perspective looking into audience satisfaction (Wilson et al., 2017). There are gaps in the literature regarding the situational conditions in which stakeholders develop these events and the challenges associated with the achievement of multi-stakeholder collaboration agreements and the management of festivals (Jakob and Van Bas Heur, 2015).

Actual trends show that collaboration density mainly happens among creative industries located in the same geographical area. In the case of the publishing industry, the main area is the South of England and, although there are some links with firms based in other parts of the UK, long-distance collaboration is scarce. English creative communities are not very connected with their counterparts in Scotland (Mateos García et al., 2018), which makes more challenging the creation of opportunities to share knowledge and expand innovative practices that could foster their productivity and help them scale-up their businesses.

This thesis has selected Scotland, and in particular the City of Edinburgh, as the empirical setting for this research. Scotland has a long history in the print and publishing industry, and a very distinct local and global characteristics. Scotland has a separate culture from the rest of the UK, a history and social institutions that have been shaping its publishing industry before and after the Union (Ramdarshan Bold et al., 2012). The Scottish publishing industry is, however, difficult to separate from the rest of the aggregated UK landscape, as performance data of the industry is measured at the UK level. Also, it is difficult to distinguish between Scottish publishers, publishers based on Scotland and globalised companies. This is an aspect of the industry that influences their potential markets and resources. Having a local profile, especially if publishing fiction, affects the configuration of publishers' networks with a number of

stakeholders. Limited resources affect the ability to pay advances to authors, what means less contact and use of literary agents and limited promotion of books beyond Scotland or the UK (Ramdarshan Bold et al., 2012). Their strong cultural identity and particular ethos were factors taken into consideration, and Edinburgh was selected for the richness of its case.

The consumption of creative products is also very reliant on social networks. The relevance of the symbolic attributes of these goods (Hesmondhalgh, 2008) is reflected in who consume them, the way they are consumed but also in how they are produced (Pratt, 2008). Surprisingly, there are no theoretical frameworks that provide us with tools to unfold how these symbolic features are assessed when producers are selecting their goals. This thesis contributes to the entrepreneurship literature in creative industries with a conceptual paper in which it proposes that the selection of creative goals depends on the ability of producers to connect with artists' work, grasp their meanings and assess the emotions instilled in their ideas. Chapter 4 proposes that selection is based on the potential success of these products, which is evaluated according to the characteristics and goals of the producers. Rational and emotional elements need to be balanced to identify those products that would match audience taste and needs, and the paper presented in this chapter explains how the ability to discover and learn from emotions (Averill, 1980) can enhance how producers understand and identify meaningful work for them and their audiences. It proposes the term emotional innovation to explain the inclusion and representation of new realities and emotional experiences into the creation of creative goods.

The majority of studies on entrepreneurial ecosystems tend to focus on the telecoms and the digital sector, neglecting the distinct characteristics of other creative industries, particularly those that tend to employ medium or low levels of technology and in which growth is relatively slower. This thesis contributes to the literature on entrepreneurial ecosystems by exploring the traditional publishing industry, which has been the subject of a very limited number of papers in this area (e.g. Heebels and Boschma, 2011; Heebels et al., 2013) and providing insights into its socio-emotional characteristics.

Despite the recognised importance of the flow of information and resources, the literature on entrepreneurial ecosystems has gaps regarding the mechanisms by which these ecosystems' elements become connected to each other to achieve this flow. An appropriate navigation of the social networks in an entrepreneurial ecosystem can improve the chances of entrepreneurs accessing information and resources that are key in the achievement of their goals. As the acceptance into networks does not respond to merely rational criteria, Chapter 5 explores the socio-emotional organisation of a publishing entrepreneurial ecosystem. This study contributes to the literature by adding a new layer to the analysis of entrepreneurial ecosystems. It identifies socio-emotional factors influencing the selection practices in the creative industries (e.g. Peltoniemi, 2015) and shows how publishers instil their own values and cultural identity in the selection of creative goals. The socio-emotional characteristics of their entrepreneurial ecosystem makes them resilient to the pressure of pure market logics and contribute to the unique symbolic value and creative expression captured in these books. The paper presented in Chapter 5 focuses on the publishing industry and examines the characteristics of a creative cluster, focusing in the links between its different layers to unpack how different elements relate to each other.

Finally, this dissertation contributes to the literature on entrepreneurship and small business management with the analysis of a literary festival. As part of festival management, Chapter 6 explores the role of emotions in relation to the processes of collaboration and mobilisation of resources. In particular, it adopts a multi-stakeholder perspective, unfolding the socio-emotional relational strategies in the political arena of festivals. This chapter contributes to the literature by expanding our understanding of the role emotions play in the mobilisation and recycling of resources in creative projects. It reflects on how socio-emotional dynamics of pride and shame result in the mobilisation of resources such as the use of venues or agreements to work in exchange for highly, if not exclusively, symbolic rewards (Goss, 2008). The different elements of the performance are associated to the mobilisation of specific resources, corresponding to different emotions for those stakeholders giving orders or executing them.

1.2 Research Objectives and Research Questions

The research objective of this PhD dissertation is to contribute to the literature on entrepreneurship in the creative industries by exploring the role emotions play in the selection and pursuit of creative goals. The main challenge of this dissertation is the breadth of this objective and the lack of a clear conceptual framework in the literature. After undertaking some initial explorations, the research focused on multi-level theories of creativity to start drafting the role of emotions at different levels of analysis and the dimensions that would be covered in the thesis.

The research objective was broken down into three series of research questions that set the basis for the three papers that form this thesis. The first paper addresses the following research questions:

- What is the role of emotions in the selection of creative entrepreneurial initiatives? How are emotions transferred into creative goals?

This first study (Chapter 4) focused on how emotions are related to individuals' creativity. Emotions were studied from the lens of social psychology and contextualised as part of individual creativity, considering the interplay between emotions and individual motivation (Deci and Ryan, 1985) and emotions and personal core values (Schwartz, 1992; Kasof et al, 2007), as the main drivers of the selection behaviour. This paper proposes a theory of the role of emotions in the selection of creative goals at the individual level and reflects on the extent to which the context may influence the behaviour of producers. This conceptual paper sets the basis for the second study. Chapter 5 is the first empirical study and it explores the socio-emotional characteristics of the context in which entrepreneurs develop their ideas and projects. The conceptual framework presented in Chapter 4 is explored in a specific industry and city, focusing in the dynamism of emotions when individuals interact with their environment, in the study presented in Chapter 5. Specifically, Chapter 5 addresses the following research questions:

- How do emotions influence the interaction of entrepreneurs with other social networks in a creative entrepreneurial ecosystem?

The study included in this chapter is an exploration of emotions at a macro-level of analysis. Emotions here are explored as part of the characteristics of a creative entrepreneurial ecosystem. It examines the interplay between agency and structure and how this leads to certain socio-emotional links between networks that coincide in space and time, defining a social situation that affects entrepreneurs' selection of business opportunities and their access to support and resources. The findings of this study led to a reflection on the characteristics of creative ecosystems, questioning their distinct socio-emotional dynamics and how these affect the definition of their boundaries. These aspects of entrepreneurial ecosystems are only starting to be explored in the literature, and this study contributes to a more nuanced view of the different types of ecosystems we can encounter and how these are defined by the emotions, mindsets and practices of those individuals integrated in its social structures.

Chapters 4 and 5 provide a micro and macro view of the role emotions play in the production of culture. Chapter 6 focuses on the meso level and focuses on political processes among members of different networks. Social networks are a key element in the definition of individual emotions and the socio-emotional characteristics of social structures. Agreements of collaboration, information and resource sharing are key in the development of entrepreneurial activities. Creative industries tend to be project-based and multi-stakeholder initiatives. Chapter 5 captured emotions into a broad framework of social interaction, whereas Chapter 6 aims to achieve a more nuanced view of how inter-organisational networks negotiate the conditions under which they agree to collaborate, achieving a more nuanced relational perspective of the dynamics occurring among stakeholders organising a literary festival. The research questions addressed in Chapter 6 are:

- How is collaboration negotiated in the organisation of multi-stakeholder projects? Which are the socio-emotional relational strategies linked to the mobilisation of resources in the political arena of festivals?

This study contributes to the scant literature on entrepreneurial processes in the management of festivals, investigating the mobilisation and recycling of resources in a literary festival (Wilson et al., 2017). Drawing from the literature on managerial stakeholders of festivals (Larson et al., 2015) this paper uses

conceptual tools such as the political market square (Larson, 2002) and the emotions linked to social interaction rituals (Collins, 2004; Goss, 2005; 2008) to expand the literature providing a situated analysis of how resource dependence and emotions are negotiated among inter-organisational networks in the context of a literary festival.

1.3 Research Framework

The previous section has stated the relevance of this research from a creative industries' perspective, relying on policy-led reports, focused on specific sub-sector papers that theorise on the development and maintenance of the creative sector. In the following sections, the research framework of this thesis is presented. It consists of a presentation of the three core chapters of this dissertation and the theories to which they contribute to.

The first paper of this thesis (see Chapter 4) seeks to address the lack of theories explaining how ideas, projects and creative individuals are selected in the creative industries (Peltoniemi, 2015). It contributes to the creative industries entrepreneurship literature by developing a conceptual model for the study of emotions in the selection of creative goals. Given the highly symbolic value of these products (Hesmondhalgh, 2008) and the absence of theoretical insights on how this peculiarity affects the criteria of producers, this conceptual paper focuses on the role of emotions and personal values in the selection and pursuit of creative goals in these industries.

The paper draws on Schneider's model of Attraction-Selection-Attrition or ASA (1987). The model proposes that personal goals are the main reason why individuals are attracted to organisations and projects. These goals reflect the personality of those who set them and evolve according to situational factors in the environment to facilitate the survival of the organisation or project. Chapter 4 proposes an extension of this model by elaborating on the emotional dimension of the selection of goals. Reflecting on the symbolic characteristics of the creative products, we propose that the ability to identify, articulate and make sense of the new emotional experiences people look for in these products, is going to be key in the selection of ideas and projects

(Averill, 1980). Inevitably, in the process of generation of a selection criterion, ideas and emotions are going to be transferred as the result of producers' core values (Schwartz, 1992). This paper sets the basis on which the empirical research of this dissertation was built.

After reaching a better understanding of how goals and emotions are balanced in the selection of creative goals by individuals, it was necessary to gather empirical data to explore contextual factors influencing the process. Adapting the theoretical framework that results from the literature review in Chapter 2, and having developed the conceptual paper that constitutes Chapter 4, Chapter 5 reflects on the characteristics of a creative entrepreneurial ecosystem, being a scenario were creativity and emotions become the cornerstone of entrepreneurs' social interaction.

The second paper of the thesis (see Chapter 5) is based on the data collected through qualitative and archival data, which is partially presented in the literature review (Chapter 2). Data collection consisted of participant and non-participant observation of professional events, and 33 interviews with the main actors from the cultural, material and social layers of a literary cluster. This study contributes to the literature on entrepreneurial ecosystems by providing an account of the socio-emotional characteristics of these creative clusters (Spigel, 2017; Spigel and Harrison, 2018). Given the high reliance of creative industries on its social networks (Uzzi, 1997) and drawing from relational sociology (Collins, 2004; Goss, 2005; 2008), the paper presents a situated analysis of how the interaction of individuals with their environment affects their selection criteria and their chances to access information and resources to materialise their projects.

The main findings suggest that the collective emotional tone that results from networks' interactions, guides the selection of creative goals, as well as the chances to turn proposed ideas into support, funding and successful launches (Collins 2004; Goss 2005; 2008). Entrepreneurs who join these networks define themselves according to this membership, impacting how they perceive and define the social boundaries of the ecosystem. Despite the fact that the decision to pursue a creative goal may be a catalyst to reach high levels of embeddedness in their networks, this is a fact that does not determine their selection criteria.

The third paper (see Chapter 6) draws upon the data from 33 interviews and it contributes to the literature on festival management processes, studying the relationship between its multiple stakeholders, which is an area that remains under-theorised (Wilson et al., 2017). Festivals are created and maintained by the collaborative efforts of their stakeholders (Larson, 2002), who agree on and balance sometimes opposing goals to achieve collaborative arrangements to develop the event. Successful performances bring festivals and their inter-organisational networks the opportunity to mobilise and recycle resources, improving the chances to achieve longer lifecycles. When applying a relational lens, emotions are found to be embedded in the relational dynamics of festival stakeholders, because these events are an opportunity for them to increase their status and power (Goss, 2005, 2008).

The management of these relationships sets the conditions for stakeholders and their inter-organisational networks to achieve high levels of embeddedness in the local communities. They engage in political processes, negotiating and managing changing relationships and resource dependency. The socio-emotional dynamic in these relationships have been found to be associated with the renewal of trust and the re-assessment of benefits of the social exchange, on the one hand, but also with the avoidance of shame in powerless situations, on the other.

The next section of this chapter summarises the research design and explains the different stages of data collection and analysis explained in depth in Chapter 3, which corresponds to the methodology.

1.4 Research Design

This qualitative thesis has been developed from a critical realist approach (Archer, 1995; Bhaskar, 1998). The study of emotions may benefit from considering the evidence coming from both, positivistic and social constructionist approaches. Given the fragmented nature of the literature on emotions, studies from neurosciences and psychology have been combined with sociological research to contribute to the literature on creative industries' entrepreneurship. The evidence that emerges from these studies addresses different aspects of the same phenomenon that otherwise would

not be observable. According to Bhaskar (1998), the most important assumptions of critical realism is that reality (i.e. ontology) is not reducible to what can be known empirically (i.e. epistemology), the same way as human knowledge cannot be the container or measure of reality.

The data collection for this thesis consisted of two types of data: extensive (i.e. policy reports, archival and statistical data) and intensive (i.e. in-depth interpretative data obtained mainly through interviews and to some extent, observation). The three studies of this thesis started having a theoretical perspective as a departing point, facilitating a deeper analysis and serving as a scaffolding for the subsequent theoretical developments (Bhaskar, 1979). It was necessary to map out which where the key actors in different networks of Edinburgh's publishing ecosystem and understand its history and present situation, so Layder's (1993) research map was adapted to the data collection. The classification of the data was done according to the context (i.e. Edinburgh), setting (i.e. publishing industry), situated activity (i.e. selection of creative goals) and self (i.e. biographical experiences and relation with the environment) and was completed by adding a historical dimension that enabled a longitudinal view of the phenomenon under study. The reflections of Layder on the relationship between agency and context have led to the adaptation of his methodological suggestions to the study of different phenomena, including intercultural competence (Belz, 2003), modern manhood (Plummer, 2001) and marketing communication (Finne and Gronroos, 2009), this work being part of the discussion of a number of methodological papers on specific disciplines such as information systems but also essays on postpositivism and critical realism (Patomaki and Wight, 2000; Walsham, 1995).

The data collection started by searching news and reports to achieve a general view of the publishing industry in the UK, with a focus on Scotland and Edinburgh. After understanding the characteristics of the industry, the data collection followed by conducting a search of professional events that could led to meetings and conversations that may help to map out the most influential actors. The researcher attended a conference organised by the Society of Young Publishers, a workshop held by Creative Edinburgh, two meetings organised by UNESCO's trust City of Literature, The Society of Independent Authors and had three informal meetings with members of

professional and academic networks that recommended who was best to contact. While the public reports and historical data were being collected, the researcher started the process of sending emails to people involved in the main associations, non-profit organisations and quangos of the industry. The historical data were used to reconstruct the business history of Scottish publishing industry, its relationship with other countries in the UK, the trajectory of the industry and an overview of its business practices, including their strengths and challenges.

The first round of interviews targeted governmental bodies and publicly funded organisations. They provided the study with an overview of the industry and recommended contacting cultural associations, publishers and writers. After this first round of data collection was completed, the second round of interviews included organisations directly linked to the core activities of the industry, such as writing, publishing and distribution, as they could contribute with first-hand information on the selection practices of the industry and the challenges they face to achieve the support of other networks.

The interviews followed a semi-structured format that allowed to include questions relevant for the initial theories, and at the same time was flexible enough to let new themes emerge, identifying key issues that were not present in the literature (Layder, 1993). All interviews were then transcribed and analysed thematically in successive rounds, first achieving code saturation and then clustering the results in broader themes (Saldaña, 2013).

The analysis consisted of a primarily deductive yet flexible coding process (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005) that drew on existing theory and literature, and these codes evolved as new themes emerged, changing, eliminating and clustering the existing data into new codes until the analysis of all documents and interviews was completed (Gilgun, 2011). The initial codes coming from the literature where firstly expanded in the first round of analysis and then merged in a second round, allowing the data to show its own structure (Saldaña, 2013).

During the data analysis process, there was a constant reflection on the different properties of agency and structure that informed the successive rounds of coding. The vision critical realism has (Bhaskar, 1979) of structure and agency informed the

analysis of the features of the social structures as characteristics that endure for a historical period of time, but that agency can reproduce and transform. Agency, on the other hand, is shaped but not determined by structures, and can shape social structures independently from the level of consciousness of those exerting their agency. One of the most important assumptions is that agency includes our individual values, meanings, and ideas, and those can also have an effect on our environment (Bhaskar, 1979).

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 1 introduces the background of this dissertation. It explains the rationale behind this research by pointing at three different areas of contribution. Firstly, this thesis contributes to the creative industries' entrepreneurship literature unpacking the role of emotions in the selection of creative goals. Secondly, it contributes to the entrepreneurial ecosystems literature by exploring the socio-emotional characteristics of a creative entrepreneurial ecosystem. Finally, it explores the socio-emotional dynamics linked to the negotiation of goals and the mobilisation of resources in multi-stakeholder projects; in this case, contributing to the literature on festival management.

Chapter 2 presents an interdisciplinary literature review that explores how different disciplines can contribute to the understanding of the role emotions play in the selection of creative goals, contributing to the creative industries entrepreneurship literature. This review explores the literature on creative industries using a social psychology lens to achieve a better understanding of the relationship between creativity and emotions, and how it can affect the selection of goals in these industries. Then, it continues by exploring the sociology of emotions from a relational perspective, reflecting on its different levels of analysis.

The methodology of this thesis is presented in Chapter 3. This chapter reflects on the gaps found in the literature review in Chapter 2 and presents the main research questions of this thesis. Additionally, it explains the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the PhD researcher and reflects on the interdisciplinarity of this

research. The chapter then explains the research design and sampling upon which the data collection was built. It reflects on the unit of analysis, sampling method, types of data and finally, how the data analysis was conducted. Chapter 3 concludes with a reflection on the ethics of this research.

Chapter 4 presents the first of the three papers in this thesis. It provides a conceptual model that explains the role of emotions in the selection of creative goals. Chapter 2 presents the literature which was used to build the basis of this paper, which develops a discussion of how emotions and the ability to identify and learn from them can become a competitive advantage in the pursuit of creative goals. It reflects on individual and social aspects of the creative process, and how a deep understanding of the meaning of creative goods can help identify its potential to connect with the audience. This conceptual model made evident the need to collect empirical data and reflect on the contextual and social aspects related to this phenomenon to be able to collect evidence that helps build a more comprehensive framework.

Chapter 5 explores those contextual and social factors that shape the socio-emotional conditions in which the selection of creative goals takes place. It focuses on a specific city to examine the characteristics of a creative entrepreneurial ecosystem. The role of emotions in selection is here approached from a relational perspective, examining the links between the different layers of an ecosystem according to the political sentiments that arise from their social interactions. This chapter contributes to the identification of the emotional energy and interaction order attributed to the different networks interacting in a creative entrepreneurial ecosystem.

Chapter 6 continues exploring the role of emotions in the social interactions of the field of literary production. It chooses to explore the context of a literary festival to examine the role emotions play in the political arena of inter-organisational networks. Festivals are catalysers of temporary networks that need to achieve a high degree of coordination of goals to make the event a success (Larson et al., 2015). The process of creation and maintenance of the festival involves a constant negotiation among the different stakeholders orchestrating the performance. This study focuses on the role emotions play in the mobilisation and recycling of resources, contributing to the literature on festival management from an entrepreneurial perspective.

Chapter 7 reflects on the empirical chapters and how these can inform the conceptual model which forms the departure point for this thesis. It presents a summary of the key findings of this thesis and the main contributions of its three papers. It discusses how different disciplines contribute to our understanding of creative industries' entrepreneurship, borrowing from social psychology, relational sociology, creative industries, entrepreneurship and festival management literatures. It then continues by discussing the limitations of this thesis, the implications these studies have for policymakers and practitioners and recommending some avenues for future research.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

The influence of emotions in the selection practices of the creative industries is an under-researched topic, with limited availability of theoretical and empirical work. For this reason, during the course of writing the different parts of this thesis, narrower literature searches were performed, as they were informed by the different stages of the research process. The interdisciplinarity of this dissertation added an additional challenge to the revision of the literature, as it made necessary to zoom out and focus in until a balanced view of the subject was achieved.

This chapter reflects the journey in the initial years of the PhD and offers an overview of the literature related to emotions and creativity coming mainly from social psychology, relational sociology and creative industries. These studies helped understand the similarities and overlaps between the different disciplines and pointed at the literature streams that were individually explored for the core chapters of the thesis. Therefore, rather than a literature review to become an expert in a particular topic, this chapter presents an overview of the breadth of the literature explored to set the basis of this thesis. This chapter is the departure point from which specific areas were selected and explored in the conceptual and empirical studies of the thesis.

To explore the role of emotions in the selection and materialisation of creative projects, this thesis draws from literature that belongs to different disciplines. It builds a micro-level perspective on the role of emotions in the creative process, examining the literature on creativity and its relationship with different emotions. It then turns to the literature on the sociology of emotions to understand external factors influence the construction of emotions and how they influence the creation of groups, networks and other structures.

To contextualise this micro-perspective on the role of emotions in the selection of creative goals, this chapter explores the literature on creative industries entrepreneurship at two additional levels. At the meso level, it focuses on creative

industries and its social networks, establishing a connection between emotions and the creation of social capital. At the macro level, it explores creative industries research on clusters (e.g. Florida, 2002), establishing the parallels with the entrepreneurial ecosystems literature (e.g. Spigel, 2017) and showing how a socio-emotional perspective can contribute to the understanding of the links between individuals, networks and place in these industries.

2.1. Introduction

The literature review process started by searching simultaneously the terms "creative industries" and "emotions" in EBSCO and the Web of Science, two multidisciplinary datasets that provide library services for many different academic disciplines. The results were filtered so the output would only show academic journal articles, conference proceedings, books and dissertations. There were no time constraints. These datasets provided 430 and 38 results, respectively. The papers identified in the EBSCO database belong mainly to the psychology field (19%), followed by social media and communication (6%), methodology (4%), creative industries research (3%) and sociology (2%). There were 14 papers from the areas of business and management, five interdisciplinary papers, and four and three papers belonging to cultural studies and sociology.

The lack of academic literature is also evident when the search for "emotions" is linked to "creative cluster" (45 and 16 papers) or "entrepreneurial ecosystem" (three conference abstracts in EBSCO, one paper and two conference proceedings in Web of Science). The combination of "festival", "stakeholders" and "emotions" only resulted in 1 reference in each of the sites.

These search examples illustrate the high fragmentation and interdisciplinarity of what constitutes the area of enquiry of this thesis, as well as the limited number of academic papers and books available on its themes. Building a unified framework for the study of the role of emotions in the selection of projects in the creative industries was, therefore, a great challenge because of the lack of emotional perspectives on this and related topics.

The identification of current debates and potential contributions coming from different streams of literature led to the examination of ontological and epistemological assumptions of the different studies, requiring a constant dialogue between disciplines and a critical comparison of theoretical frameworks, terminology and definitions. Inevitably, the literature examined in this research explores topics that are as closely related as possible to the role of emotions in the production of creative projects and experiences, psychology, sociology and creative industries entrepreneurship being the disciplines here explored.

The next sections present the main theories that helped build the foundations of the studies included in this dissertation. The literature review is organised as follows. It first explores the interdisciplinary nature of the creative industries, presenting the role which emotions play as part of an inherently creative process. Drawing from social psychology, the following section provides a micro-perspective in this topic. It explores emotions as part of the main theories of creativity and the social construction of emotions, introducing the concepts that set the foundations of the study presented in Chapter 4. In fact, the lack of theoretical frameworks exploring the role that emotions play in the selection of creative goals is what motivated the design of the conceptual model provided in the conceptual chapter (Chapter 4).

This literature review also explores the intersection between the literature on creative industries and social networks, considering the role of social capital configuration in the creative process, and how the quantitative and qualitative features of social ties define the boundaries and identity of networks.

As a consequence of the conclusions drawn from this review, this chapter continues exploring the creative industries from a macro-level perspective, as part of a regional economic structure that distributes resources such as knowledge, information, funding and other material resources within a cultural frame that shapes collaboration among different institutions, organisations and individuals. The role of emotions in the selection of creative goals is the result of the interaction of the individual with its environment, being, therefore, a process culturally embedded in the place where it takes place.

2.2. A Micro-level Perspective on Creativity and Emotions

Innovation and creativity in the workplace are predictors of organisational performance, success, and sustainability, making it an important element for competitive advantage (Anderson et al., 2014). Definitions of creativity and innovation now start to converge in a common view of creativity and innovation as different parts of the same process (Amabile, 1996; 2016; Anderson et al., 2014; Drazin, Glynn, and Kazajian, 1999; Oldham and Cummings, 1996; Shalley and Zhou, 2008; Van de Ven, 1986; West and Farr, 1990). Creativity is the generation of new and useful ideas by an individual or group working together, whereas innovation is the implementation of these ideas within the organisation (Anderson et al., 2014), so both are here considered different stages of the same process (Perry-Smith and Mannucci, 2017).

Business and management studies are experiencing an 'affective revolution' that puts emotions at the centre of new constructs that are helping us achieve a better understanding of creativity and the creative process (Amabile and Pratt, 2016). This section reviews the literature on creativity as part of the analysis and critique of the componential theory of creativity (Amabile, 1983), which is the most paradigmatic theory of organisational creativity in this field (Anderson et al., 2014). This multi-level theory of individual, team and organisational level creativity, offers insights into other constructs such as intrinsic motivation and personal core values, which set the foundations for the study presented in Chapter 4

2.2.1 Componential Theory of Organisational Creativity

The componential theory of creativity (Amabile, 1983) is one of the first theories of creativity in organisations and one the most relevant in the field in the context of this thesis. It assumes that creativity and innovation are subjective concepts that are socially constructed and bound to a certain time and place (Amabile, 1982; 1983; Amabile and Pratt, 2016). Using both quantitative and qualitative techniques, Amabile has been researching the links between individual creativity and organisational innovation and their mutual influence for the past thirty years and has attracted more than 4,000 citations. One of the assumptions of her theory is that

creative ideas are bound to an historical time and place and contribute to positive organisational outcomes when they are linked to a moral, ethical and socially positive sets of values (Amabile and Pratt, 2016).

Amabile's (1983; 1988) componential theory proposed three key elements of creativity; that is, domain-relevant skills (knowledge and expertise), creativity-relevant processes (knowledge of strategies to produce creative ideas, divergent thinking) and intrinsic task motivation, which in turn depends on the work environment, created and potentially manipulated by managers. Task motivation has two elements: the individual's attitude towards the task and the reasons behind undertaking the task in a given situation. The work environment provides us with information regarding the factors that are affecting individuals' behaviour; that is, predictable consequences of actions that are affecting individuals' attitudes towards the task. If these factors constrain the individual's intrinsic motivation, there will be a negative effect on the creative performance (Amabile, 1988). This theory emphasises the role of intrinsic motivation in perceiving a task as a positive challenge that awakes individuals' curiosity and produces satisfaction when engaging with the task. One is intrinsically motivated when they want to do a task just for the sake of engaging with it, rather than because there are external rewards linked to its completion. Extrinsic motivation would consist of all those positive benefits beyond the enjoyment of the task itself. It generates an interest to perform the task not linked to the characteristics of the task and how individuals feel when performing it, such as monetary reward, the projection of a certain image or the reach of a certain status in the organisation or society.

Amabile proposes the assessment of the context categorising those work environment factors influencing our creative behaviour into two groups; those that have an informational function and those that have a controlling function. The first group of factors enhances creativity while the second one inhibits it. Cognitive evaluation theory has guided many studies in their classification of contextual factors, but the literature to date has, however, failed to demonstrate the mechanisms by which extrinsic rewards can enhance the creative process at its different stages (Zhou and Shalley, 2003). She later coined the term motivational synergy (Amabile, 1993) to

explain what makes our minds assess rewards as controlling and, thereby, inhibitors of our creativity or informative and facilitators of the creative process. People can be intrinsically motivated toward a task because it is interesting, challenging and enjoyable, or extrinsically motivated by economic rewards, deadlines and recognition or be motivated by both (Gong et al., 2017; Mehta et al., 2017). When extrinsic rewards are informational and enable both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, especially when initial levels of intrinsic motivation are high, they have a positive effect on creativity. External rewards can be translated as a signal of competence, deep engagement with a task or an increasing sense of autonomy, increasing our intrinsic motivation and creativity and this is phenomenon has been named motivational synergy (Amabile, 1997).

Subsequent reviews have led Amabile to publish a new version of the componential theory of creativity, which incorporates new elements such as emotions, contributing to shed some light on their role in the creative process (Amabile et al., 2005; Amabile and Mueller, 2008). These studies suggest the need to achieve a more holistic view of factors which are beyond the organisation, as broader social factors may also play a role in the achievement of creativity and innovation (Amabile and Pratt, 2016). To begin with, the revision of the role of motivation led to the definition of meaningful work (i.e. tasks that matter to individuals, assigning a value to the work itself) and its link to the progress principle, which states that the acknowledgment of making progress at work enables psychological states that facilitate the creative behaviour (Amabile, et al., 2005; Amabile and Kramer, 2011; Amabile et al., 2004).

As individuals experience and become aware of progress in meaningful work (Amabile and Pratt, 2016), this being at the individual, team, or organisational levels, their motivation increases, getting into a positive progress loop. Although failures may be perceived as negative experiences, when individuals feel safe, failures motivate them to reframe these experiences as a kind of progress, as it allows them to discard potential solutions and explore alternatives. This fact has important practical and managerial implications. When there is evidence of progress, intrinsic motivation increases, and when individuals experience intrinsic motivation, they are more likely to make progress. Bandura (1997) and Koo and Fishbach (2012) found similar patterns

in their studies on self-efficacy and goal adherence, and the reframe of negative emotions related to failure. This bidirectional causality or progress loop (Amabile and Kramer, 2011) explains the creation of virtuous cycles where intrinsic motivation and progress enable highly productive and creative work for long periods of time until this is interrupted by external circumstances.

There are different elements in the work environment that can hinder or fuel this virtuous cycle of creative work, and they can be moderated by managers' behaviour, in particular by the behaviour of immediate supervisors. Allocation of time, definition of goals and attitudes towards idea flows are some of the elements that managers can use to transform the work environment creating an 'oasis effect', that consists of a positive environment for creative work. Conversely, unfavourable circumstances and lack of resources can hinder organisational creativity, as has been found in recent research (Amabile and Pratt, 2016; Binnewies and Wornlein, 2011; Zhang and Bartol, 2010).

The role of affect (general mood) and emotions (specific emotional reactions) has also been incorporated to this theory in the light of the effects they have on creativity (Barsade et al., 2003; Isen, 1999; To et al., 2012). The most robust finding is that there is a relationship between positive affect and creativity, which can be found in numerous studies (e.g. Brief and Weiss, 2002; Madjar, Oldham, and Pratt, 2002; Silvia et al., 2014; Shin et al., 2016) and meta-analyses (Baas et al., 2008; Davis, 2009); and it has also been found that creative work leads to positive affect (Atwater and Carmeli, 2009; Kark and Carmeli, 2009), supporting the idea of the virtuous circle. When discussing specific emotions, Amabile et al. (2005) found evidence for a positive effect of joy and a negative association of anger, fear and sadness to creativity. The effect of positive emotions was accumulative and had an effect on the level of creativity achieved during the following days. In the same line, Arnold and colleagues (2007) found a positive bidirectional association between meaningful work and positive affect, reinforcing the idea of progress as a central element of intrinsic motivation. However, there are also studies that state an association between creativity and negative moods (George, 2007; George and Zhou, 2007; Kaufmann and Vosburg,

1997; Martin et al., 1993), and even ambivalent emotions (e.g. Fong, 2006; George, 2011). Further research is needed to explore these associations in more depth.

Affect and emotions were not part of the original componential theory of creativity back in 1988, although they were mentioned as aspects of the definition of intrinsic motivation, the highest levels of which were referred to as passion (Amabile and Mueller, 2008). Emotions can come from many different sources, namely individual and social factors, such as the task itself, the work environment (e.g. Hochschild, 2003; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1989) and probably even the wider economic and social context in which organisations operate (Florida, 2002), although more empirical studies are needed to support this claim.

Woodman, Sawyer, and Griffin's (1993) interactionist model of organisational creativity was also considered in recent updates on Amabile's theory (Amabile and Pratt, 2016). Woodman and colleagues focused on the complex interactions between individuals and the situation in the organisation in which they are engaging in creative work, incorporating into their framework the interactions among three levels: the individual, the group and the organisation. Moreover, they incorporate the influences that are external to the organisation's social system, such as the economic environment in which it develops its activities, as avenues for future interdisciplinary research. Amabile and Pratt (2016) incorporated this element to the componential theory of creativity by broadening their conceptualisation of the work environment as an open system subject to the influence of economic, cultural and social forces, which still needs to be addressed in future research. This model highlights the occurrence of creative behaviour in a complex social system where the characteristics of individuals, groups and the organisation have an effect at all levels. Scholars have called for more studies to adopt a systematic investigation of the social and environmental influences on creativity, as the complexity of creative behaviour cannot be explained just by the individuals, groups and organisational outputs (e.g. Zhou et al., 2014).

The input the organisation receives from its environment; namely, institutions, stakeholders, networks and broader society could be explored to measure the extent to which they influence organisational creativity. At the individual level, the componential model of creativity considered characteristics such as antecedent

conditions, cognitive style and ability, personality, intrinsic motivation, without considering the role of emotions and other contextual influences. The group level is analysed according to group norms, size, diversity, cohesiveness, roles, tasks and problem-solving approaches. At the organisational level characteristics such as culture, resources, rewards, strategy, structure and technology have been explored. The output in the form of creative product is a transformation of the contributions of individuals, groups and organisation through the creative process in a given situation which fostered or constrained its result (Woodman et al., 1993).

Woodman et al. (1993) suggested that the study of creativity has to develop frameworks that cross the disciplines of psychology at the micro-level of analysis, and sociology at the macro-level of analysis. To be able to explain how the broader economic and socio-cultural context influences the level of creativity a company can achieve, it is necessary to look into different disciplines such as the entrepreneurship field of the creative industries. Taking into account these considerations, building a framework for the study of the role of emotions in the selection of creative goals, could benefit from an interdisciplinary perspective, allowing us to achieve a more holistic view of the phenomenon.

Finally, Drazin and colleagues (1999) took a sociological perspective on creativity in organisations and conceptualise this phenomenon as a sense making process that occurs at the intra-individual and intra-organisational level, influencing the creative project over a long period of time. It highlights the relevance of behaviour and organisational dynamics, by explaining three potential types of crises (technological, financial and temporal) that may lead to a cognitive reframing of the project. This theory offers a way to take into account factors that influence the creative process but are external to the organisation, such as the requirements of stakeholders, the degree of complexity of the project or the stage of the organisation's lifecycle. It highlights the dynamic nature of the creative process and some of the contextual factors which are not included in the componential theory of creativity (Amabile and Pratt, 2016).

In conclusion, creativity is a highly motivational process, and emotions and moods have been recently incorporated to the research agenda for a better understanding of the creative process. The actual paradigm focuses on individual and group-level

emotions, and the consideration of emotions from this perspective does not acknowledge that creativity is defined within the social, historical and economical contexts where it takes place, because otherwise the novelty, usefulness and originality of the idea and its execution could not be assessed. Emotions, as a research topic itself, have only emerged in business and management studies in the recent decades (Greco et al., 2013), and much empirical and theoretical work is needed to understand its role in creativity. The next section provides an overview of the nature of emotions, showing the differences between the main streams of literature and its corresponding conceptualisations.

2.2.2 A Sociological Perspective on Emotions

The study of emotions adopts different theoretical stances and foci of attention depending on the field from which they are studied. Both positivistic and social constructionist approaches seem to dichotomise the understanding of this phenomenon, although they offer different? Approaches, these are not antagonistic, but complementary. The consideration of social stimuli as the origin of emotions, introduced a field to the sociological domain that was almost exclusive for psychologists up to that point? (Kemper, 1981). A radically positivistic view will consider that the underlying biological determinants of our emotions are always the same, and we basically apply cognitive labels to our experiences (e.g. Ekman, 2016). For moderate social constructivists, both social stimulus and physiological process are entwined (e.g. Barrett, 2006), and particular biological processes fit specific social conditionings and the other way around (Olson et al., 2017; Kemper, 1981).

This section is mainly focused on explaining the differences between those approaches, borrowing some psychological explanations of the biological determinants of emotions, but mainly focusing on the sociological aspects of emotions. The use of this lens allows us to explore how differences in status and power trigger physiological reactions that lead to different emotions (Stamkou et al., 2016). As creativity is a socially embedded process (Styhre, 2006), and emotions are here regarded as a fundamental element in social interaction, this section presents the different levels of analysis that can be used when exploring it as a situated activity.

This review covers the different perspectives adopted in the empirical chapters of this thesis. As mentioned in the Introduction, the critical realist approach of this thesis makes it necessary to explain how emotions are conceptualised here on a fluid continuum rather than at the extreme poles of fixed categories. This section focuses on the sociological aspects of emotions because of the scope of the research topic of this dissertation and the research questions addressed in the Chapters 4, 5 and 6. It does not mean that biological factors are underestimated or ignored. They are acknowledged but not explored deeply because this perspective falls outside the research scope of this dissertation.

2.1.2.1. Emotions: Between Biological Determinism and Social Constructionism

The study of emotions in sociology is relatively new and mostly anchored in the micro-level of analysis (Turner, 2009). At the beginning of the 20th Century, Durkheim (1912) revealed how religious rituals gave rise to a feeling of effervescence and put this emotion as the pillar of his theory of social solidarity. He studied how rituals generate group emotions and how these emotions are linked to symbols that represent the group's beliefs (e.g. religion, culture or morality). The repetition of these rituals results in the creation of cycles of interaction whose patterns form the structures that organise society. Therefore, Durkheim was the first to propose a theory of rituals of social interaction that considered emotions as one of its core premises. His ethnographic studies of the religious rites of the Aborigines in central Australia described how collective emotions of effervescence strengthened bonds between individuals and charged symbols of sacred significance. These emotions grew stronger as the ritual was repeated over time. The sacred symbol was at the centre of social interaction, having the power to arouse very intense emotions. Situations and individuals that would offer the group positive affirmation of their beliefs and identity would be considered as 'good' and those which would threaten their boundaries and identity would be considered as 'bad'. Another consequence of this categorisation according to their *collective effervescence* was the group solidarity of those participants of the rituals, bound also by a common culture (Liebst, 2019; Summers-Effler, 2006).

Emotions in sociological enquiry remained ignored until the 1970s (Heise, 1979; Hochschild, 1979; Kemper, 1978; Olson et al., 2017), but recently there has been a growing interest in this area, leading to the development of several theories of emotions, mainly from a micro perspective (Stets and Turner, 2006; Turner and Stets, 2006), although there is also some macro-theoretical work (Barbalet, 1998; Burkitt, 1997).

Despite emotions being essential to the understanding of human interaction and the subsequent creation of social structures (Bericat, 2016), there were a few fundamental challenges that delayed their arrival in the field. First sociologists did not develop an accurate definition of emotion (Turner, 2009) or detailed analyses of human emotional arousal (Stets and Turner, 2008). The arousal of emotions is concerned with their valence - either positive or negative - and whether they provoke an activation or deactivation in the individual (e.g. sadness is associated with deactivation and negative valence). These difficulties stem from the fact that emotions are present in many different levels of social reality (Barrett, 2012), and the definition and measurements used are going to depend on whether one holds a biological, neurological, behavioural, cultural, structural or situational view (e.g. Caruelle et al., 2019; Lee et al., 2019; Schlinder et al., 2017 Turner, 2009). According to the definition assigned to emotions, they can be measured using body indicators, level of social acceptance, rules, vocabulary or facial expressions, among a number of manifestations (Ekman, 1971). Sociology remains interested in a broader view of the forces that activate these emotions and how these are shaped and manifested according to social rules of what seems appropriate (Olson et al., 2017; Turner, 2009).

Another challenge in the study of emotions comes from the dilemma of whether they are biologically determined or socially constructed (Barret, 2017; Burkitt, 2014). The theoretical stands range from radical constructivism (Gordon, 1981) – that puts the origins of emotions in culture and its system of labels of experiences - to the biosocial view of emotions, considered inherently connected to the human body (Franks, 2006; Wentworth and Yardly, 1994). The latest theoretical advances in neuropsychology (Barret, 2012; 2017; Barsalou, 2016; Franks, 2006; Lebois, 2018; Parrot, 2004) point at the construction of emotions as an interplay between individuals and the

environment. Emotions are bodily sensations which are assigned a meaning by our brains according to what is going on in the world. The theory of constructed emotions (Barrett, 2017) acknowledges that social values and culture have a role in the way we perceive the world. Changes in the speed of the heartbeat in a given situation are going to receive a different label depending on the cultural context in which they are assessed (Barrett et al., 2009). Social constructionist theories tend to focus on the social circumstances of these heartbeat's changes and ignore the biology, whereas this biology-based theory states that emotions are triggered differently depending on our social role.

Attempts to explain the biology of social processes are seen as simplistic and reductionist, instead of acknowledging the contributions neurology can make to sociology, for instance bringing to the discussion unconscious emotional and cognitive influences on behaviour (Franks, 2006).Emotions are not genetically predetermined, and variation is the norm rather than the exception. The state of our body is always sending different signals to our brain and the experience of our social roles evolves too, changing the reality to which we need to respond (Barret, 2009; 2017; Lebois et al., 2018).

Theories situated between both poles of the spectrum focus on society's emotion culture to explain how ideologies, norms, language and other symbolic elements give individuals clues about how they need to feel and express those emotions in a given situation. Culture provides individuals with a cognitive and behavioural framework to deal with their emotions. It provides with rules that guide human behaviour and also the creation of broader social conditioning that will have large effects on the emotions that humans experience, and how they express these emotions (Clark, 1990; Hochschild, 1979; Russell, 1991).

2.1.2.2. Equating Emotions and Cognition

Another obstacle in the development of sociological theories of emotions is the traditional divide between rationality and emotionality. The ontological assumption of rationality being opposed to emotionality is being refuted by a growing number of

studies from different fields (e.g. Barrett and Simmons, 2015; Finlay and Uchiyama, 2015; Pinker, 1999; Putnam and Mumby, 1993; Striedter, 2005). The process of decision-making needs signals and bodily sensations – also known as gut feelings – that provide our brains with somatic markers or emotions that make decision-making possible, as cost-benefit analysis is based on the 'subjective expected utility' of our decisions (Damasio, 1994: 4). Without a wide range of bodily markers for emotions, our brains would not be able to predict the consequences of our choices (Siegel et al., 2018). Our western society has based the supremacy of rationality on a biological fallacy; that is, we believe that our rationality is what makes us special and superior in the animal kingdom, and that our success is the result of a battle of cognition against emotions, rather than the reconciliation of both (Goleman, 2006). From a neuroscientific standpoint, without nets of neurons connecting the prefrontal cortex (responsible for thought) with the amygdala (part of the limbic system that processes emotions), individuals have great difficulty in engaging in rational thought and achieving any type of decision making. By the same token, imagining certain situations and their consequences, can make our bodies react as if the stimuli were real (Barrett, 2017), opening interesting avenues of multidisciplinary research in which both biological and sociological aspects are taken into account in the analysis of social interaction (e.g. how hormonal cycles affect social interaction or how social class affects our health). The subject of emotions is not hermetically isolated in our bodies. It needs to be contextualised to understand its goals with regards to other individuals and social factors in the environment (Bericat, 2016).

The next section explores the role of emotions in social interaction, and reflects on how they originate more complex social systems and structures, such as groups and networks, providing an overview of the different levels of analysis that can be employed in a situated analysis of emotions.

2.2.3. Levels of Analysis: Construction of Social Structures through Social Interaction

This section is focused on the review of seminal symbolic interactionist theories of emotions (Collins, 2004; Denzin, 1969; Goffman, 1959; Goss, 2008;) that

allow us to understand how the study of social interaction can be performed at different levels of analysis. Symbolic interactionists insist that emotion is inseparable from the social analysis, as they indicate the level of engagement among individuals and their group membership. It is not completely psychological or completely sociological (Slattery, 2007: 338). When individuals claim to belong to a group, this means they are willing to adhere to that group's norms and expectations, and emotions are a way to measure the extent to which there is a right level of fit among them. Therefore, emotions help us to map out our place with regards to others, positioning ourselves in certain strata and indicating potential emotion micropolitics to achieve the most favourable situation or social status (Stets and Turner, 2008).

A common criticism of symbolic interactionism and the sociology of emotions is that they are exceedingly "micro" in their focus (Turner, 2009). However, symbolic interactionist can study emotions at different levels of analysis, from individuals to groups, networks, institutions and how the historical and contextual trends determine the material conditions in which people build their lives (Voronov and Vince, 2012).

2.2.3.1. Social Interaction among Individuals

Interactionist theories put emotions in the centre of social interaction, the core assumption of this perspective being that the most relevant function of these encounters is sustaining one's identity or presentation of the self (Turner, 2009). According to Turner (2009), the emotions resulting from social interaction are going to be positive when individuals find their identity verified (e.g. pride) and negative when the self-concept gets no recognition (e.g. shame) and there is inconsistency between the way individuals present themselves and the way they are perceived (Cooley, 1902).

As mentioned before, the question Durkheim (1902) was trying to answer through the study of religious rituals was what holds society together. His answer was moral solidarity, values, which are cognitions instilled by emotions. The extent to which these values are shared or not, activates different types of emotional energy, which range on a spectrum between pride and shame and help uphold a certain stratification

of the social interaction rituals (Collins, 2004). Goffman continued exploring the ritual characteristics of secular and informal interactions (1959, 1967). Goffman argued that most of our daily life is spent in physical proximity of others, which makes our emotional experiences *socially situated*. So, even in informal interactions in everyday life, individuals perform a role, making a dramatic presentation of the self. To do so, they develop a strategy to make them be seen in the best possible light according to the role they play in a given situation. The strategic script is based on culture, ideology, social norms, personal values, along with symbols and other objects which can be used to manipulate the situation in their favour and foster a favourable impression of themselves (Goffman, 1959).

Goffman's work explored how people develop strategies to negotiate meaning and impression according to social conventions. They engage in *impression management* to generate positive attitudes on others and to stay in character when the situation starts to feel wrong. This collaboration that helps us to us to save face is the very essence of social life and is what creates and maintains social conventions and institutions, from families to governments. Symbolic interactionism is also fundamental to understand the mechanisms by which social inequality is created and maintained, helping us understand the role of emotions in social hierarchies and social change (Schwalbe, 2005).

The performance is the activity of an individual that occurs during a period of time in which there is a continued exposure to others, over which the individual has a certain level of influence. The *front* is that part of the performance in which individuals define the situation for the observers, conveying an image or impression that they want observers to believe. Performers will adopt a certain appearance (e.g. policemen in uniforms) and manners (e.g. friendly customer advisors). This performance typically occurs in a physical setting which becomes the scenery, involving furniture, decoration and other elements that also help to maintain the front (Goffman, 1959). The content of the performance is usually seen as an extension of the characteristics of the performers, but usually the performance expresses characteristics of the task - and not of the performers - which are deployed for a broader audience. One can think of an

artist pretending to be fully booked for the next few months to project an image of success.

The display of an appearance of rationality is a technique for impression management and emotion management used by minorities to legitimate their beliefs and challenge the critics to their way to defend their causes, especially when they are accused of being 'too emotional'. Animal activists and feminists who were able to deploy unemotional performances managed to be perceived as more objective. Actors would also blur the line between their professional and personal life to convey an illusion of high embeddedness in the industry (Eikhof et al., 2007). Interestingly, the display of emotions is associated with fearlessness in the case of men and weakness in the case of women (Groves, 1995).

2.2.3.2. Social Interaction among Teams

The performance is more complicated to deliver - and to analyse - when it involves teams. Each member of the team is going to play a different role and would need to convey a different impression. When a set of persons collaborate to stage a single routine, they need to make sure their performances fit together so they can foster a holistic and even impression. Performers play their role and become observers of their show, which adds the challenge of repressing or dissociating themselves from the parts of the performance that are erroneous and misleading (Goffman, 1959) making them feel strangers to the roles and vice versa. In the same vein, an excessive identification with the role may lead individuals and teams to act having the audience constantly present in their minds.

In the relationship between members of a team there is a '*reciprocal dependence'* or interdependence that forces them to rely on each other (Goffman, 1959). Differences in levels of power and status tend to be integrated as responsibility to define the situation to the observers is equally shared by all team members during the performance. By the same token, they are bound by rights of *'familiarity',* which is a kind of formal intimacy not related to emotions or built as the relationships develop, but rather a contractual and dramaturgical cooperation to foster a certain definition of

the situation. In fact, this definition of the situation becomes another powerful instrument of loyalty that requires all team members to agree and follow an agreed script when they are asked by observers about particular aspects of their performance - as the members of a political party do when talking to the press about a crisis (Goffman, 1959).

When the performance is executed with the collaboration of various teams, the interaction can be analysed in terms of the effort put by these multiple teams to maintain a *working consensus* (Goffman, 1959). Teams would perform different roles during their interactions, the same way as individuals do. Sometimes they will be the performers and, at other times, some part of the observers. There are social situations in which one of the teams manage the performance and make a larger contribution to the definition of the situation, although other teams may be more involved with the performance or maintaining other aspects of the front.

In fact, one of the most powerful sources of power for the teams is the control of the setting. It allows them to determine the amount of information that is going to be displayed to the audience, what provides the team with a sense of security and the right to manage the development of the dramatic action. The members of different teams will have different degrees of authority over the performance (Goffman, 1959). For instance, the director would be the person in charge of bringing team members back into line when they detect false notes (Goffman, 1959). False notes occur when one of the team members shows disagreement in public, disturbing the maintenance of the line during the performance. This can be done on purpose as a resource to reinforce a fostered impression (e.g. actors improvising for a few minutes during a stand up show), that would respect the unanimity of the definition of the situation, but other times this will be the result of a mistake or bad intention, which it will then be necessary to conceal. The director will also be in charge of fostering the right emotional environment during the performance and will also decide who gets to play which part or role, being also held accountable for the failure or success of the performance and, therefore, being less protected than other team members. This type of power is called *directive dominance*. The other type of power that stems from the performance is the *dramatic dominance* and has to do with the visibility and centrality of the role in the

performance (Goffman, 1959). For instance, the role of authors in literary festivals is key for the success of the performance in dramaturgical terms, therefore, they have a high dramatic dominance. However, they have very restricted authority over the management of the performance, which reduces their roles to figureheads in terms of directive power. Nevertheless, although they may not enjoy the same level of status and power when we analyse how they contribute to the definition of the situation, they can be used by the publisher's team members to neutralise the power of the director of the team hosting the literary festival.

These and other dimensions of the performance and the collaborative arrangements of teams are explored in Chapter 6. The examination of a highly institutionalised literary festival provides us with the opportunity to explore issues of collaboration and political relations from a stakeholder perspective. The different elements corresponding to the terms of collaboration are tagged according to the elements discussed and teams executing the performance (Goffman, 1959), exploring the meaning and consequences of those terms for the creation and maintenance of the festival.

2.2.3.3. Social Interaction among Networks

In ritual theory, networks are based on social interactions, and the meaning of these networks is determined by the situation or context of these interactions. The micro-processes that operate as the foundations of macro-level social structures, bring individuals into each other's presence, providing them with different degrees of symbolic, material, and power resources. In social interaction rituals, people occupy different positions in the structure depending on the situation, which is the key element to perform this analysis. Instead of using the construct of agency and structure, Collins (2004) focuses his theoretical efforts on explaining the mechanisms by which interaction rituals work, turning his attention to emotions and emotional energy.

Collins (2004) built on Goffman's theory to continue developing the argument that states face-to-face interaction are the foundation of social life but offered a stratified theory of interaction ritual chains. Collins emphasises the important role time plays in

charging rituals and symbols with emotional energy, which is the amount of emotional power that flows through one's repeated actions in social rituals.

A proper ritual consists of two or more people in the physical presence of each other and a mutual awareness of this ritual. Participants would have a common objective or focus of attention, this being a symbol, an activity or the group itself. During the celebration of these rituals, there are changes in the emotional energy of the participants, who would feel transformed as a result of a strong focus on intense ritual activity (Collins, 2004).

There are two fundamental dimensions in rituals: power and status. Power operates through those elements of the situation that bring together individuals who are unequal in terms of their resources, which leads to some being order-givers and others, order-takers. The focus of the interaction ritual, in this case, is the process of giving and taking orders, and it does not necessarily mean that order-takers are going to do what a boss says or that a boss expects order-takers to obey the orders. The key element in this type of ritual is showing respect for the order-giving process itself, which means sticking to the role during the performance. Order-givers maintain or increase their emotional energy by dominating others during power rituals, in which they show their loyalty towards the symbols of the organisation (Collins, 2004).

Order-takers, in turn, are forced to participate in these rituals, which they do to preserve their position, as resistance is only possible when they are beyond the reach of order-givers without being ridiculed by their bosses, which entails a large amount of shame. Power rituals are very asymmetrical and the emotions that are invoked are forced. The more coercive and extreme the power difference and oppression there is between order-givers and order-takers, the stronger emotional contagion gets. Order-takers will try desperately to anticipate order-givers desires so they can avoid the shame, while order-givers will try to get as deeply as they can into their minds to break their will and make them become compliant subordinates. Less coercive forms of order-giving decrease power ritual effects on order-takers. They tend to identify their own negative emotions of shame and fear and the powerful rage and dominance of order-givers, which control the situational mood. This double identification explains why people severely abused by others tend to identify with the aggressors and try to

enact this role as soon as they have the chance (Collins, 2004). Conversely, order-givers may develop a sado-masochistic personality, which would translate into a long-term emotional style that is an important part of an individual's personality.

Power rituals seem to be less effective than status rituals in generating emotional energy for order-givers, but they have severe emotional consequences on order-takers. Giving orders during a power ritual increases their emotional energy as long as they remain the focus of attention of the participants, raising the level of awareness of everybody involved, which would then become what Collins (2004) defines as a status ritual .This would be the case of a publisher making an author accept to collaborate in events or increase her/his presence in the media despite not having this inclination.

Although this discussion has focused on the translation of power into two extreme forms of participations, these should be seen as the poles of a continuum. It is worth noting that there are many roles that may be closer to one of these poles or perhaps in the middle. For instance, some roles may entail becoming an order-transmitter, which would be a blend between order-giver and order-taker. Likewise, when Collins (2004) explains what he means by status rituals, these are referenced according to the degree of inclusion or exclusion of a member; that is, the popularity or unpopularity of the member, rather than any other type of hierarchical difference. Every interaction is going to produce effects both in status membership and power depending on the situation. Power effects may be very marginal if the ritual is not centred around the process of giving and receiving orders. However, even extreme power rituals have a status dimension that is related to the emotional energy generated during the situation (Collins, 2004).

Individuals will differ in their status group participation according to the success of the ritual, understood as the intensity of the emotional energy generated. Ritual intensity will be a multiplier for these other ritual effects. Firstly, the level of involvement of the individual (e.g. whether the person is at the periphery or a central figure during the ritual) is going to mark the amount of attention received. Then, it is necessary to observe the social density. Individuals that spend more time involved in interaction rituals tend to conform more, as they are used to the surveillance of others, and the effect of the interaction rituals is going to be very different from the experience

of an individual that has a great level of privacy or only participates on a limited number of occasions in these interaction rituals, no matter how intense they are (Collins, 2004). Social diversity is the other feature we need to consider. It has to do with the extent to which people share similar characteristics or differ (localism/cosmopolitanism). Diversity tends to produce solidarity among local networks and great levels of attachment to symbols that divide insiders and outsiders. High levels of cosmopolitanism among network members, tend to produce individualised attitudes towards symbols and relatively low conformity to the group (Collins, 2004). These dimensions are explored in Chapter 4 as part of the motivation to produce and consume certain cultural products, but this sociological view is more evident in Chapters 5 and 6 where selection is conceptualised as a situated activity that occurs through social interaction and collaboration among individuals and networks.

Drawing from Goffman and Durkheim, Collins (2004) explains that a high level of social density and low social diversity (localism), generates mechanical solidarity. When a high ritual intensity is also added to low diversity, local individuals experience a quite central status in terms of participation, which is also interpreted as a sign of lack of power differences. The mere attachment to the group would become a source of emotional energy. Organic solidarity, however, is related to a situation of high social diversity or cosmopolitanism. Durkheim predicted that, with a relatively high ritual intensity and conformity, this type of solidarity would be enough to keep modern society together. However, the insufficient explanation of this theory resulted in a lack of support for this proposition (Collins, 2004).

The meaning of a network and our membership is determined by the context of the interaction. Although network members with high levels of centrality and status tend to carry this emotional energy from one situation to the next, enemies in one situation become friends in others. The strength of the ties will depend on the repetition, frequency of participation and sign of the emotional energy generated in the rituals and what may appear a peripheral connection may become a central one depending on situationally relevant networks. Histories of relationships and affiliations are network potential that might be realised in repeated participation in social interaction rituals (Stets and Turner, 2006; Summers-Effler, 2006; Turner, 2009).

Networks are a particular type of interaction ritual chain shaping and shaped by the social structure which, in Collins' (2004) terms, is the uneven distribution of emotional energy. They are situations, temporary emotions and symbols that are recycled among overlapping ties. Rather than connections between people, networks are connections between roles or parts of the self that are activated in patterned situations. Interactions within networks depend on their shared history of interaction ritual chains. Shared interaction patterns and symbols are self-reinforcing for the network, whereas the betrayal of these sacred symbols would threaten its existence. This is an explanation of the basic motivation behind the creation, maintenance and disappearance of networks over time (Stets and Turner, 2006).

At the opposite pole from collective solidarity, there is the competition for getting attention, as it gives individuals the possibility of engaging in social interaction. This interaction market creates opportunities for individuals to obtain more central positions in existing or new networks if they manage to get the attention of those individuals located in central positions in the network. Once this central position is achieved, it gives them the advantage to have priority in early new connections to other networks that may increase further their centrality and level of emotional energy (Stets and Turner, 2006). Chapter 6 reflects on the privileges of different members of a network and discusses how these affects their common goals.

This process may unfold differently depending on the type of network individuals belong to and the ones they want to access. Newcomers to a social network who are able to build long-lasting patterns of interactions with central actors, will have more chances of receiving attention and become a privileged host (Collins, 2004) and connector between different networks. The characteristics of networks and the mechanisms by which they are linked to each other are explored more specifically in Chapter 5, as part of the explanation of the dynamic nature of networks belonging to the different layers of a creative entrepreneurial ecosystem.

2.2.3.4. Interaction Order and History

After exploring how social interaction can be analysed at the individual, team and network level, it is important to set the basis for a macro perspective of this phenomenon. The positions of individuals, teams and networks change as the result of a continues exposure to others. The repeated sequences of social interaction are going to produce changes in the emotional energy of the participants, providing them with a historical context of common practices but also disruptions, accepted behaviours and values that locate them in the periphery when they are not aligned with the situation. In this section the concept of interaction order is presented, as well as the notion of history and its relevance in the study of social interaction.

Interaction order is the place where social life happens, the face-to-face domain of sociological microanalysis (Goffman, 1983). The conceptual isolation of the interaction order from other facets of social life allows one to identify the different elements of a situation and the relation between different orders. The fact that most of our daily life is socially situated and Goffman's concern was that the analysis of the consequences of this *social situatedness* will make us think about social structures such as relationships, gender, age groups, ethnic minorities and social classes as effects or symptoms of this position rather than pieces of data that can be independently examined. Some of the elements could be extracted from the social situation without changing anything whereas other elements can only be present or occur in particular social situations. Likewise, as humans, we are equipped to spend time socialising with others and obtaining a huge amount of information coming from the way others present themselves (Goffman, 1983).

Social interaction is bounded within a specific place and time. In the interaction order, the emotional energy resulting from social interaction relies on capturing the attention of the participants, which is something that does not happen for long periods of time. Postponing or changing the location of the encounter may have catastrophic effects in the interaction ritual (Goffman, 1983). The history of our social interaction rituals also determines our access and reliance on material resources, and these are also necessary conditions to be able to carry out the interaction rituals (Stets and Turner, 2006). Material resources make bringing people together possible, such as having a place to

meet, money, and the chance to cover their biological needs (Summers-Effler 2006), having an effect on the interaction order. Therefore, material conditions can enhance or constrain the capacity of the individual to remain involved in ritual activities, as his/her inclusion may require belonging, for instance, to a certain social class. For instance, in the creative industries, there is an expectation for individuals to contribute with unpaid work, which limits the possibilities of working-class individuals to access certain types of creative jobs as they cannot afford to make such contributions.

Durkheim (1995) considered that we inherit material resources from our history but also a cultural conditioning that will make us participate in social interaction from a different position. Elements such as language, manners and appearance do not only reflect our position in the interaction order but also our cultural background.

Culture is, partly, a shared expectation of what we expect to happen when we engage in social interaction and our cultural capital restricts our involvement and interpretation of interaction rituals, symbols and resulting emotional energy, but also the power and status that may arise from these rituals (Collins, 2004). Thus, culture, in the form of symbols circulated in networks, groups, and minds, constrains the interaction order (Summers-Effler, 2006).

History, therefore, constrains the interaction order in material and cultural terms, but it also shapes the rhythm of interactions. History is the accumulation of social interaction rituals among individuals, groups and networks (Goffman, 1983) and is composed by interaction cycles, moments of high attention and enthusiasm and moments in which the resulting emotional energy, power and status is very low (Collins, 2004). Rituals are normally followed by mundane, unfocused activities of everyday life (e.g. doing laundry or taking a bus), which will then lead to rituals when the group or network has a stable pattern of social interaction. During these unfocused interactions people rely on a predetermined script to hold social interactions not directly related with the focus of the interaction rituals of the group. It is then when meanings are negotiated, as they are not celebrating the main interaction ritual and are not completely pulled into the role and the moment (Goffman, 1959). This negotiation is very important because if rituals become too intense or last too long, they can

undermine its predicted benefits for individuals, changing its history. The expectations that brought individuals and groups together, will now tear them apart.

The study of the historical context allows us to grasp the characteristics of the 'emotion culture' of a given context (Hochschild, 1989; Summers-Effler, 2006), and explore whether there is an economy of gratitude or an emotional liability as a result of the interaction ritual dynamics of status and power. Although emotions change over time, in every historical moment, there are some emotional features that vary according to your position in the interaction order. Networks' interaction rituals, when observed from an historical and macro-level perspective, go through times of high intensity, solidarity and emotional energy, but at other moments the attention will be unfocused and the rituals will continue happening unconsciously as a repetition of their history (Summers-Effler, 2006).

Chains of interaction rituals create macrosocial patterns over time. Central networks diffuse their history and culture by interacting with networks at the periphery, and generate an emotional awareness of their symbols, especially when combined with a certain repetition, intensity and rhythm, providing us with patterns that explain the cyclic transformation of teams and networks and the necessary shifts in the interaction cycles (Collins, 2004; Summers-Effler, 2006). However, this is still a relatively recent area of research and it is necessary to continue working to understand the role of time and history in interaction rituals. We have only started to explore the cyclical nature of social interaction and the formation of patterns that can explain the relationship between different elements of the interaction order. Moreover, we have different roles in multiple networks, which changes the emotional energy that results from our different interactions. Although this energy may be carried from one situation to the next, we are also tied to our history, culture and a series of biological factors that are going to influence the result of our social interactions.

The discussion of the role of history and culture in social interaction rituals justifies the inclusion of historical data about the production of literature in the City of Edinburgh. The groundwork included in this thesis was considered useful to contextualise the findings on the Chapters 4, 5 and 6 and achieve a longitudinal view of the emotional features of this industry, heavily influenced by its history, culture,

political sentiments and experiences of collaboration and negotiation, that have set them in a specific place in the interaction order necessary for literature production.

The next section explores actual symbolic interactionist debates and reflects on the current discussions about the construction of meaning of emotions. There are two main theoretical frameworks with which scholars explore the relationship between structure and agency, and how institutions, social and cultural structure affect our emotional experience of the self.

2.2.4. Holistic Frameworks in the Study of Emotions: Structures and the Self

Leaving seminal theories aside, symbolic interactionists are exploring emotions and the presentation of the self mainly through two theoretical frameworks, Affect Control Theory (Heise,1987) and Identity Theory (Stryker, 2004). These theories address the two sides of the coin. Identity Theory integrates emotions as part of its focus on horizontal and cultural aspects of symbolic interactionism, whereas Affect Control Theory explains emotions as part of its vertical and structural conceptualisation of social interaction (Francis and Adams, 2019), offering complementary insights on the experience of emotions and the self.

Identity Theory is based in the idea that individual identity and society reciprocally constitute one another (Stryker 1968, 2008) and holds a structural symbolic interactionist approach based on quantitative methods to achieve a clear conceptualisation of the relationship between the meanings of self and society. It draws from macrosociology concepts such as social systems and assumes that the patterns of behaviour of human beings are reflected in institutions, social stratification and the different hierarchies in which we perform roles. Preserving our identity during the performance of these different roles means conforming to certain expectations and behaving according to our duties. Identities are motivational, in that people desire to enact their identities across different situations, what connects individuals to the broader socio-structural context (Serpe and Stryker, 2011). For instance, one can present herself/himself with regards to the family role in relative's wedding, its job role in professional conference or her/his latest publication in a promotional event.

During the 1990s, Burke and Stets (1999) extended Stryker's work on role-identities incorporating social roles (worker, daughter), social identities (gender, ethnicity) and personal identities (introvert, extrovert) (Stets and Burke, 2015; Stets and Burke 2014; Stets and Serpe 2013), as well as the different components of the self in terms of its salience and prominence (Brenner, Serpe, and Stryker 2014). Salience is based on commitment and has to do with the probability to enact an identity across different situations. Prominence is based on the value assigned to that identity and how the person wants to be perceived by others (Stets and Serpe, 2013). Continuing with the same example, the job role would have higher salience and prominence in a conference that the family role, but it may happen that the gender or race of the person can actually achieve higher prominence depending on the topics being discussed.

In Identity Theory, identity is multifaceted, and its contents derive from the structure of society, which is a stratified system that assigns roles and social statuses. Identities organise the places individuals occupy in society and give meaning to their lives (Adams and Boscarino, 2015). Our different identities are ranked in a hierarchy. The probability of an individual evoking the same identity across different situations measures its salience in this hierarchy (Stryker, 1980). The more salient an identity is, the more likely the individual will adhere to the meaning and expectations from that social role across different situations (Stets and Serpe, 2013). Along the same lines, salience is based on commitment, which reflects the place of the individual in her/his social networks. When holding a particular identity, the individual will generate a number of social ties. As the ties associated with a particular role increase, the more intense these ties are going to become, because the individual will be more emotionally and interactionally committed to that identity, which will achieve a higher salience in its identity hierarchy (Stryker, 1980). This network-based definition of commitment links the individual to her/his place in the social networks and wider society. It also links the time individuals invest in performing a role to the salience of that identity (Stryker and Serpe, 1982).

Emotions play a very important role in ordering a person's identity salience hierarchy (Stryker, 2004), which is associated with the social bonds and commitment to her/his social networks. Emotions are part of these identities and decipher the meaning of

situations and roles during social interaction. Emotions indicate the value assigned to an identity and its position in the hierarchy. The extent to which these identities conform to social expectations are going to result in an identity standard. Events generate identity appraisals linked to positive emotions when the behaviour of the individual is aligned to the expectations other have about her/his identity in these events (Stryker, 2004; Burke and Stets 2009). Conforming means being positively assessed by others and results in identity verification, which leads to stronger emotional ties with others involved in these interactions. When there is no verification, individuals experience negative emotions and change their behaviour to alter these appraisals (Stets and Burke, 2014). The intensity of the emotions resulting from the identity verification process will depend on the salience of the identity attached to the role (Burke, 2006).

Identity Theory discusses group identity as the meanings associated with the membership in a group, placing the individual in the broader social system (Stets and Serpe, 2013). The different configurations of meanings associated with group identities result in power differences. Those with high status or who control resources can influence the identity verification process and the intensity of the emotion resulting from it. It is also easier for them to confirm their self-definitions and enjoy a higher level of well-being (Burke and Stryker, 2016; Stets, 2005).

Recently, Identity Theory has continued paying attention to the differentiated self, exploring how identity centrality and prominence interrelate (Brenner, Serpe, and Stryker 2014; Burke and Stryker 2016; Stets and Serpe 2013). Institutional and network-based key identities have a high salience and provide a basis for longitudinal research exploring stability and evolution of the self over time (Burke 2004; Merolla et al. 2012). Future extensions of Identity Theory look at the process of identity verification and how conflicting opportunities and expectations affect the same role (Davis, 2016). This process is also starting to be explored to identify the constraints individuals encounter when developing a new identity (McLuhan, 2018). Along these lines, scholars begin to analyse the process of identity change and development when there is a lack of structural role support and identity verification needs to be made through social networks and movements (Miller at al., 2016).

The development of Affect Control Theory (Heise 1979), in contrast to Identity Theory, is not based on identity and roles but in the construction of the meaning of a situation. The connotations and significance of the event define the identity of the self. This theory focuses on language, which is the key manifestation of thought and behaviour. In a given situation, language enacts social feedback, which is used to adjust our behaviour to the expectations of others. This aspect of social interaction shows how language can be used as a means to control behaviour. It is seen as an instrument to manipulate individual responses to events and secure the stability of the system (Francis and Adams, 2018). Emotions become the motivators for cognitive and behavioural changes and the meanings of emotions are assessed using a three dimensions model developed by Osgood and colleagues (1975). All societies, regardless of their cultural characteristics and social organisation, differentiate these dimensions of emotions, which are evaluation (good–bad), potency (strong–weak) and activity (lively–quiet).

The validation of emotions happens during social interaction and individuals try to maintain an already established positive cultural sentiment, but this process of impression-formation may or may not confirm the sense of self. When there is a mismatch between the meaning or transient impression of the situation and the sentiments it generates, this is called deflection (Heise, 2007). The individuals involved in that situation would then choose to modify their identity and role performance to decrease the inauthenticity of the situation and restore the culturally established sentiments that are consistent with their relevant identities and self-sentiment (Lively and Heise, 2014), giving continuity to cultural emotions and norms which perpetuate the institutions of society (Heise and MacKinnon, 2010).

This approach implies a horizontal model where identity is dynamic, multifaceted and situated in language. It is part of the construction of meaning in a situation. Identity is not a stable, modernist construct imposed by institutions or an unstable and postmodern fragmented self. The way language is used to describe and adjust relationships and identities is what in this theory shapes human interaction and potential connectedness of people (Francis and Adams, 2019). Every person has an identity set and a biographical past that are parts of the configuration of this situational

self. The decision is based on available institutionally appropriate identities and, in case a new identity is necessary, on an identity chosen from those that can update the person's self-sentiment according to her/his culture (MacKinnon, 2015) and the situation. The self is, therefore, not located in the social structure and institutions, but in culture through the means of language. This conceptualisation of the situation as the core element in the construction of the meaning of emotions, motivates the understanding of social interaction between the self and others through the study of cultural differences and social change (Smith-Lovin, 2007; Kriegel et al., 2017). Deflections and sentiments shaped by culture constitute the stable elements of social interaction. For example, an author criticising how writers are paid in the publishing industry may decide to reveal her/his role as part of a society or professional association to make sure the presentation of her/himself is associated with a higher status and objective knowledge of the situation.

Structure and culture, or the cultural structure (Wallace, 1983) are, according to these two streams of research, the two faces of self and emotion. They are 'the two endpoints of a macro-sociological continuum that are reflected at the micro level' (Francis and Adams, 2019, p. 266). They overlap at the macro level constituting the social institutions, reflecting the cognitive and emotional values of roles and identities at the micro level. Both theories overlap in the consideration of identities based on institutions, but IT stresses the commitment to one's position in social networks as the process that verifies and organises identity hierarchies, whereas Affect Control Theory proposes an understanding of the construction of the self-sentiment based on the language used in the situation and the cultural pool of identities to avoid deflection.

These holistic frameworks point at different explanations about the links between social structures, emotions, and the self. The experience of different role identities is, however, built over a repeated chain of events where social interaction occurs, which is inevitably determined by the history and culture of the place. The experience of the role identities is going to depend on the level of commitment towards the social networks and the salience that role identity has in the access and pursuit of institutional and social opportunities in a given situation. These frameworks are highly applicable to the creative industries because, as they are organised around projects and temporary

networks, individuals need to find ways to anchor their identities during those periods in which they are not actively committed to a project or role.

Both theories explain that negative emotions emerge when there is a conflict between the social expectations attributed to the performance of the role and the extent to which the individual find those expectations match the evolving nature of their self and the way they meet their needs during social interaction. Higher levels of commitment would, therefore, be expected from those individuals and networks that have a common history and culture associated with their social interaction, and it would be interesting to explore if this is also the case when these networks are inter-organisational, temporary and project-based. It would make sense that individuals would then then rely on more symbolic aspects of this membership. Identity salience would result in more intense emotional energy during social interaction, as individuals would be performing the identity role that defines them and their network membership more deeply. The combination of both, commitment and role salience, will set the boundaries between social networks, shaping individuals' opportunities to be validated in the cultural, institutional and social context in which social interaction occurs.

When reflecting on the experience of emotions among creative industries' (CI) social networks, the challenge lies in identifying a cohesive stream of literature exploring this area. Studies are scarce and theoretically disperse, ranging from emotional labour (e.g. Hesmondhagh and Baker, 2008; Lindgren et al., 2014) to the role of fantasies in creative work (Ekman, 2012) and the impact of emotions in the creation of new business models (e.g. Casani et al., 2012; Gómez-Diago, 2016). The next section provides an overview of CI social networks from a social capital perspective, reflecting on how the characteristics and composition of CI's labour markets provides the opportunity to study emotions from an interactionist perspective. CI entrepreneurs rely on their social networks to access job opportunities and mobilise resources, but they also play a paramount role in how they define their identity. Therefore, the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of ties is here explored to set a frame to understand the role emotions play in the selection and pursuit of creative goals.

2.3. Exploring the Creative Industries and its Social Networks

The study of social networks in the creative industries has mainly adopted a social capital perspective, and emotions have only been partially addressed as part of its intrinsic dilemma. This is the need creative industries have to meet both artistic aspirations with business tensions, achieving a balance between sometimes opposed logics.

Social capital is defined as the resources that can be made available to an individual as a consequence of their membership of a network (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The value of this network is going to lie in its ability to provide access to financial and social resources, such as information about employment opportunities or potential investment (Aldrich and Zimmer, 1986).

Research on social networks has predominantly been driven by studies on how quantitative aspects of network structure can predict the behaviour of network members, such as size, density and centrality (Wasserman and Faust, 1994). Granovetter (1973, 1982, 1992) observed how individuals could benefit not only from strong ties, but also from a large and open network of 'weak ties', as these provided them with opportunities to connect to different communities, accessing a broader range of social and financial capital. In fact, Burt (1992) argued that the individuals who could broker those bridges between previously disconnected networks would gain a competitive advantage, maximising the potential benefits obtained from networks, which are here seen as a key economic asset. Coleman (1988, 1990) stressed the need to explore other functions of social networks, such as the role and contribution of social capital to foster co-operation, reciprocity and mutuality. He distinguishes between three types of social capital. The first one adopts the form of obligations and expectations of future returns, which are based on reciprocity and trust. The second type of social capital is the exchange of trustworthy information that facilitates decision-making. The third type is related to power and refers to the norms and sanctions that secure the collective interest.

Putman (2000) reflects on social capital according to the quality of the ties and distinguishes between bridging and bonding social capital. Bonding social capital

implies strong ties between members of a network that share similar characteristics (e.g. profession, age, ethnicity), which fosters trust and cohesiveness but decreases the diversity of information shared among network members. Bridging social capital provides access to heterogeneous groups through relationships based on weak ties. The density, diversity and reachability of the networks provide opportunities to achieve different configurations of social capital according to the prevalence of certain types of ties. When knowledge is exchanged to generate economic efficiencies across organisations, individuals and networks get bounded both within and outside a given cluster (Eisingerich et al., 2010), which is a key characteristic of the social structure of entrepreneurial ecosystems.

The ways in which a tie functions (Jack, 2005), how and why it gets activated, help us theorise about the motivations behind social interaction, how relationships become personal, instrumental and how interests may clash or converge in these multiplex relationships according to one's agenda and personal reputation (Blair, 2001). The creative industries tend to organise work in temporary projects that rely on latent organisations and dormant ties (Starkey et al., 2000) that have multiple and volatile motives for collaboration (Shaw, 2006), what adds complexity to the study of the qualities of these relationships and their effect on the negotiation of common goals and access to resources (Daskalaki, 2010). Latent organisations use incomplete contracts that help individuals enter or consolidate network membership in exchange for lower salaries, future sponsorship or higher reputation (Caves, 2000). Despite the fact that certain individuals and occupations accomplish their goals better accessing collaborators through markets rather than hierarchies (Townley et al., 2007), it is important to acknowledge that the structure of networks in the creative industries is a response to contingent economic and social pressures that make it a precarious labour market, putting even more pressure on individuals to gain membership of the relevant networks and keep these connections close and alive, even when there are not opportunities to collaborate.

The casualisation of creative work (Antcliff, 2007) and its inherent risks have been absorbed by the instrumentalisation of the social capital of these professionals, whose contacts are also an asset to their employers, who use employees' ties to access

resources that would otherwise be more costly or unavailable in the market (Shaw, 2006). Still, the multiplexity of network relationships and the informal nature of the creative industries tend to be simplified. These networks are not only a source of endorsement and reputation, they also provide affective bonding upon which creative professionals build their individual and collective identities (Blair 2003; Daskalaki, 2010). A closer look into freelancers and small firm processes of collaboration shows their configuration does not only depend on different entrepreneurial processes and structures, they are also culturally embedded (Antcliff et al. 2007).

Creative industry professionals use their networks as a crucial asset, sometimes to compete and others to collaborate. Trust and uncertainty, despite being opposing poles, cohabit in these relationships and serve to create a sense of community within a fragmented industry (Scott, 2004). Therefore, the role emotions play in the navigation of these processes and structures, is intrinsic to the activation and maintenance of commitments and ties, whose functions go beyond their purely transactional value, affecting the acceptance of implicit agreements, norms and practices reached by repeated social interaction (Goss and Sadler-Smith, 2018).

The social and emotional experience of becoming an entrepreneur has an impact on how individuals understand and drive themselves in the process. It affects the way they learn and how they make decisions about the different processes involved in their activities (Morris et al. 2012). The social values and norms prevalent in the social structure in which these entrepreneurial processes take place, are going to legitimatise the practices of different networks, facilitating economic transactions and their political integration into the region in which they operate (Putnam, 1993; Siisiainen, 2003). Trust, or the lack of it, is going to reflect the extent to which an individual or group expect their behaviours to be rewarded in a predictable and contingent manner. Trust sets boundaries around individual and collective partners with which interactions are perceived to have a low level of risk (Putnam, 1993). It also enables emotional and material regulation of expectations between professionals through power, trust and norms (Coleman, 1988). The literature acknowledges emotional regulation between strong and weak ties, mentioning it as a way to make space for a ‘brave reciprocity’,

that enhances the creation of social networks and associations whose meaning goes beyond the short-term or individual interests of a group (Siisiainen, 2003).

Emotions can also help understand the criteria to become member of a network. Daskalaki (2010) proposes that this criterion changes alongside the collective identity of the network, which is the benchmark of creative potential of individuals and networks. The motives to collaborate and acquire membership is also affected by previous experiences and expectations about the future (Grabher, 2001), what this means is that the qualitative aspects of ties do not depend only on how networks are structured, but also on their history of social interaction, which is a process that is culturally embedded. In fact, longitudinal studies and the addition of an historical dimension facilitates the exploration of factors that regulate collaboration, such as the ideal number of partners and expectations regarding the exclusiveness of shared resources (Ahuja, 2000), as well as the long-term outcomes of mentoring (Bauch et al., 2005). The inclusion of an historical dimension is especially pertinent in the case of the creative industries, where temporary projects rely on repeated social interaction with different creative professionals, organisations and institutions (Antcliff et al., 2007). Creativity is a relational process linked to the cultural context, which may foster or hinder the effort of entrepreneurs to break conventions (Ruef, 2002). Social interaction is subject to expectations and norms, but creative projects usually need to trespass across social boundaries, transforming identities and entrepreneurial practices (Daskalaki, 2010) through Schumpeterian creative destruction (Goss, 2005) of markets, organisations and individuals.

Despite the relevance which the creation and maintenance of social networks has for those trying to develop their career in the creative industries (De Fillippi and Arthur, 1996), there is a limit to the number of weak ties someone can keep (Zhou et al., 2009) without this effort hindering the exchange of knowledge and creativity. The creation and maintenance of ties entails an exchange of emotional energy (Collins, 2004) that is part of the affective dimension of collaboration across projects (Adler and Kwon 2002; Blair, 2003; Kang et al., 2007). The flexibility of these relationships is associated with the network's identity and creative potential (Elsbach and Kramer 2003), that rely on informal patterns of social interaction to select ideas, collaborators and projects.

Daskalaki (2010) provides an example that illustrates the use of ties and the role of emotions in the mobilisation of resources. She describes a situation in which an actress is invited to participate in a film so the project would increase its chances of raising funds. This collaboration, however, led to the development of affective ties that facilitated the development of a stable link between them. She also explains how hard feelings can terminate relationships despite the high-quality outputs of previous collaboration between professionals. Daskalaki's (2010) examples help unpack her theoretical framework on emotions and collaboration, which is one of the few attempts to explain the socio-emotional dynamics behind the maintenance of inter-organisational networks in the creative industries.

The role of weak ties in the achievement of more innovative outputs have been explored through the composition of teams in Hollywood (Perretti and Negro, 2007), the heterogeneity of ties (Ruef, 2002), the low levels of conformity of network members (Zhou et al., 2009) and the possession of diversified knowledge (Tang et al., 2017). The use of emotional approaches to contextualise the quantitative and qualitative features of social ties are almost absent in the literature, despite their potential contribution to understanding the flow of ideas and resources, as well as other influences in the creative process. The economic, social and cultural characteristics of the physical space in which these interactions take place shape entrepreneurs opportunities to make connections, getting access to resources and validating their identity.

These macro social structures have received much attention by CI scholars, especially because of the potential implications these studies have for policy and practice, but many criticisms has been raised for its excessively general approach, and there is an ongoing debate regarding the extent to which these studies have the potential to inform generally applicable effective policies or whether these policies can generate long-term and sustainable economic growth. At a theoretical level, this stream of the literature provides a macro-perspective on the relational organisation of the cultural economy, and can be linked to the emergence of theories on creative clusters, cities, classes and the symbiotic relationship between the different components operating together in these economic systems.

Clusters were initially defined as geographic concentrations of firms and institutions that were interconnected and located in a particular field (Porter, 1990). Firms and external organisations belonging to related industries, universities, financial services and other strategic agents would comprise strategic nuclei of economic development, usually studied at the city or regional level. When scholars explore the characteristics of creative cities and clusters, they point at the social and cultural characteristics of these places as potential attraction factors for creative people, but the socio-emotional characteristics of these places are not considered. In order to reflect on the role of place in the creative industries, the next section presents a review on the creative clusters literature, along with other constructs with which scholars explain the links between the creative industries and their geographical locations.

2.4 Creative Clusters, Creative Cities and the Creative Class

The CI literature has been strongly focused on finding evidence to be used in the development of policies that foster economic development in creative cities (Landry, 2000) and clusters (Marshall, 1890; Porter, 1998) through a creative class (Florida, 2002). In the post-industrial era, the need to restructure the productive economy was benefiting from culture and creativity to promote social change and strengthen the local industries (Hall, 2000). CI were also used to make visible and integrate social minorities, such as LGBT+ and BAME, pushing forward the politics of ethnicity, sexuality and class (Binnie and Skeggs, 2004; Florida, 2002). The regenerative power of those forms of arts closer to technology (Gong and Hassink, 2017) and those susceptible to be 'festivalised' (Richards, 2007), was seen as a source of employment and income generation, but also as the catalyser for the cosmopolitan branding of cities, which would be able to attract talent, financial capital and consumption in a wide range of areas such as retail, real state, hospitality and leisure, all under the flag of the 'creative city'(Landry, 2000). According to Landry (2012) the idiosyncrasy of the CI lies in their high level of embeddedness in the urban environment and socio-cultural characteristics of cities. These features not only affect the consumption of creative goods, but also their production, as the urban environment becomes a source of inspiration, collaboration, creation and innovation, which is

transferred into the characteristics of these creative works (Drake, 2003; Scott, 2010), that display the emotional characteristics of these urban spaces (Bondi, 2005).

Another theory started emerging in the same period, emphasising the relevance of individual creativity and identifying it as a scarce characteristic only found in the 'creative class' (Florida, 2002). If cities were able to provide the right opportunities of leisure, avant-garde cultural buzz and enjoyable urban spaces, they would attract a creative class that would help increase the presence of the CI and boost the local economy (Peck, 2005; Wu, 2017).

The limitation of these approaches lies in how their assumptions have been generalised to all individuals and contexts, as if they were blanket constructs that could be applied regardless of the context. Being creative is a characteristic that is present at different degrees in individuals performing a variety of roles and professions in different fields, and they may not have the same preferences when it comes to lifestyle and cities. By the same token, cities cannot be forced to be creative or be socially transformed by instrumental policies which use culture and creativity to achieve economic ends. The authenticity of the local culture and the socio-emotional characteristics of their inhabitants are factors that influence the level of appeal of places and these cannot be tailored to attract specific professional profiles. However, both theories offer an interactionist view of individuals and places, reflecting on how social structure and individuals' practices can converge and depend on factors beyond technical skills and economic resources.

The third theoretical approach found in the literature explores CI as a creative cluster, a broader production system and structure that could help understand the role of place in the location of the CI (Porter, 1998; 2000), but also the interdependencies between firms and the context in which they operate (Storper, 1995). In the case of Europe and the UK, the interest of governments and institutions in this area of research (Hesmondhalgh et al., 2015) resulted in the provision of resources and funding (e.g. World Bank,s European Union) at the national and international levels, benefiting those initiatives exploring successful cases such as 'Madchester' (O'Connor and Gu, 2010), where creative industry policy intersected with urban economic policy to generate economic regeneration. These initiatives, however, were superficial and

economy-driven rather than profound measures instigating culture-led social change (Banks and O'Connor, 2017) that may lead to a transformation of collective identities in these spaces.

Despite the growing speculation around the creative economic transformation and the benefits of the agglomeration economies (Berg and Hassink, 2014; Caves, 2000; Lorenzen and Frederiksen, 2008), creative professionals made the most of this momentum, experiencing high levels of empowerment. They challenged these attempts to commodify their identity, work, culture and lifestyle because they did not actually fit the traditional working spaces, employment relations and time management imposed in other sectors (Lash and Urry, 1994; O'Connor, 2015). Scholars started arguing about moral economics, the values behind cultural policy and the need to reflect on the cultural, political and social dimensions of industrial districts, as well as the changes they were bringing to these urban areas (e.g. Florida, 1995; 2002; 2005; Piore and Sabel, 1984; Gong and Hassink, 2017; Pratt, 2000). Scott (2000) explains that firms deeply embedded in their city or region are supposedly more ethical and resilient, contributing positively to the local culture of the place and bringing benefits to the local communities that go beyond the economic. This view opened up the scope for the study of creative clusters beyond its mere economic instrumentalisation, questioning its effects in other types of locations, such as rural areas (Harvey et al., 2012) and other realms of social life (Tremblay et al., 2012).

The neoliberal view of creative clusters ignored the complexity of the CI and the fact that these clusters may not provide equal benefits to all actors or at different levels of analysis. At the national level, creative clusters started being mainly quantified in terms of Gross Value Added (GVA), exports and employment (Hesmondhalgh et al., 2015), and the rest of effects of the culture economy were considered as mere 'soft power' or public relations (Banks and O'Connor, 2017). At a local level, the precarity of the creative labour market, with a workforce predominantly middle class and white, has been described as a free and open market full of opportunities for all, where entrepreneurs who wish to collaborate and develop their talents and imagination find openness and creative freedom (Banks, 2017; McRobie, 2016; Schlesinger, 2007). A closer look into the phenomenon of creative clusters, reveals how the dominance of

big cities such as London, increase the inequalities between elite urbanites and creative professionals living in the periphery (Vivant, 2013), creating economic, social and emotional tensions among clusters that otherwise could be benefiting from mutual cooperation (Mateos García et al., 2018).

Creative clusters are more complex than the mere result of opposite economic and cultural drives (Flew, 2012; Potts et al., 2008), as the tensions between these two elements propitiate a context in which emotions play an important role. Economic and cultural tensions motivate creative professionals to take 'emotional risks' to please their audiences (O'Connor, 2015) impacting the collective identities of producers and consumers. Creative professionals are highly embedded in their cultures (Daskalaki, 2010) and these economic tensions influence how they perceive themselves and their projects. The comparison with other creative professionals developing their activities in wealthier cities, may originate negative emotions and populist reactions against those located in more powerful creative clusters (Banks and O'Connor, 2017), hindering their overall ability to cooperate.

Creative clusters differ in the composition and configuration of their different elements, and a relational lens can help to understand resolved and unresolved tensions between entrepreneurs, organisations and institutions, resulting in a certain level of economic and cultural attractiveness emerging from the emotional geography of the place (Bondi, 2005).

The composition of creative clusters can attract different types of professionals and financial resources, originating different synergies with pre-existing industries. The prevalent presence of the film industry, the music industry or design companies, for example, would lead to completely different landscapes in terms of not only the talent needed but also the potential levels of economic development that could be achieved. By the same token, the revenue originated by the CI do not benefit equally the whole cluster, which makes it necessary to have a deep understanding of the ecology of these geographical spaces and identify their main resources, social and cultural characteristics (O'Connor, 2015).

The understanding of the spatial patterns of CI has been mainly based on economic geography. Gong and Hassink (2017), for instance, reviewed the literature on CI

clustering drivers and suggested three streams that explore complementary factors: agglomeration economies, spin-off formations and the institutional environment. At the same time, CI professionals have been recognised as the avant-garde of the new organisation and symbolism of work, and the comprehension of this relational organisation would benefit from the integration of sociological approaches, as this type of labour is not only based on economic efficiency (Watson, 2012) but in many other soft skills that are only superficially mentioned in the literature, such as compassion, empathy and solidarity.

CI clusters are strongly linked to urban spaces, mainly cities (Branzanti, 2015; Trullén and Boix, 2008) and so is the relational and productive model in which they operate. Capello (2007) found four drivers for CI clustering: reduction of costs associated with production, reduction of costs associated with transactions, increased efficiency of factors of production and enhancement of dynamic efficiency. However, there are intangible factors that need to be considered as contributing to the clustering of CI, which start to emerge in the discussion. Lazzeretti et al. (2012) identified other four different and complementary drivers: the attraction of CI by some sort of urban semiotics (e.g. culture, traditions and languages); the attraction by the benefits of agglomeration economies; the processes of mutual exchange of creativity and knowledge with creative sub-sectors in the same area; and finally, the existence of a creative habitat with an abundance of human capital and creative talent.

These aspects that can foster the emergence of creative clusters are related to positive external economies and the characteristics of creative goods, which are built upon the collective identity of the place, and time-based contextual factors such as the formal and informal institutional support and generational sentiments, which may transform the cluster into a 'creative field' (Scott, 2006). CI clusters also benefit from the development of tacit knowledge, which is passed on informally to its constituents as part of a range of 'untraded interdependencies' (Storper, 1995), accessed only by the connoisseurs of the unwritten social rules and social interaction rituals of the place (Collins, 2004; O'Connor, 2004).

The relational and spatial exploration of creative clusters emphasises the role of power in the interrelations of networks and the interrelatedness of actors, intermediaries,

organisations and institutions at different levels (Bathelt & Glückler, 2008; 2011; Drake, 2003), but the role of emotions remains largely ignored (Davidson and Gilligan, 2004). Despite the limitations of previous theoretical debates, distinctions between 'hard' and 'soft' infrastructure (Landry, 2012, p. 133), the relevance of the attractiveness of cities (Florida, 2005) and the institutional support via formal and informal institutions (Martin, 2000), depend to a large extent on the socio-emotional characteristics of these spaces. It is the interplay between resources, culture and qualitative aspects of social interaction that point creative professionals to the fact that they can make space to develop themselves as individuals and occupy their place in society. These spaces would be then perceived to have the potential to give meaning to their lives (Adams and Boscarino, 2015) and contribute to their evolving aspirational identities (Serpe and Stryker, 2011), even for a brief amount of time.

The existence of technology and resources is not enough to generate successful creative clusters. It is necessary to understand how the spatial configuration of the place, its relational organisation and the impact of the socio-emotional and cultural characteristics of these spaces, as they result in norms and values that, shared during social interaction, may generate trust among networks members, facilitating collaboration. The next paragraphs review some examples identified in the literature where one can suspect how a sociological analysis of the intangible features of these creative clusters may have shed more light into the socio-emotional dynamics presented in these papers.

At the institutional level, Wenting and Frenken (2011) explained how Paris lost its creative leadership in the fashion industry despite the powerful position of the haute couture cluster. During the post-war period, the institutions suffocated the emergence of ready-to-wear firms, which would have re-energised the fashion industry, as happened in other countries such as Italy (Ferrero-Regis, 2008), which was departing from a position of struggle. Playing a very different part, the support of the École Nationale de Cirque (Rantisi and Leslie, 2015) was key in the development of the circus cluster of Montreal, Canada. They provided training, skills and networking opportunities that resulted in the creation of innovative firms such as the Cirque du Soleil, which contributed to repairing the views of the traditional circus as a display of

freaks, queers and travellers with extraordinary bodies and talents but precarious lifestyles (Fricker et al., 2018).

Lehtonen and colleagues (2019) have recently started applying an ecosystem perspective to the videogames industry, using drawings to explore how individuals interact with those identified as the main actors in their networks. Coopetition and collaboration are part of this relationship but also future-making and competition, which unveils the projection of their identity and identity-work. A socio-emotional perspective can also help understand in greater depth successful spin-off processes (De Vaan et al.,2013) where individual characteristics play an important role in how to overcome entry barriers in this industry.

In the case of the publishing industry, Heebels and Boschma (2011) found that being based in a cluster did not increase the survival rate of publishers, although previous experience did. In fact, publishers seem to use the place as a source of intangible benefits such as reputation, credibility and trust (Heebels, 2013), which raises many questions about the many potential roles a space can play for different industries and creative endeavours, depending on the stage of the project.

The newly coined term of 'creative ecosystem' (Banks and O'Connor, 2017, p. 644) is an emerging construct that has the potential to bring together evidence pertaining to different streams of literature in the interdisciplinary field of the creative industries. An holistic view of the political, economic and social contexts which creative clusters navigate, would benefit from the incorporation of factors that go beyond the rational conception of these spaces. The interaction between its different elements does not only respond to power relations or economic motivations and relying on cognitive explanations for the behaviour of individuals, organisations and institutions does not provide a full justification of the evidence presented in many CI cluster studies. The influence of factors such as culture, the attraction of cities and the boundaries between individuals and networks, may respond to motives that are deeply engrained in the experience of an individual and collective identities, which is a manifestation of the way in which we have constructed our self and how it is expressed. The incorporation of emotions at different levels of analysis can provide us with richer explanations of CI manifestations, such as the emergence of creative movements, clusters and cities,

which do not only respond to economic efficiency or conscious professional development. Emotions will signpost how, in different clusters, material, social and economic drivers come together to meet the subtle, soft side of creative work and find a break-even.

2.5. Conclusion

After reviewing these different streams of literature, one of the conclusions reached is that, despite of all these studies looking at different sides of the same phenomenon and the potential crossovers and contributions to be made by engaging in interdisciplinary research, there are still not many synergies among these different bodies of research. As a result, when one enquires about the role emotions play in the selection of creative goals, the configuration of creative clusters is not considered. The degree of collaboration necessary for creative industries to thrive does not consider the socio-emotional side of these processes. By the same token, the concentration of creative industries in specific places have been explained by the openness to new ways to live and think without even considering the sensitivity of those constituting these places. On the whole, these studies can help explain different aspects of the research question guiding this thesis, although they belong to quite fragmented and unrelated avenues of research.

Some of the gaps identified individually in these different streams of literature could benefit from what is already known in other disciplines. For instance, the relationship between emotions and creativity would benefit from a broader contextualisation in which social factors would be taken into account, such as the social norms regarding the expression of emotions or how economic or cultural factors may be affecting the relationships of creative organisations. By the same token, the regulation of emotions during creative processes could be better understood if the influence of the status and power of the actors involved was considered. Our understanding of the cultural and social characteristics of places would also benefit from the scrutiny of the socio-emotional practices of those individuals and networks that interact on a daily basis, setting agreements of collaboration and also instruments of control.

This chapter offers a quite kaleidoscopic view of the creative industries, but it establishes the basis for the three main studies of this thesis, whose narrower research questions led to more focused literature reviews and reflections. This chapter shows one of the main challenges of this dissertation, which is the lack of conceptual frameworks and the fragmented streams of literature that can contribute to our understanding of the role that emotions play in the entrepreneurial practices of the creative industries.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

This chapter introduces the methodology used in this research. The topic of the thesis and the research questions are here linked to the assumptions and beliefs of the researcher, elaborating on the paradigm behind the different research streams converging in this thesis. In the next sections, the ontology and epistemology of these research streams are explained. The methodology of this research is then presented and discussed, focusing on the nature of the research questions and the degree of appropriateness of the selected tools to collect and analyse the data. This chapter reflects on the nature of the research questions and how the analysis of the data collected provides evidence to answers to the research questions and address in the gaps identified in the literature.

3.1. Research Questions

According to the literature review, the conceptual and empirical research on the role of emotions in the production of literature is scarce and dispersed among different disciplines. Emotions are mainly studied from a psychological perspective and at the individual level of analysis, which limits understanding of the role social factors play in the construction of these emotions. This thesis explores how emotions can contribute to the enrichment of the entrepreneurship literature by developing more comprehensive explanations of different phenomena. The challenge of fully understanding entrepreneurial processes and structures, such as the selection of creative projects and the creation of successful alliances for collaboration, lies in the lack of acknowledgement of the less rational and manageable aspects of these phenomena. Emotions play a significant role in the explanation of these dynamics, but they are, with some exceptions (Cardon et al., 2005; Foo, 2011; Goss, 2005), largely absent from discussions in the entrepreneurship literature. Additionally, studies on entrepreneurial ecosystems and networks tend to focus on high-growth and highly technological industries (e.g. Brooks et al., 2019) and, despite the growing interest in

social capital (Neumeyer et al., 2019) as a means to foster creativity and spread innovation (e.g. Autio et al., 2014), the socio-emotional characteristics of these entrepreneurial processes are still under-researched.

The choice of the paradigm is informed by the research questions. This thesis examines the role of emotions in the production of literature. There are three sets of research questions guiding this dissertation:

1. What is the role of emotions in the selection of creative entrepreneurial initiatives? How are emotions transferred into creative goals?

2. How do emotions influence the interaction of entrepreneurs with other social networks in a creative entrepreneurial ecosystem?

3. How is collaboration negotiated in the organisation of multi-stakeholder projects? Which emotions are linked to the mobilisation of resources in festivals and events?

It reflects on the role of emotions in the selection of creative goals and the extent to which these become part of the symbolism and values transmitted into books. It then continues exploring emotions as part of entrepreneurs' social interactions with networks in their environment, assessing their influence in the selection of projects. Finally, emotions are explored as part of collaboration agreements between different stakeholders, focusing on how they are used to mobilise resources. The interdisciplinary nature of this research and the need to bring together evidence coming from disciplines belonging to different research domains and paradigms, led to the adoption of a critical realist approach. The next section presents the methodological issues taken into consideration to carry out this research.

As a result of the lack of theoretical perspectives on the role of emotions in the selection of creative goals, Chapter 4 proposes a theoretical framework for the study of the socio-emotional dimensions of this process. This conceptual model focuses on the individual level of analysis and draws mainly from social psychology and the sociology of emotions. As this conceptual work had limited applicability when it comes to unpacking the contextual factors influencing this process, empirical studies were considered necessary to continue generating theoretical insights, this time derived from a situated analysis of empirical data regarding the selection and

materialisation of creative goals. These studies are presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

3.2. Paradigm and approach

This qualitative thesis has been developed from a critical realist perspective (Archer, 1995; Bhaskar, 1998). The study of emotions benefits from considering the evidence coming from both, positivist and social constructionist approaches (Healy and Perry, 2000) because of the complexity of this phenomenon, which is studied across a wide range of disciplines including philosophy, neurosciences, anthropology, sociology, psychology and business studies. To this end, studies from social psychology and relational sociology have been applied to the context of publishing to contribute to the literature on creative industries' entrepreneurship by exploring and then explaining the role of emotions in the selection and pursuit of creative goals. The evidence that emerges from these studies addresses different aspects of the role of emotions in the selection of these goals. Being positioned at the intersection between social psychology and relational sociology, this research examines first the psychology literature on creativity and emotions to generate a conceptual framework which is then contextualised using empirical data.

To achieve this aim, the study follows an abductive approach. It departs from a framework that is based on individual factors influencing the selection of creative goals. To continue refining this conceptual framework, the second stage of this research is based on the assessment of this previous conceptual work. One of the limitations of the framework is that it draws on a very limited number of studies examining the socio-emotional characteristics of entrepreneurial contexts. To grasp how the social context shapes the way in which emotions are expressed, used and assessed when engaging in the pursuit of entrepreneurial opportunities, it is necessary to acknowledge that this is always going to be a situated analysis linked to a specific moment in time and space. To make sense of the experiences of entrepreneurs, it is necessary to take an abductive approach that allows us to explain how meaning and feeling are socially constructed (Barret, 2012; Boiger and Mesquita, 2012). This reflective approach offers an alternative to quantitative and individual level studies and portrays a broader view of emotions in entrepreneurship, paying attention to rituals of

social interaction among entrepreneurs and those networks that give them access to resources (Doern and Goss, 2014). The relationship between entrepreneurship and emotions is usually analysed at the individual level, and most studies focus on their consequences rather than on antecedents such as the socio-emotional dynamics between entrepreneurs and their networks (Delgado García et al., 2015). These affective structures and emotional dynamics are here explored through the narratives of entrepreneurs that explain their goals in relation to others (Burkitt, 2002; 2014). Therefore, this thesis aims to start a conversation about the socio-emotional nature of the relational structure of entrepreneurial ecosystems (Bericat, 2016). The perceptions of different individuals, networks and institutions are studied because they provide a window into a reality beyond the socially convenient manifestations of emotions (Healy and Perry, 2000), showing the relational structure of creative entrepreneurial ecosystems.

The choice of research paradigm has been informed by the nature of the research questions, which were based on the availability of limited literature in this under-researched topic. This thesis started taking a deductive approach, which led to the review of mainly positivist literature to facilitate the process of theory building in an area in which there are no robust theoretical frameworks. As a result, a theoretical model regarding the role of emotions in the selection of creative goals was developed. Despite the acknowledgement of contextual factors influencing the process, it was necessary to go beyond the social psychology literature to be able to explore how social factors shape the influence of emotions in the pursuit of entrepreneurial opportunities in the publishing sector. To be able to continue developing theoretical insights and integrate the findings of the entrepreneurship literature, the positivist knowledge gathered during the literature review and theory building stage needed to be contextualised using a social constructionist lens.

At the heart of this thesis, there is the idea that emotions are shaped by both psychological and social factors. During the first two years of this PhD, the research focused on individual variables that may be affecting how the entrepreneurs engage in the selection process of creative projects in the creative industries. During the following two years, the focus shifted to explore how social factors influenced their

emotions and how these were reflected in entrepreneurial processes such as the selection of creative goals (Bashkar, 1978). By asking participants about how they selected creative projects and the extent to which access to resources and information was facilitated by networks in the environment, this study collected data that reflected the socio-emotional characteristics of a particular industry and its entrepreneurial ecosystem, depicting social interaction rituals to gain access to resources and the emotional responses associated with these practices. A critical realist approach allows one to reflect on how positivistic and social constructionist studies can inform different levels of analysis. Making sense of the interplay between psychological and sociological factors, enhances the exploration of the role emotions play in entrepreneurial processes such as the selection of a business opportunity. This creative process can be contextualised in a specific time and setting, reconciling explanations from both positivist and social constructivist paradigms to identify the socio-emotional characteristics of a creative entrepreneurial ecosystem, which is the place, situation and time in which the materialisation of the project is going to take place.

The exploration of the role of emotions in the production of literature as the main research question of this dissertation was articulated in a set of three themes. In Theme 1, the role of emotions is explored at the individual level of analysis by means of developing a rich conceptual framework to study the selection of creative projects on behalf of entrepreneurs in creative industries. Drawing from social psychology, the pursuit of an entrepreneurial opportunity in the context of the creative industries is conceptualised as a behaviour (i.e. the selection of creative projects) that is heavily influenced by the ability of the entrepreneur to identify the value and the symbolic features a cultural product or experience is going to have in a specific context.

The directions for future research that result from the conceptual work of this research, led to the formulation of the subset of questions included in Theme 2 and 3. Theme 2 explores the entrepreneurial ecosystem of Edinburgh's publishing industry. It explores how emotions influence entrepreneurs' interactions with the material, cultural and social attributes of a creative entrepreneurial ecosystem, determining the way in which projects are selected and accomplished. The socio-emotional characteristics of these spaces can become a source of competitiveness and magnetism for creative industries

and the cities where they are based. This study explores macro-level practices to understand the links between different networks and the unspoken rules that determine who gets access to resources and what are the social boundaries of this creative entrepreneurial ecosystem.

As temporary networks are one of the most common forms of organisation in the creative industries, Theme 3 focuses on how stakeholder relationships are managed in the context of a literary festival, examining the emotions linked to the mobilisation of resources to achieve a creative goal. These questions aim to achieve a more nuanced view of the socio-emotional dynamics occurring at a meso-level of analysis.

The next subsections present the ontological and epistemological assumptions that justify this choice of paradigm and subsequent use of methodological tools for data collection and analysis.

3.2.1. Ontology

When it comes to the nature of reality, critical realism views social phenomena as only imperfectly grasped and subject to the interpretations of researchers (Healy and Perry, 2000). Reality is captured using the most satisfactory explanations according to the data and theories available to the researcher, but there is a difference between the actual and real domain of reality. What is captured using scientific methods is only a small part of a whole that remains hidden to what we perceive (Bhaskar, 1978). Social interaction is here understood as a complex and ongoing process in which the individual and social spheres are jointly and simultaneously constituted. And as a consequence, research is regarded as a continuously unfolding process which does not lead to watertight categories but rather liquid outcomes that keep evolving and transforming their meanings (Mauthner and Doucet, 2008).

Holding an abductive approach means applying a dialectic process that contains elements of both deductive and inductive approaches, still being different from both (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009). The inferences resulting from an abductive approach are the best explanation that a researcher can reach at a particular time, recognising the existence of alternatives for these conclusions. Abduction tries to bring together past

and future to the experience of the present, considering the influence of the context in a given situation and additional social influences. The aim of this approach is to understand social phenomena based on the present moment rather than in a universal way, being open to the evolution and development of the plausible explanations of complex situations in unpredictable contexts subject to broader social influences (Martela, 2015). The history becomes present in the way social interaction occurs, which is also influenced by the expected outcomes and anticipation of future encounters (Stryker, 2004).

Emotions emerge according to past experiences and predicted consequences the interaction may have for the goals and plans of the participants (Stryker, 2004), leaving a mark that is going to affect future interactions and transformations of emotions into repression, projections, attributions and sublimation, among other defence mechanisms that allows us to adjust to the situation (Turner, 2008). Therefore, when exploring the emotional nature of social reality, this research studies emotions as patterns of relationships that link the self to the environment (Bericat, 2016), considering the outcomes of these social interactions within a quadrant consisting of two dimensions, status and power (Collins, 2004; Kemper, 1978).

3.2.2. Epistemology

In terms of the epistemology of this study, a critical realist stance differs from social constructivism since it acknowledges the possibility to know the truth, although in a provisional and incomplete way. Social constructivism focuses on uncovering the constructions of social phenomena and rejects the possibility to find the 'truth' (Johnson and Duberley, 2003).

Since the observations of a phenomenon are most likely to be imperfect and incomplete, the data are examined through different theoretical lenses, studying the history of the industry at a specific place, reflecting on the empirical data and moving between theories, engaging in a reflective process in which the researcher acknowledges how her own engagement and background influence the analysis and interpretation of the data in this research project. To ensure objectivity, the findings

were shared and discussed with other researchers in a number of conferences and workshops, expanding the understanding of the phenomenon and addressing the challenges pointed out by more experienced researchers, enhancing the interpretation of the features of the real world captured in this dissertation.

Postmodern positions combine subjective epistemologies such as reflexivity with both subjectivist and realist ontologies (Johnson and Duberley, 2003), considering reality as 'self-referential' and differentiating between 'thought and real objects', suggesting there is an external reality independent from human activity (Kant, 1781). However, the postmodern antithesis of positivism denies the possibility to be a neutral observer of social phenomena, redefining the actual role of the researcher as active and positioned. Interpretations can always be questioned, and reflexivity offers researchers the chance to question and reveal the different layers of their understandings, making one aware of unconscious assumptions and suppressed meanings associated with a certain position and engagement (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003). Any construct can be deconstructed through reflexive analysis, and its hidden narrative logic can be related to power, status, authority, knowledge or gender, to name a few social influences. With reflexivity, the deconstruction of these narratives allows the development of 'other narrative forms' rather than 'textual authority' (Woolgar, 1988). Researchers assume their own position in relation to the participants, making space so that the meaning of the participant's narratives can emerge separated from their own assumptions.

After careful reading and reflection on the participants' narratives and the history of the place, a space for alternative explanations opens up, and alternatives discourses take over an authoritative, unique interpretation of the events. As in narrative therapies such as psychoanalysis or gestalt, an epistemic reflexivity becomes an invitation to revise how individuals construct themselves, reaching a better understanding of their situation and how to address their problems (Barry, 1997), avoiding the interference of one's biased views. Reflexivity has been traditionally linked to feminist research, as it suggests a reciprocal relationship between the researcher and the participant where both engage in a process of sense-making, challenging the positivistic notion of a neutral relationship.

After all, research happens in a habitus which is not alien to the researcher (Bourdieu, 1984) and a deep social analysis should bring to the surface how social determinism affects the outcomes of the studies. The role of an epistemic reflexivity is to increase awareness about how the researchers' position affects their work and acknowledge that other interpretations of the same data are possible and valid, exposing the mechanisms by which we reinforce and reproduce our views of the world (Bourdieu, 1984) and creating objectivity by acknowledging one's own position and unconscious biases.

3.3. Research Design and Sampling

The research design and data collection techniques used in this thesis, respond to the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the researcher (Blaikie, 2009). The research design corresponds to three different stages, which are aligned with the overarching research question and the three themes in which it was divided: the role of emotions in the selection of creative goals; the socio-emotional characteristics of entrepreneurial ecosystems; and how emotions shape stakeholder collaboration.

The first stage consisted of a literature search in the area of social psychology to gather all the available data about the role of emotions in creative processes. Once this literature search was completed, it became evident that it was necessary to research other streams of literature to gather evidence of contextual factors that may be relevant to the main research question. Creative industries, entrepreneurship literature and publishing studies where then scrutinised to have a more situated view of this phenomenon, while the doctoral research started getting ready for stage two.

To explore the role of emotions in the production of literature, the development of the conceptual paper addressed the research questions included in Theme 1; that is, the role of emotions in the selection of creative goals and the presence of personal core values as part of the symbolism of books. It was then decided to continue working on theory development by conducting a qualitative empirical study that might shed more light on the role of emotions in the materialisation of entrepreneurial projects. The literature review made evident the scarcity of socio-emotional perspectives and the need to explore emotions to have a better understanding of the selection of creative

goals and the search for collaborators and support. The decision to explore the social factors influencing the selection and materialisation of creative goals, led to an additional review of the entrepreneurship literature in the search of a theoretical framework that could provide the study with a clear structure. The literature on entrepreneurial ecosystems provided a scaffolding that could be used to depict a systemic representation of the actors, resources and connectors that shape the entrepreneurial culture of a place (Mason and Brown, 2014). Additionally, the actual discussion on the relationship between its different elements and how these evolve over time (Alvedalen and Boschma, 2017), facilitated the identification of a gap in the understanding of the links between individual and structural elements. The conceptualisation of entrepreneurial ecosystems as a phenomenon with different layers and elements was key to making the decision to start by mapping out the main actors and networks belonging to its different dimensions. This was intended to achieve a nuanced view of how these are organised and interact with each other. The study of these relationship permitted the achievement a broad view of the economic and socio-emotional characteristics of the industry and its market. Given the theoretical frame chosen for the empirical work, Layder's (1993) research map was considered an optimal tool, as the links it proposes between its different elements could be used to explain structural and agentic elements of this phenomenon. The historical dimension of the map facilitates the analysis of the evolution of the industry and the history of interaction among its different elements. The scheme enables the division of the empirical data into smaller subsets and creates a space for the emergence of the reflexive elements of the research, as can be seen in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1 Research design and theoretical frameworks adapted from Layder (1993)

	RESEARCH ELEMENTS	RESEARCH FOCUS	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
HISTORY	CONTEXT	**Macro social forms:** values, traditions, forms of social economic organisation and power relations	Entrepreneurial Ecosystems literature, History of Publishing and Festivals, Policy Reports
	SETTING	**Intermediate environment:** industry, labour market, social organisations	Social Networks literature, Creative Industries literature
	SITUATED ACTIVITY	**Dynamics in social interaction:** meanings and understandings of selection practices, subjective dispositions of the individuals	Social Interaction Theory, Theory of Constructed Emotions, Creativity and Emotions literature, Entrepreneurial Emotions literature
	SELF	**Biographical experience:** life career and emotions linked to self-identity and social experiences	Emotion Taxonomy (Willcox, 1982), Relational Reflexivity

The data collection was organised according to the context (i.e. Edinburgh), setting (i.e. publishing industry), situated activity (i.e. selection of creative goals) and self (i.e. biographical experiences and relation with the environment) and was completed by adding an historical dimension that enabled a longitudinal view of the entrepreneurial ecosystem under study.

The reflections of Layder on the relationship between agency and context have led to the adaptation of this methodological roadmap to the study of different phenomena, including intercultural competence (Belz, 2003), modern manhood (Plummer, 2001) and marketing communication (Finne and Gronroos, 2009). This map has been part of the discussion of a number of methodological papers on postpositivism and critical realism, but also part of the discussion on disciplines such as information systems (Patomaki and Wight, 2000; Walsham, 1995). The decision to opt for Layder's map as a methodological tool was based on multiple issues found in the literature search. Firstly, most of the entrepreneurial ecosystems literature tends to be cross-sectional and fails to explain the evolution of these economic systems or the relationship between its different elements (Borissenko and Boschma, 2016). The usefulness of these studies for the development of policies, has led to an over-institutionalised view of the phenomenon (Cohen, 2006; Brown and Mason, 2017), which misses the central actors of economic activities, which are the entrepreneurs (Qian et al., 2013). This research design maps out publishers, the main social network and institutions regulating their activities, putting entrepreneurs at the heart of the study as the main unit of analysis.

As mentioned earlier, most studies discuss the case of high-growth entrepreneurship and the access to finance and investment without unpacking non-economic factors, such as the socio-emotional dynamics affecting these entrepreneurial processes. The emotions linked to different social positions and practices become characteristics of the culture of the place, affecting how individuals set their goals and reach collaboration agreements. Previous studies of these subtle dynamics in social interaction have conceptualised them as part of 'informal institutions' (North, 1990; Brooks et al., 2019). In the case of the creative industries and, particularly its festivals, there are very few theoretical approaches to the management of stakeholder

relationships (Wilson et al., 2017) and although the most detailed models reflect on the structural and agentic challenges to navigate these relationships (Larson, 2002), the socio-emotional dynamics behind the imposition and acceptance of belief systems to achieve consensus and trust still needs to be unpacked.

The use of Layder's map enables an emotionally informed analysis of non-economic variables, which helps to raise awareness of the connections and disconnections among the different elements of the map. This map is a useful tool to identify marginalised voices, revealing how economic issues may have a strong foundation in beliefs and values related to social class, religion and other ideologies that are stigmatised in a specific context (Welter, 2011). The challenge of drawing from different streams of literature makes the additional contribution to respond to the call for more systemic and interdisciplinary perspectives (Acs et al., 2014) on entrepreneurial ecosystems.

The decision to use this methodology also responds to the consideration of the social, emotional and intellectual responses to the data, which are not seen as a limitation, but as a source of knowledge that lies between the data itself and the interpretation of it. The impossibility to remove the self from one's gender, social class, ethnicity and geographical location, calls for a situated analysis that acknowledges the political stance and practical actions taken to promote change, detaching individual views from those of the participants (Johnson and Duberley, 2003). These reflexive filters and assumptions are explained in the Section 3.3.2 on Data Collection.

Reflexivity has limitations linked to the self-analysis and self-disclosure the researcher needs to be able to engage with, but it provides a genuine and innovative tool to reflect upon entrepreneurial processes and systems from a relational perspective. The analysis here is sustained upon the mutual construction of knowledge and the recognition that the findings are an interpretation of the many susceptible stories that can be told from the data.

The possibility to find alternative interpretations lies in the fact that the expression of opinions, beliefs and emotions are part of the social construction of the individuals during the conversation, rather than a definition of themselves as psychological entities. Listening to their voices, the emotional experiences and assumptions they make are highlighted, but they are also concealing part of their experience. The dark

side of their narratives is usually hidden under strategies of resistance and capitulation (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003) that set an invisible boundary between the researcher and the reality experienced by the participants. By the same token, the interpretations of the researcher are going to be subject to the level of awareness regarding the influence her/his own belief system has on the interaction with participants and later interpretation of the data. Therefore, reflexivity allows assessment of the impact of the researcher on the data and the extent to which the narratives of the participants represent their will to make a positive impression or please the researcher.

Finally, this design facilitates the study of selection in a way that reflects the complexity of this phenomenon. It provides the scaffolding to analyse the socio-emotional factors influencing selection and collaboration, creating opportunities to triangulate data from a multiplicity of sources, including archival data, public reports and participants' interviews. The information collected from participants belonging to the same networks was compared to assess its level of convergence (Denzin, 1978). The data were then contrasted with the testimonies of other individuals and networks playing a different role or being in the opposite position (e.g. accounts of the relationship between quangos and publishers; publishers and writers; writers and bookshops; bookshops and festivals and so on). The emergence of different interpretations allowed the research to contrast the information and assess the extent to which they fell into the same bracket or represented alternative realities. The triangulation enhanced the conclusions of the study and limited the potential biases in the analysis of the data (Dana and Dana, 2005).

3.3.1. Research Context

To achieve a rich and longitudinal view of the book production of Scotland and its literary festivals, using secondary and primary data, this study examined the history of the publishing industry, with a focus in the City of Edinburgh. This reconstruction of the history of the industry is useful for several reasons. Firstly, history helps contextualise the industry and aid understanding of the latest developments and trends. Information about the changes in the size of the market, relationships with other UK countries, legislation and main players, provides the opportunity to reflect on the evolution of the publishing market and its culture. Secondly, this analysis also offers

the chance to explore the cultural features of this industry, the values Scottish publishers defend and the rituals in which they engage to select, produce and distribute their books. For instance, one can observe that the festivals played a paramount role in the dissemination of ideas and in the preservation of a certain level of culture and morale, especially needed in periods of war time conflict. Thirdly, the motivation and level of innovativeness of different players also brings an amount of emotional energy that, inevitably, carries the story of Scottish political sentiment. The relationship between Edinburgh and London has passed through different stages, and as it is shown in this section, it has impacted deeply upon the commercial relations between the actors, especially publishers and the potential audiences of writers from both countries. The results of this historical analysis also helped to assess the level of institutionalisation of its literary festival and embeddedness within its community.

Therefore, the analysis of secondary data facilitated the development of a longitudinal view of the publishing industry and its literary festival, and helped to make an initial outline of the organisations and networks that were key to understanding the organisational dynamics of this industry. A more detailed account of this research is being included in Chapters 5 and 6.

3.3.2. Data Collection

The separate dimensions of the study required different actions that have been summarised according to the research elements previously presented in Figure 3.1 in Section 3.3.

1 *History*. The macro social form of the context was explored through academic literature about the publishing industry and conversations with practitioners and experts in this field. This included conversations with academics, publishers and those quangos responsible for the strategy for the publishing industry. Some of them were approached in professional events, via email and others were recommended by participants that sent an email introducing the study and the person conducting the interviews. These participants recommended the reports their organisations have produced over the years as well as some of the academic

publications in which they had collaborated. They also pointed to specific research initiatives and papers produced by other institutions.

2 *Setting, mapping out participants*. The attendance of professional events such as a practitioner conference and networking events organised by professional associations of the industry in the City of Edinburgh marked the departure point for the primary data collection. It helped identify potential participants such as editors, literary agents, publishers, event organisers and writers, who were later contacted for informal discussions and formal interviews. These led to recommendations and introductions to other professionals, academics and public representatives that helped complete a number of interviews. This stage of data collection finished when there were enough participants to represent the different networks interacting in the industry and the addition of more interviews did not result in new information.

3 *Situated activity.* The immediate environment was investigated through secondary data such as public reports, which were found on the websites of quangos, Research Councils and the Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport of the British Government (DCMS). The first round of interviews focused firstly on the Arts Council and then on those quangos under its umbrella that are related to the publishing industry. These quangos recommended other NGOs and professional associations, as well as publishers and writers. Initial contacts were made via email, which sometimes started with an introduction from one of the participants, and then the interviews were arranged. They all offered information about both the context and internal dynamics of the industry and provided the names and email addresses of those who might have more information.

Once a helicopter view of the industry was reached, a second round of interviews focused on those professionals who were directly associated with the core activities of the industry. A sample frame was obtained from one of the quangos, which facilitated the assessment of the size of the population of publishers based in Edinburgh. It was decided to reach at least an initial sample of 30% of the population, that was increased until data saturation was reached (Boddy, 2016). This sample achieved data saturation and an adequate degree of representativeness of the publishers based in the city (Sandelowski, 1995). Editors, distributors,

libraries, literary agents, events and festival organisers and writers were included as part of the participants because they perform core activities in the industry. They were also contacted via email and through recommendations of other participants.

4 *The self level.* The self is the element of the research map that refers to the biographical experiences and personal attitudes of the participant. This level of analysis is used to explore specific aspects of the identity, values and emotions of the individuals participating in the study. The interviews focused on the publication of books, the availability of support, the distribution of funding available to book publishers, as well as their relationships with different quangos and organisations. The terms in which collaboration is negotiated were also discussed. The account of the relationships between different networks led to a discussion of participants' personal and biographical experiences as part of this industry, the analysis of which is described in greater detail in Section 3.3.3

Participants' accounts of the material struggle and disconnections embedded in the relational structure of the entrepreneurial ecosystem, articulate the narratives of how their emotions intersect with their selection criteria and experiences of access to support and resources. Our understanding of these narratives and creation of knowledge is grounded in our specific context, the moment of history in which we live, and it is also supported by the language used to communicate our (re)presentations of social reality (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003).

The reflexive reading of individual experiences demands a critical and engaged dialogue between participant and researcher where no one is confused concerning their own assumptions (Kinchloe and McLaren, 2011). The researcher reflects on her/his own values and assumptions, making her or himself part of the study. The more aware one is of the assumptions, interests and meanings guiding the collection and analysis of the data, the higher the chances of being able to explain the effect of one's experiences in the research process rather than engaging in meaningless justifications or attempts to eliminate them (Ahern, 1999). Putting aside, or rather, putting into perspective personal preconceptions, requires an iterative process of reflective bracketing in which the researcher refines their critical evaluation skills of the underlying motives to conduct the research.

3.3.2.1. Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis of this thesis is the entrepreneur, the person who created or acquired the publishing house and is actually deciding which books should be published. In the three different studies, the entrepreneur is the basis upon which the rationale of the articles is built, providing a bottom-up approach to the examination of entrepreneurial ecosystems, instead of the top-down approach that dominates the literature (Brooks et al., 2016). Doing so, the study contributes to the literature by providing new insights into the socio-emotional dimension to the study of networks (Alvedalen and Boschma, 2017), going beyond the social capital of entrepreneurs and most rational perspectives on collaboration and the assessment of opportunities.

3.3.2.2. Sampling Strategy

Data were collected using a type of purposive sampling strategy called chain referral sampling (Blaikie, 2009). The participants were selected to achieve a representative sample of the whole population of individual and networks belonging to Edinburgh's publishing industry, which allows the research to generate theoretical insights in the subject and also increases the replicability of the study. The search of secondary data helped identify the Scottish Arts Council and the main quangos involved in the production of literature. Reading through the reports of these quangos, non-profit organisations, professional associations and other research reports and their authors were identified. After attending a practitioners' conference, the heads of different quangos were approached and contacted via email to arrange an interview. They would later be asked to recommend and introduce other participants for the study.

Before starting to conduct interviews, the researcher attended several events organised by professional associations in the publishing industry and maintained informal conversations which helped her identify the most visible actors in these networks. This information was completed with web searches of quango sites and news regarding the publishing industry, which were later contrasted during the interviews to make sure the most relevant organisations were participating in the research. In the first round of

interviews, participants were asked to suggest other key informants, and quite often the researcher was introduced via email to the next participant. Representatives from the principal quangos, professional bodies and NGOs involved in the regulation, promotion and funding of the publishing industry were interviewed. This first stage of data collection focused on those organisations that could provide the study with a macro-level view of the publishing industry and included 13 interviews.

The second round consisted of 20 interviews. In this second round, the participants were directly involved with core publishing activities, such as publishing, author representation, editing, proofreading and sales. The referral strategy was also implemented at this stage, but in this case, the study included 11 out of the 25 small and micro publishers based in Edinburgh to help achieve a representative sample. A publisher and an NGO from Glasgow were included to provide their views on Edinburgh's publishing industry. The data collected in the first round of interviews included a consultancy report with a comprehensive list of Edinburgh-based publishers which was used to identify participants for stage two.

3.3.2.3. Primary and Secondary Data

The data collection included a first stage of academic and grey literature search and examination of secondary data that informed the decision to select Edinburgh as the empirical setting of this research because of its strong publishing history and international projection as a literature hub (e.g. Finkelstein, 2007; Press Association, 2004). As there are no theoretical frameworks for the study of selection of creative projects and the publishing industry, which is under-researched in the entrepreneurship literature, it was necessary to find a very rich empirical setting. The secondary data confirmed the suitability of Edinburgh because of the long and prestigious history of its industry and the embeddedness of the industry within the creative and tourism sectors (e.g. Carlsen et al., 2007; Munro et al, 2013).

A second stage consisted of semi-structured interviews with professional associations, bookstores and a representative sample of micro and small publishers based in Edinburgh. Respondents were asked to describe the relational dynamics between these

organisations. Chief executives of the publishing houses were inquired about whether these relationships influenced their selection of titles to be published. Participants belonging to different networks were interviewed to gain a broader view of this phenomenon. The population of this research are institutions, quangos, professionals, micro and small firms belonging to the book publishing industry based in the city of Edinburgh, which was appointed UNESCO's first City of Literature within the Creative Cities Network in 2004. Micro and small publishers were selected because there is evidence that shows that founding entrepreneurs have a high level of affective bonding with their ventures (Cardon et al., 2005; Lahti et al., 2019) and their level of creativity is moderated by the environment (Baron and Tang, 2011). Tables 3.2 and 3.3 below show the types of participants interviewed in stage 1 and stage 2.

Table 3.2 Participants interviewed in stage 1

	Interviews Round 1
1	Governmental Body 1
2	Governmental Body 2
3	Governmental Body 3
4	Governmental Body 4
5	Publicly Funded Organisation 1
6	Publicly Funded Organisation 2
7	Publicly Funded Organisation 3
8	Publicly Funded Organisation 4
9	Publicly Funded Organisation 5
10	Publicly Funded Organisation 6
11	Publicly Funded Organisation 7
12	Professional Organisation 1
13	Professional Organisation 2

Table 3.3 Participants interviewed in stage 2

	Interviews Round 2
1	Publisher 1 (Academic)
2	Publisher 2 (Trade)
3	Publisher 3 (Non Fiction)
4	Publisher 4 (Academic)
5	Publisher 5 (Academic and Trade)
6	Publisher 6 (Academic and Journals)
7	Publisher 7 (Non Fiction)
8	Publisher 8 (Children and Non Fiction)
9	Publisher 9 (Comics)
10	Publisher 10 (Magazine and Trade)
11	Publisher 11 (Comics, also bookshop)
12	Publisher 12 (Magazines, Books, also events organiser)
13	Literary Agency 1
14	Distributor 1
15	Bookshop 1
16	Bookshop 2
17	Writer 1 (Consolidated, also part of Society of Authors)
18	Writer 2 (full-time)
19	Writer 3. Poet (part-time)
20	Writer 4 (self-published)

Secondary data were mainly publicly available and included Creative Scotland's reviews on the publishing sector (Nordicity, 2015), VisitScotland's traveller's guides (ETAG, 2012), Literature Alliance Scotland's articles and strategic vision for 2008-2018 (Literature Alliance Scotland, 2008), the strategic plan for public libraries 2015-2020 (SLIC, 2015), Save the Children's report on Scotland's early language skills (Save the Children, 2015), Scots' language policy reports (Hyslop and Allan, 2015) and government's public statistics about Scottish literacy and numeracy (The Scottish Government, 2015), and diverse reports found on the website of Edinburgh International Book Festival (e.g. EIBF, 2016) and UK newspapers such as *The Guardian* (e.g. Crawford, 2009).

The data confirmed that Edinburgh has an historical background in which the creative field had, has and will have a relevant position within its economic and social context. They have the potential to contribute with cultural and creative assets towards the creative field concerned through high quality mechanisms set up to promote creativity, arts, education, professional training, capacity building and research in the creative field concerned. They all develop international cooperation initiatives establishing synergies between the creative field concerned and other creative fields covered by the

network. The quality, impact and innovative nature of these policies and measures support the creation and growth of dynamic local cultural industries in the creative field concerned. Another relevant characteristic of these cities is that they have proven expertise in organising local, national and/or international fairs, conferences, exhibitions and other activities aimed at professionals as well as the general public (Landry and Hyams, 2012; UNESCO, 2012).

These cities promote studies, research and evaluations based on the experience of the Creative Cities and develop policies and measures for sustainable urban development, achieving great levels of impact through communication and awareness raising of the benefits of such initiatives (UNESCO, 2004).

The Annual Population Survey is a combined survey of households in Great Britain that collects data regarding the main social and socioeconomic variables and provides a detail account of what happens at the sub-regional level (e.g. local authority). A Nesta study used this dataset to identify the distribution of creative workers throughout the UK (Bakhshi et al., 2015). They used the same definition of 'creative occupations' as adopted by the DCMS including architects, designers, and musicians to name a few examples (DCMS, 2015). Edinburgh is the 9th city in the UK in terms of the creative intensity of its labour market. Here, 8.1 per cent of people are employed in creative occupations, this rate being above the national average of 5 per cent. Creative occupations in publishing represent 6 per cent of the total. Because it was the first city appointed as City of Literature, Edinburgh has benefited from the knowledge, best practices and experience of the UCCN for over 12 years, being a clear reference for the literature and consequently the publishing industry worldwide.

The secondary data obtained from the different quangos indicated a total population of approximately 25 publishers, of which 92% correspond to micro and small firms (Nordicity, 2015). A number of associations and trusts were also identified as gatekeepers to potential participants, such as Edinburgh City Council, Creative Scotland, The Edinburgh UNESCO City of Literature Trust, Publishing Scotland, the Association for Scottish Literary Studies and the National Library of Scotland among others.

The next stage of data collection consisted of two rounds of interviews in which participants were divided according to their roles in the industry. In the first one, representatives of quangos and professional associations related to Edinburgh's publishing sector were contacted to achieve a macro-perspective of the social fabric of the industry. In the second round, publishers, bookshops, distributors, literary agents and writers were interviewed. The participants were informed about how the data were going to be securely stored, the anonymisation of their identity and their right to withdraw from the research at any point and they all gave their consent to participate in the studies. The semi-structured interviews were conducted in cafes close to the participants' workplaces and other informal locations to make sure they would feel comfortable while discussing details of their own experiences and networks. This approach facilitated anchoring the conversation to the key themes but at the same time kept a propitious atmosphere to explore emerging areas of discussion (Blaikie, 2009).

An interview guide was developed so the researcher could use it as the roadmap to conduct the interview. It was built upon four blocks that derived from the theoretical framework of the thesis; that is, entrepreneurial culture, networks, selection practices and usage of marketing and technology. The four blocks contain questions regarding the motivation, personal values, experiences and emotions of the participants with regards to different aspects of Edinburgh's publishing industry and how they affect the selection and materialisation of creative goals. Table 3.4 shows one of the sections of the interview guide, which can be found in Appendix 1.

Table 3.4 Sample of the interview guide

Entrepreneurial Culture
Identity. How do you define yourself as a publisher? What do you personally bring to your work in terms of personality, abilities…? If your company was a person, how would you describe it?
Main focus. What type of books do you publish? What values do you try to share and spread with the works you publish?
Organisational values. How would you define the values and mission of your company?
Experience. How long have you been publishing books? Would you say that you are very different now from the publisher you were at the beginning of your career?
Attraction. What brought you to start publishing books?
Retention. What would you say are the things that motivates you the most to continue being a publisher? Money, lifestyle, etc.
Structure. Who is the main decision-maker?
Collaboration. What characteristics define the writers you usually chose to collaborate with? Think of the last writers you've been working with as an example. Which of their values attract you from them the most? What characteristics makes you want to retain them as collaborators?
Selection. What writers' personal characteristic do you value the most? What type of values you think make the perfect writer for your company? Which are the characteristics that writers that publish with your firm in long-term basis share?

These interviews took place between September 2015 and July 2017. All of the interviews were conducted in person, lasting between 25 and 149 minutes. The 32 hours of recordings generated over 755 pages and almost 250,000 words. The transcripts were coded following an inductive approach using NVivo 11.

3.3.3. Data Analysis

The transcripts of the interviews were grouped according to the role participants occupy in the publishing industry of Edinburgh to facilitate achieving an overview of the emotions displayed according to their position in the industries' hierarchy. The categories used to classify the participants were governmental bodies, publicly funded organisations, professional organisations, literary agencies, bookshops, publishers and writers.

The transcripts of the interviews were read at least four times to be able to identify the emotions expressed by the participants firstly by using a basic categorisation Stets and Turner (2008) focused on their valence (positive and negative) and arousal (activating or deactivating). This initial exploration led to the decision to use a typology that could facilitate the identification of emotions related to power and shame (Goss, 2008). It

was also necessary to identify the focus; that is, if emotions were elicited by *stimulus events or internal events* (Scherer, 2005, p. 700) so they could be then linked to specific contextual elements. Emotions were, therefore, used to identify the most relevant concerns of participants (Frijda, 1986).

The concept of emotion, its definition and measurement, presents a particularly controversial problem. The scientific community has not achieved a consensus that allows different disciplines to unify descriptions and operationalisation and many discussions are still highly theoretical. Fixed taxonomies are often limited when it comes to reflect and fit the self-reported experiences of individuals who are lay in this matter and have limited availability of tools and vocabulary to transmit this information with a high degree of accuracy. These circumstances increase the need to find common ground and a minimum consensus regarding the most adequate methodology to use when studying emotions.

Most typologies identify a number of universal emotions which can later be combined to express more complex classifications, as the combination of primary colours leads to the creation of secondary ones. For instance, Plutchik's wheel of emotions (1980) identified eight universal basic emotions whereas Ekman identified six, which he linked to facial expressions (1989). Both of them assume the independence of emotions from social construction. Most of the discussions by relational sociologists are highly theoretical and emotions are analysed in terms of the status and power of the participants (e.g. Collins, 2004). Rather than using a taxonomy, emotions are part of a continuum that ranges from pride to shame. Thus, both approaches have their shortcomings when it comes to making reliable inferences from what participants report.

The self-report of emotions is key in this area of research. The affective categories of emotions are identified by words in the natural language of the participants (Averill, 1975), which correspond to semantic categories associated with emotions. This is the methodology employed to label emotions in different categorisation models such as the Geneva Affect Label Coder (Scherer et al., 2004), also based on semantic categories. Each emotion category is associated with adjectives and nouns denoting

such emotional state, including synonyms and related emotions, reflecting the organisation of the semantic fields for emotion in natural languages (Scherer, 2005).

Willcox (1982) used Plutchik's wheel of emotions to develop her own taxonomy of emotions, bearing in mind how difficult it is for individuals to express feelings that may be perceived as not permissible. Her wheel was selected to perform the analysis of the interviews, as it appeared to be the most comprehensive and rich tool available, including a wider range of emotions ordered according to the intensity, valence and similarity, facilitating a nuanced view of all the shades a basic emotion can contain. Figure 3.1 is a representation of Willcox's *Feeling Wheel.*

Figure 3.1 The Feeling Wheel (Willcox, 1982)

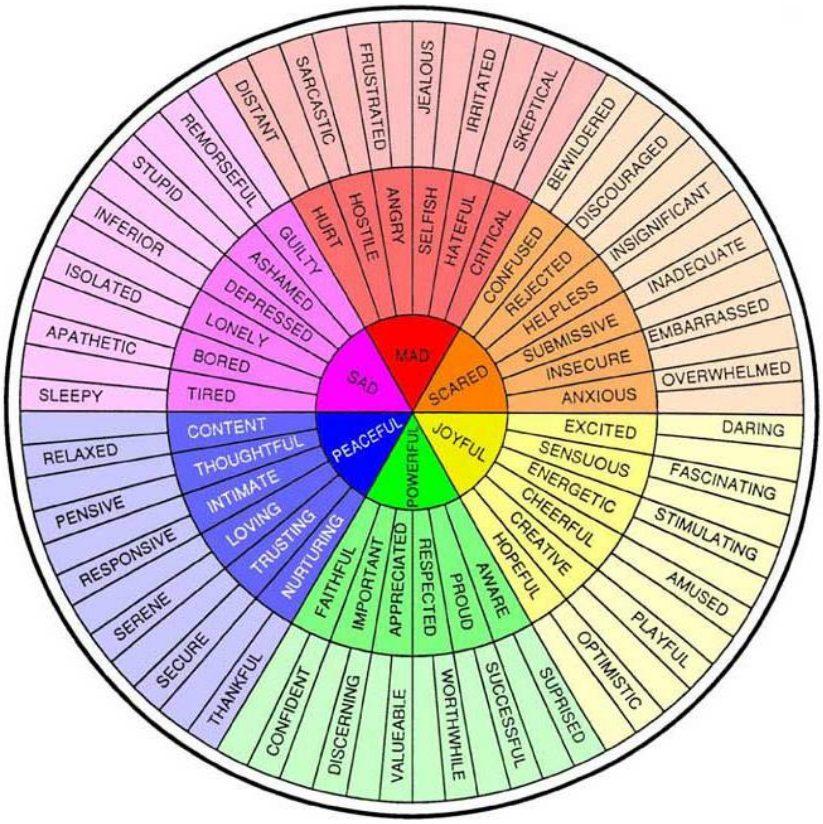

Table 3.5 and 3.6 provide samples of the analysis performed, including type of participant, primary emotion, secondary emotion, the object of the emotion (individual or intergroup) and themes emerging from the expression of these emotions.

Table 3.5 Sample of Analysis I

PARTICIPANT TYPE	ROLE	EMOTION TYPE	CATEGORY	OBJECT	THEMES
Govermental body	Head of D	Mad	Critical	Intergroup	Writers
		Mad	Irritated	Intergroup	Writers
		Peaceful	Empathic	Intergroup	Writers
		Peaceful	Kindness	Intergroup	Writers
		Joyful	Hopeful	Intergroup	Writers
		Mad	Critical	Intergroup	Writers
		Mad	Frustrated	Intergroup	Festivals, Bookstores and Libraries
		Powerful	Faithful	Intergroup	Festivals, Bookstores and Libraries
		Powerful	Aware	Intragroup	Founding agencies
		Joyful	Creative	Intergroup	Authors and Musicians
		Powerful	Worthwhile	Intergroup	Festival Organisers
		Mad	Challenging	Intergroup	Public Opinion (newspapers)
		Powerful	Proud	Intergroup	Authors

Table 3.6 Sample of Analysis II

PARTICIPANT TYPE	ROLE	EMOTION TYPE	CATEGORY	OBJECT	THEMES
Writer	Full time author	Powerful	Aware	Individual	Publishing/Books/Writers/Personality/Marketing/Sales
		Mad	Critical	Individual	Publishing/Books/Writers/Personality/Marketing/Sales
		Sad	Inferior	Individual	Publishing/Books/Writers/Prestige/Sales
		Sad	Inferior	Individual	Publishing/Books/Writers/Prestige/Sales
		Mad	Critical	Intergroup	Publishing/Books/Writers/Prestige/Sales
		Scared	Discouraged	Intergroup	Publishing/Books/Writers/Decision-making/NBA
		Mad	Critical	Intergroup	Publishing/Books/Writers/Prestige/Sales/Decision
		Mad	Critical	Intergroup	Publishing/Books/Writers/Prestige/Sales/Editing

In order to identify and cluster the most commonly expressed emotions by category of participant, the analysis followed Scherer's advice (2005). Despite the inevitable degree of ambiguity with which emotions may have been reported, chances are that two individuals who use the same verbal descriptions about the same objects, have more similar emotions (Scherer, 2005). Verbal labels often only identify the main elements of an event and ambiguities may persist even when very clear instructions are given to participants regarding the information needed from them.

Table 3.7 shows the most common emotions shown by the different categories of participants, as well as those that were absent from the data.

Table 3.7 Most common emotions expressed by category of participant

Common Themes Emotions by Networks	Writers	Publishers	Bookshops	Literary agencies	Governmental bodies	Publicly funded organisations	Professional organisations
Sad	Remorseful, Shame	Apathetic				Ashamed	
Mad	Critical, Sarcastic	Critical	Critical, Angry	Critical	Critical, Distant	Critical, Irritated	Critical
Scared	Insecure, Inadequate	Concerned					
Joyful	Creative, Hopeful	Stimulated			Creative, Hopeful	Creative, Stimulating	Creative
Powerful	Proud, Discerning	Worthwhile, Proud	Proud, Worthwhile	Daring	Proud, Aware	Proud, Worthwhile	Aware, Worthwhile
Peaceful	Content	Relaxed, Nurturing	Nurturing	Empathic	Empathic	Nurturing, Responsive	

The themes that emerged from the data were clustered according to the aspect of the context to which they referred. This classification was used according to the characteristics of entrepreneurial ecosystems (Spiegel, 2017), which guided the clustering of themes emerging from the data. Table 3.8 presents a summary.

Table 3.8 Most common themes and emotions expressed by category of participant

Material Attributes' Themes	Writers	Publishers	Bookshops	Literary agency	Governmental bodies	Publicly funded organisations	Professional organisations
Political Sentiment (UK, Referendum, Brexit)	Concerned, Uneasy	Hesitant, Critical, Proud, Hostile, Depressed, Proud, Concerned	Proud, Worthwhile	Critical	Worthwhile	Proud, Dishearten, Confident, Supportive, Critical, Isolated, Ashamed	Critical
Funding	Concerned, Inadequate, Insecure	Aware, Critical, Hurt, Helpless, Inadequate, Rejected, Thankful	Critical		Aware, Challenging	Distant, Responsive, Secure, Critical, Frustrated	Frustrated, Aware, Critical
Support	Proud, Critical, Hopeful	Trusting, Proud, Critical, Discerning, Worthwhile, Thankful		Nurturing	Proud	Creative, Proud, Bonding, Worthwhile, Empathic, Critical, Thankful, Frustrated	Frustrated, Free
Scottish Market	Aware, Uneasy, Concerned, Critical	Proud, Confident, Concerned, Daring, Critical, Confused	Proud, Nurturing	Frustrated	Nurturing, Proud	Worthwhile, Proud, Stimulating, Supportive, Discerning, Nurturing	Resigned, Aware, Worthwhile
Internationalisation	Hopeful	Aware, Critical, Discerning, Daring, Optimistic, Energetic,		Aware, Proud, Worthwhile		Critical, Aware	Creative
Social Attributes' Themes	**Writers**	**Publishers**	**Bookshops**	**Literary agency**	**Governmental bodies**	**Publicly funded organisations**	**Professional organisations**
Paid and Unpaid Work	Proud, Aware, Critical, Inadequate, Helpless, Uneasy, Inferior, Discouraged, Sarcastic, Ashamed, Insecure, Frustrated	Worthwhile, Critical, Helpless, Thankful, Content,	Nostalgic, Proud, Connecti	Critical	Solidary, Loving, Empathic	Proud	
Awards and Residencies	Content, Ashamed, Inadequate	Proud, Critical, Discerning			Proud	Proud, Critical, Concerned, Worthwhile	
Collaboration	Stimulating, Critical, Sarcastic, Isolated, Supported, Thankful	Stimulated, Loving, Proud, Aware, Empathic, Secure, Cheerful, Stimulating, Trusting, Concerned, Helpless, Critical, Apathetic, Sarcastic, Distant, Excited, Ashamed, Happy, Insecure, Overwhelmed	Aware, Proud,	Loving, Stimulating, Empathic, Excited	Frustrated, Faithful, Hopeful, Loving, Confident, Appreciated	Proud, Critical, Concerned, Worthwhile, Responsive, Critical, Helpless, Ashamed, Hopeful, Daring	Worthwhile, Proud, Respected
Festival and Other Events	Annoyed, Thankful, Critical, Discerning, Proud, Sarcastic, Ashamed, Energetic, Creative	Daring, Critical, Proud, Aware, Thankful	Proud, Worthwhile, Persuasive, Empathic		Worthwhile, Creative, Aware, Persuasive	Excited, Stimulating, Creative, Empathic, Responsive, Aware, Proud, Cheerful, Nurturing, Worthwhile, Amusing, Irritated, Sarcastic, Trusting	Empathic, Worthwhile, Creative, Encouraging, Respected
Universities		Proud	Thankful		Aware	Empathic	
Cultural Attributes' Themes	**Writers**	**Publishers**	**Bookshops**	**Literary agency**	**Governmental bodies**	**Publicly funded organisations**	**Professional organisations**
Scottish Identity and Culture	Daring, Critical, Insecure	Proud, Aware, Worthwhile, Discerning, Critical, Confident, Energetic	Faithful, Loving, Proud	Critical, Aware, Proud		Confident, Distant, Daring, Stimulating, Proud, Nurturing, Discerning, Irritated, Critical, AwareConcerned, Hopeful, Excited	Creative, Proud, Empathic,
History		Proud, Discerning, Aware, Nostalgic			Nurturing, Proud	Proud, Aware	
Communities	Creative, Critical, Insecure, Appreciated	Proud, Aware, Worthwhile, Discerning, Critical, Confident, Energetic, Nurturing	Nurturing, Appreciated, Proud, Thankful		Solidary, Proud, Nurtuting	Worthwhile, Empathic, Confident, Distant, Daring, Stimulating, Proud, Critical, Irritated, Nurturing	
Books' Catalogue	Discerning, Trusting, Frustrated	Aware, Worthwhile, Discerning, Thoughtful, Hopeful, Optimistic, Free, Bored, Loving, Uneasy, Enthusiasm, Stimulating, Active, Insecure, Fascinated, Hopeful, Creative	Hesitant, Proud, Critical, Angry	Aware	Distant	Proud, Empathic, Rivalry, Worthwhile, Aware, Anxious	Worthwhile, Creative, Surprising
Writers' Motivation	Proud, Creative, Hopeful, Fascinating, Daring, Discerning	Discerning, Proud, Commiserate, Empathic, Hostile, Regretful, Concerned, Trusting, Worthwhile, Nurturing, Responsive, Persuasive	Connecting	Guilt, Distant, Critical	Empathic,	Critical, Excited, Aware, Empathic, Nurturing, Remorseful, Ashamed	
Self-publishing & Digital Publishing	Critical, Discerning, Hopeful, Proud, Remorseful	Alert, Hopeful, Discerning, Cynical, Critical, Skeptical, Helpless, Hostile, Angry, Ashamed	Ashamed	Discouraged	Critical, Irritated, Aware	Concerned, Critical	Disgusted, Condescending, Aware

All interview scripts were read at least four times, making sure initial interpretations of the data were subjected to a reflexive process of scrutiny that would gradually uncover the relational filters of our listener's guide (Brown and Gilligan, 1993), which gives a voice to those views that tend to be marginalised in the mainstream social scene of Edinburgh's publishing industry.

After these rounds of analysis, an additional reading of the transcripts focused on how participants described their relationships with others and how these were framed within the roles and boundaries imposed over social interaction. The professional background of the PhD researcher in the publishing industry and the fact she comes from a country which also comprises multiple national identities, motivated an interest in understanding the underlying political issues that were linked to the socio-emotional dynamics between different networks. The historical data, academic books about the history of the industry and policy reports found at the government website, informed the understanding of the relationship between Scotland and England and the links between their publishing industries. To make sure that the interpretation of the data was going to be objective, the student applied a reflexive lens to the analysis and challenged her assumptions regarding this industry, recognising the characteristics she was taking for granted and recognising her own preconceptions. This process is known as bracketing (Ahern, 1999) and enhances the validity of the data, its collection and analysis. Reflective bracketing makes researchers aware the effect their own values and characteristics have in the research and recognises them as part of the social world rather than trying to eliminate the effect of their experiences in the collection and analysis of the data. Putting aside, or rather, putting into perspective personal feelings and preconceptions, requires an iterative process of reflective bracketing in which the researcher refines its critical evaluation skills of the underlying motives to conduct the research.

For instance, while the PhD researcher worked in the publishing industry, she was part of a top international publishing corporation based in Catalonia, but this firm is politically linked to conservatism and Spanish nationalism. The fact that she was working in a nation in which there are many issues around national identity and languages, made her reflect on the assumptions she had regarding the struggle of micro

firms and entrepreneurs. During the collection and analysis of the data, part of her reflexive bracketing compared large and small publishers from both Catalonia and Scotland. In fact, she consulted a doctoral thesis comparing both industries to become more aware of her own assumptions (Boswell, 2014). Once she was aware of her own values and the things she was taking for granted, the reflexive bracketing improved her ability to concentrate on analysing how Scottish entrepreneurs interact with the rest of society in cultural and economic terms, and how their idiosyncratic cultural identity and political stance is recognised and valued in the UK.

The identification of different emotions expressed by the participants were linked to the different material, social and cultural aspects of their context and situated activity. Instead of using a fixed categorisation of these emotions, the analysis was voice-centred, and the emotions in these narratives were examined and contextualised according to their own perceptions of power and status within the social networks and structure of the industry. It was the identification of the event eliciting the expression of the emotion and the associated gain or loss of power and status that drove the analysis.

The emotions identified in the narratives were then compared between participants belonging to the same networks, to see the extent to which these emotions were present in the common definition of the situation. This information was then triangulated with the perceptions of participants in different social networks (e.g. publishers, quangos, writers), to achieve a better understanding of the experience of tolerance or resistance given the actual features and history of the industry.

The data analysis consisted of a primarily deductive yet flexible coding process (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005) that drew on existing theory and literature (Willcox, 1982; Spigel, 2017), and these codes evolved as new themes emerged, changing, eliminating and clustering into new codes the existing data until the analysis of all documents and interviews was completed (Gilgun, 2011).

During the data analysis process, there was a constant reflection on the different properties of agency and structure that informed the successive rounds of coding. The vision critical realism has (Bhaskar, 1979) of structure and agency informed the analysis of the features of the social structures as characteristics that endure for a

historical period of time, but that agency can reproduce and transform. Agency, on the other hand, is shaped but not determined by structures, and can shape social structures independently from the level of consciousness of those exerting their agency. One of the most important assumptions is that agency includes our individual values, meanings, and ideas, and those can also have an effect on our environment (Bhaskar, 1979).

This dataset was the same upon which Chapters 5 and 6 were built. For Chapter 6, the analysis focused on the emotions linked to the mobilisation of resources that aim to promote innovation. The exploration of the roles of these stakeholders, their collaborative bonds and the reasons why some potential allies were excluded, allowed the researcher to unpack the political processes through which different parties agree to collaborate. The narratives of the participants exposed the emotions linked to the mobilisation of different types of assets. A sample of this analysis can be found below, in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9 Sample of analysis performed for Chapter 6

Participant	Emotion	Resources	Innovative element
Quango 1	Encouraging risk taking	Providing funding	Including Scottish writers
Manager at Book Store 1	Happy memory	Book sales	Descovering new genre
Event Organiser 2	Hope	Fringe event	Scottish reality and ideas
Quango	Inclusiveness/Solidarity	Providing funding	Start-up festivals
Quango	Contempt	Providing venue and audience	Poetry Spoken Word
Festival Organiser	Solidarity	Contacts	New partnerships
Festival Organiser	Surprise/ Discovery	Means for improvisation	New events and writers
Quango	Empathy	Bringing participants from different countries	New vision

3.4. Reflections and Ethics

The methodology used in this research is aligned with the primary concern to describe, analyse and interpret the data, rather than making exact measurements of variables that would allow the testing of hypotheses and making of predictions. The ontological appropriateness of this research lies in the complexity of the phenomenon

studied and is consistent with the lines of enquiry of critical realist research. As the historical and actual events associated with the phenomenon under studied started to emerge in the narratives of the participants, the researcher discussed them and made a reflective analysis to open up the blurred boundaries of this phenomenon (Brown and Gilligan, 1993). To achieve internal validity, the participants were asked 'how' and 'why' questions that helped achieve a deeper understanding of the context of their narratives, increasing the contingent validity of the findings of this dissertation (Blaikie, 2009). The information was contrasted and triangulated with the data made available by different participants, including secondary data, and compared to the findings obtained in other studies.

The literature was consulted to increase the internal validity of the study. The recognition of the influence of the researcher's position is aligned to the interpretivist approach that stems from the reflexive epistemology of this dissertation, which acknowledges that the data is only an imperfect proxy for the reality that these studies try to capture, which are open to alternative interpretations.

As the researcher's social position may have had an effect on the interpretation of the data, reflexive bracketing was implemented as a strategy for quality control, as it provides the opportunity to understand how the interpretation of the data may be impacted by the characteristics and experiences of the researcher (D'Cruz et al., 2007). Increasing the focus on self-knowledge and sensitivity reduces the influence of personal experiences, beliefs and biases and unveils the role of the self in the construction of knowledge. Reflexivity situates the researcher and their relationship with the subject of study as mutual and interdependent, challenging positivist notions of a neutral construction of knowledge (Berger, 2015).

The construct validity reflects on the quality of the operationalisation of the concepts involved in the data collection (Blaikie, 2009). The data were triangulated by collecting information from multiple sources and contrasted with experts in the field to enhance construct validity. Additionally, to increase the reliability of these studies and minimise random errors, this chapter provides a detailed explanation of the rationales behind the selection of Edinburgh as the empirical setting of this research, which responds to the richness of this case and its potential to balance the scarcity of

studies in this subject with the abundance of historical and empirical insights. The use of secondary data was intended to strengthen the understanding of the industry and the selection of a sampling strategy that would lead to a coherent representation of Edinburgh's creative entrepreneurial ecosystem. The means by which the data were collected, including the interview guide and the methodological stand of the researcher have been explained and summaries of the findings can be found in the different tables throughout this chapter and in the Appendix 1 to enhance the transparency of the process.

The study of emotions is subject to a number of limitations, given the lack of consensus about definitions, operationalisation and methodological approaches across the different disciplines. The research has sought to minimise these limitations by adhering to an already developed taxonomy of emotions (Willcox, 1982) and clustering the themes that participants used to position themselves in the industry around the main characteristics of a creative entrepreneurial cluster, facilitating the identification of those elements regarded as key to ensure their status and power. More details can be found in the individual discussion of the methodologies of these studies.

The use of a taxonomy to explore the emotions of participants and its links to contextual elements, provides a more nuanced view of the different shades of pride and shame, among other emotions, linked to the perceived position of participants in the industry in which they develop their activities. This helps open up a space in which to discuss future methodological enhancements in this field of study, such as the application of qualitative psychological techniques to the collection and analysis of data. This potential line of enquiry is further developed in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 4

Selection of Creative Goals: The Phenomenon of Emotional Innovation in Cultural Production

4.1 Abstract

This chapter addresses the lack of theories for the study of the selection of creative goals. It proposes a conceptual model to explore the role of emotions in this process. The selection of creative goals is conceptualised as a behaviour that results from juggling between cognitive and emotional aspects of the potential creative outcome. The features of the creative goal are assessed using artistic and commercial criteria in an attempt to predict the extent to which the resulting cultural products and services would match audiences' taste and producers' economic expectations. Despite the unpredictability of demand, selection is highly dependent upon the ability of entrepreneurs to grasp the symbolism and meaning instilled into creative ideas and projects. When leveraging the potential of creative ideas and projects, the ability to discover and learn from the emotions it may elicit in the audience becomes a source of competitive advantage, as it helps entrepreneurs to evaluate the value of these proposals according to their own goals. Producers may compromise economic and artistic demands to achieve a specific type of cultural experience that reflects new social phenomena and realities. Being emotionally creative enhances the ability to provide targeted audiences with cultural experiences that help them understand their own and others' social realities, allowing audiences to experience emotions and connect to ideas that crystallise their personal core values.

4.2 Introduction

Emotions have a paramount role in the recognition and pursuit of entrepreneurial initiatives and are intimately related to the personality and identity of entrepreneurs (Cardon et al., 2005) and other socio-emotional aspects of their activities

such as social interaction (Doern and Goss; 2013; Goss, 2008). The strong identification of entrepreneurs with their ventures suggests that entrepreneurial cognitive processes may be heavily influenced by their emotions, creating unique personal connections between entrepreneurs and the business ideas or opportunities that they select (Carter et al., 1996; García et al., 2015).

Entrepreneurial emotions have also been found to be quite instrumental at the beginning of projects, often used to generate reactions among entrepreneurs' social networks (Kato and Wiklund, 2011) to obtain resources and support. Entrepreneurs share information regarding these new initiatives to capitalise on the positive emotions they may elicit (e.g. passion) which suggests that emotions appear after the decision to pursue the opportunity has been made (Cardon et al., 2009; Cardon and Patel, 2015; Frese and Gielnik, 2011; Patel, Thorgren and Wincent, 2015). However, this research stream raises questions regarding the extent to which emotions are the trigger to select new venture opportunities or a consequence of the decision to engage in an entrepreneurial activity.

Emotions are the basis on which one constructs social reality and they have a powerful impact on the categorisation and selection of behavioural goals (Barrett, 2017). They are particularly relevant in the case of the creative industries because they operate in a social network market where the selection for consumption and production is constructed on the choices and experiences of others (Potts et al., 2008). Individuals attribute a positive valence to emotions depending on the extent to which its experience is aligned to their personal core values (Tamir et al., 2016), and in turn, this is going to be reflected in the choices they make for both consumption and production of cultural experiences and creative products. A high level of awareness regarding the different shades an emotion can have will also help identify the potential alignment of these cultural experiences and creative products with different societal groups. When individuals form groups, they tend to be agglutinated around personal core values that reflect their own needs and motivations (Schwartz et al., 2012) which are also the compass that guides the assessment of cultural experiences and the emotions associated with these.

This chapter offers a comprehensive theoretical insight that is still lacking in creative industries literature, unfolding the role of emotions and personal values in the selection of creative goals. First, it explores the role of emotions in the production of cultural experiences, looking into the psychology of creativity and the emotional aspects of this phenomenon. It then discusses emotions as part of creative goals, providing an overview of the socio-emotional characteristics of selection and the organisational patterns in the creative industries.

4.3 The Psychology of Emotions in the Pursuit of Creative Goals

The experiential nature of creative industries' production poses a challenge to entrepreneurs in terms of the assessment of the potential success of creative ideas and projects, as their return on investment is highly uncertain (Pratt, 2008). The emotional components of creative goods are so relevant for their evaluation, that only after experiencing them it is possible to come to a verdict regarding whether they were worth the investment or purchase, their genuine value being a highly subjective feature. The assessment of their quality in commercial terms, according to the accepted canons in the industry, leaves aside fundamental, non-economic but personal core values that facilitate the assessment of the experience and emotions attached to it.

Values are guiding principles of individuals' lives; they provide directions, reasons to decide what to do, and they serve as standards for judging and justifying those actions (Tamir et al., 2016). Along these lines, one could assess cultural production's original aesthetic attributes based on their symbolic and spiritual significance; honesty and authenticity; their uniqueness and historical value; the extent to which they reflect a clash between existing and new ideas, or if they are linked to the experience of specific emotions in a given place and time (Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982).

Cultural production helps explore the social display of emotions; it also facilitates the social construction of emotions, providing us with new concepts, categories and metaphors to which one can assign meaning and make sense of one's and others' behaviours, going beyond the social rules and beliefs predominating in our society regarding which emotions should be expressed or repressed (Averill, 2005). When new emotions and behaviours arise and individuals do not have an existing prototype to

make sense of them, it is necessary to bend the rules and challenge existing beliefs, integrating these experiences into the construction of our own identity and understanding of social reality. Providing the audience with these new associations, entrepreneurs in the creative industries fulfil a need for empathy, sense-making and connectedness. This chapter argues that to be able to identify the potential of these ideas and projects, entrepreneurs need to be highly attuned to the emotions these products and services can elicit and the audiences, displaying a high level of emotional creativity (Averill, 1980). The next sections dissect this construct by examining how individuals identify that emotions are different from one another in our body and how our ability to discern among different emotions can help us understand new emotional experiences, which corresponds to an ability to be emotionally creative (Averill, 1980; 2005).

4.3.1 Emotional Granularity

Emotions consist of physical sensations individuals perceive in their body. In fact, they are predictions of potential physical consequences of events. The brain conceptualises this information, so one can rapidly react or perform a deep analysis on how to act upon them depending on their level of complexity and associated effects. These bodily sensations vary as much as the stimuli that provoke them, creating many different categories that can be recognised under the umbrella of the same emotion. Emotional granularity (Tugade et al., 2004) refers to the ability to identify unique categories or instances of emotions through the combination of concepts. This construct has been measured using different means depending on the scope of the study, such as cardiovascular reactivity (Tugade et al., 2004); verbal report of emotions (Barret, 2004); electroencephalograms (Lee et al., 2017); series of experience samples collected with scales on mobile devices (Kimhy et al., 2014); and it is starting to be applied to the study of product development (e.g. Yoon et al., 2016; 2017).

Emotional granularity enhances the understanding and expression of emotions. For instance, there are different things that makes one feel the emotion of happiness, but one experiences different degrees of happiness (e.g. from contentment to euphoria) that may result in many different behaviours according to the situation. Interestingly, social reality plays a very important role in the way in which individuals process this

information. Whenever one has an emotional experience, a new category or instance of a general emotion category is constructed in the brain (Barrett, 2017). Examples of instances of emotions would be the happiness associated with eating your favourite food, to seeing your party winning the elections or seeing the smile of someone you have just helped. When emotions have a negative affect (e.g. fear), the brain engages in strategies to avoid them, deconstructing the meaning and cause of discomfort until it becomes a mere physical sensation that can be re-categorised into a more positive state. To be able to master emotions, one has to learn to identify them and regulate them, which implies having a rich set of emotion concepts (Barrett, 2017).

One's body and brain identify affect, and then an supplementary layer is added to this affect, that depends on our consciousness of the moment. Individuals build the meaning of emotions according to their goals and the situation, generating emotion concepts. When emotions are conceptualised, they become goal-based concepts. Goals hold together different instances of emotions under the same category; through emotion concepts we dynamically create similarities and differences which account for the high variability of instances of emotions.

Continuing with the example of happiness, if for one this emotion is related to the goal of being successful professionally, then having a pay rise, receiving an award and being promoted would be instances of the same emotion concept: happiness. However, these categories would have different meanings according to the situation. Having a pay rise when one is competing for a promotion would elicit a different level of happiness than an unexpected award. Emotional granularity, as stated earlier, is the ability to recognise these subtle differences. Emotions become emotion concepts, enriching the lexicon one uses to express them, and these are translated into sophisticated emotion concept systems. These systems become a new language, and the ability to speak this language increases our ability to discern emotions and be aware of new social realities. It is here argued that one of the means by which we gain access to those new emotion concepts is cultural production and hence we expect that when entrepreneurs have a high level of emotional granularity, they select cultural experiences that display a rich range of emotion concepts (Barret, 2017).

4.3.2 Emotional Creativity and Emotional Innovation

The identification and display of emotions depends on conceptual knowledge, such as the social rules and beliefs held in each culture (Lindquist and Barret, 2008; Barrett, 2017). Emotions are linked to experiences and displayed according to the culture in which they are embedded, which include historical categorisations and regulations of these emotions in terms of adequacy, intensity and circumstances in which they can be expressed. Emotional experiences evolve, and with them, their meaning. When individuals experience extraordinary events, a readjustment of their categorisation system is necessary, so they can make sense of them. It is difficult to predict if society is ready to assimilate new behaviours, and the emotional experiences and values attached to them, especially when there are no available pre-existing prototypes or when these emotions challenge social conventions. The consumption of creative products and cultural production can awaken the same reactions in individuals, who get in touch with these new realities through these cultural experiences.

Finding means to identify, articulate and make sense of these new emotional experiences is defined as emotional creativity (Averill, 1980; 2005). An emotionally creative response would mean challenging social conventions, as the individual would make a creative effort to unfold the emotional processes associated with the experience of reality. As a result, emotionally creative proposals are usually received with resistance and scepticism. On the one hand, they are incongruent with a set of deeply rooted beliefs, challenging social, cultural and even personal values. On the other hand, when the experience of new emotions and values is attached to those events, they trigger a creative process in which new emotions and meanings are associated with these novel phenomena, facilitating the creation of new categories, values and social realities. This process can be considered as creative *per se* and enhances the understanding of these new realities.

Emotional creativity found empirical support in laboratory and clinical research (Averill, 1999; 2005; Nunley and Averill, 1996) using the Emotional Creativity Inventory. Individuals with higher scores displayed higher levels of creativity in tasks such as drawing and writing (Gutbezahl and Averill, 1996).

The emotional and cognitive processes captured by the emotional creativity construct (Averill, 1999) are referred to as the willingness to discover and learn from emotional experiences. Emotionally creative individuals experience the world in novel and idiosyncratic ways, going through a wider range of emotional experiences and richer inner life. This paper proposes the new construct of emotional innovation as the ability to create completely novel systems of emotion concepts that reflect emotionally creative experiences of the world. These new emotion concept systems are the result of combining different emotion concepts and the creation of instances of these emotions, resulting in new ways to experience reality. They provide individuals with concepts, metaphors and words to make sense and communicate new experiences of social reality, increasing the generation of emotionally creative responses. Being emotionally innovative means being able to create a language and express with words new and complex emotional experiences, being able to define the instances of that emotion and create tools to communicate them. An example of a highly emotionally innovative producer and director is Pedro Almodóvar, who managed to create a new language and aesthetics to express his feelings about Spain's reality and its political and social transformation during the 80s.

Emotionally innovative entrepreneurs are able to re-create and raise awareness of new social values and reality, defying traditional beliefs and connecting us to the present moment through the necessary ideas, symbols, images and examples. They reinvent prototypes and languages to understand, communicate and pass on to others the emergence of new emotion concept systems. When entrepreneurs select creative goals that represent values and emotion concept systems that resonate with the audience, they are producing highly innovative emotional experiences, adding value to creative goods and contributing to the enrichment of our personal and cultural lives (Averill and Nunley, 1992). To be able to identify ideas and projects that can help make sense of new social reality, it is necessary be able to increase one's emotional repertoire and stock of resonating experiences, but also the ability to link existing concepts to novel metaphors, expressions of emotions to new senses of self-identity.

An idea or project becomes a potential creative goal when it resonates with entrepreneurs' emotional repertoire, and they may decide to select it and release it to

the market. The same emotion concept system by which entrepreneurs connect with creative ideas and projects, makes them relate to the potential audience and select experiences that voice emerging emotions, satisfying an essential human need of relatedness. The competitive advantage lies in 1) recognising the emotional responses the objective features of cultural products elicit when the audience interacts with them and 2) identifying the personal values with which they are associated (Desmet and Hekkert, 2007). Individuals have a strong need to make sense of events and understand our own behaviour, and we tend to assimilate them to the most similar existing category in our emotion concept system. Cultural experiences facilitate the creation of new categories that reflect more accurately those emotions individuals need to assimilate in their experiential repertoire to understand new social phenomena and behaviours (Averill, 2005). In the next section, an explanation of the role of values in this process is discussed.

4.4 Cultural Experiences: Transmitting Personal Core Values

Emotions are the result of the assessment of a situation and to be motivated means to be moved to do something (Deci and Ryan, 2000), especially to avoid negative emotions or achieve positive ones. Values reflect the way in which goals are prioritised, and consequently, which emotional goals are most significant. Tamir and colleagues (2016) identified several representative emotions that are particularly relevant to Schwartz's theory of basic values (1992; 2012). Emotions related to creativity, such as interest and curiosity, are those that motivate exploration and search for novelty. They reflect openness and direct behaviour towards the discovery of new opportunities, eliciting proactivity and engagement. Openness related values stimulate the desire to experience emotions linked to creativity, which suggests that entrepreneurs' values may be relevant for their own creativity (Anderson et al., 2014).

Schwartz (1992) proposes a motivational continuum of 19 basic values that are determined by the needs they satisfy, and the motivational goals involved (Schwartz et al., 2012). They can refer to personal or social achievement, promotion of self-expansion or self-protection. These values can also express progressivism or

conservation of the *status quo* and promote self-interest of oneself or others. They are not discrete categories, but positions within a motivational continuum representing different sets of motivations. The values proposed in this theory are self-direction (i.e. creativity, freedom, choosing own goals, curious, independent, privacy, self-respect); stimulation (i.e. a varied life, an exciting life, daring); hedonism (i.e. pleasure, enjoying life, self-indulgent); achievement (i.e. ambitious, successful, capable, influential); power (i.e. authority, wealth, preserving my public image, social recognition); security (i.e. social order, family security, national security, clean, reciprocation of favours, sense of belonging); conformity (i.e. obedient, self-discipline, politeness, honouring parents and elders); tradition (i.e. humble, devout, accepting my portion in life, spiritual life); benevolence (i.e. helpful, honest, forgiving, responsible, loyal, true friendship, mature love); and universalism (i.e. broadminded, social justice, equality, world at peace, world of beauty, unity with nature, wisdom, protecting the environment).

Self-direction is the value that represents creativity because it implies independence of thought and action. Kasof et al. (2007) found that self-direction, followed by stimulation and universalism, is the key value that stimulates creative behaviour. Conversely, tradition, conformity and security were found to be antagonists of creative behaviour. Self-direction also shows a strong correlation with the 'openness to experience' factor of the Big Five model (Roccas et al., 2002), a personality trait that has also been found to positively correlate with creativity (Raja and Johns, 2010; Anderson et al., 2014). Therefore, when creativity drives the selection of goals, this decision is driven by a self-direction value, and this paper proposes that entrepreneurs will be inclined to collaborate with individuals and select projects that represent or complement this self-direction.

Self-direction sub-values are identified as "mastery motivation" in the achievement literature, meaning that self-direction value motivates behaviours towards the attainment of competence rather than an external positive assessment of performance (Schwartz et al., 2012). Therefore, depending on which subset of values have shaped the entrepreneurs' behaviour, one may expect different motivational synergies.

The values guiding selection are transferred into cultural production because they are contained within the emotions that are part of the experience of consuming those cultural goods. These emotions may not always be aligned with audience expectations. To reach a competitive advantage over other competitors, cultural goods need to resonate emotionally with previous experiences and actual psychological needs of the audience, creating a meaningful association between the experience and the values which the cultural goods represent (Averill, 2005). Values reflect how people want to experience the world and emotions represent the way it is experienced. To fill this gap, individuals look for emotional experiences that are aligned with their values (Tamir et al., 2016) and entrepreneurs simulate these experiences through cultural experiences that meet these needs. When the audience believes the experience of an emotion is going to be beneficial and useful, they become motivated to seek out that emotion, consuming culture that may elicit it.

Despite the relevance of individual cognitive and emotional processes, there are social factors which have an influence on the pursuit of creative goals (Woodman et al., 1993). Cultural products are not created in isolation, and entrepreneurs are going to depend on the knowledge, skills and support of their peers to achieve their creative goals. The unique characteristics of the creative industries, which rely heavily on informal relations and project-based work (Eikof and Haunschild, 2007; Townley et al., 2009), requires an analysis of this specific social context, which is provided in the next section.

4.5 Social Context: Selection in the Creative Industries

The characteristics of the creative industries respond to the temporary or even latent nature of their organisations; that is, collaborators and producers establish informal social networks that have preferential access to job opportunities (Starkeyet al., 2000; Ebbers and Wijnberg, 2009). These social network markets create both economic and symbolic value through both the production and consumption of novelty, providing information to cope with uncertainty and generating innovation (Potts et al., 2008).

The diversity of cultural enterprises has led to highly individualised selection practices based on relational skills and concentrated on the production and distribution of cultural goods rather than the recruitment of artistic talent (Eikof and Haunschild, 2007). This neoliberalist conceptualisation of cultural production depicts a manageable view of a highly unpredictable creative process (Bilton, 2010; Jeffcutt and Pratt, 2002; Scase and Davis, 2000; Townley and Beech, 2010), leaving aside socio-emotional dynamics that may be perceived as a threat to the viability and success of a chosen artist, idea or project. The literature on creative industries does not acknowledge the role emotions play in the creation of those social networks which are the grassroots from which most creative goals emerge (Daskalaki, 2010; Florida, 2002).

Neglecting the relevance of individuals' dynamics and contributions may be detrimental for the selection of creative goals, as value depends on intangible features directly reliant on creativity (Ryan, 1992). Management models struggle to exploit it because they commodify creative work and assume the homogeneity of different contributors. Creativity is treated as a commodity instead of a feature opposite to mainstream-established business practices (Bilton, 2010; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006; Levitt, 2002). Other industries highly reliant on creativity, such as the IT sector, have realised the hazards of creativity's commoditisation and try to humanise the workplace. Taking Silicon Valley as a specific example, Ross (2003) observed that companies offer employees a context in which creativity is nurtured. An increase in features that foster social contact and positive emotions may lead to the serendipitous generation of creative ideas and projects (Cuevas-Rodríguez et al., 2014).

When entrepreneurs select a creative goal, they also provide collaborators with aims and direction, generating structures and processes to optimise collaboration. In turn, collaborators bring with them expectations and capabilities. Depending on whether these expectations are met, they may have a more positive or negative perception of their involvement in the venture and its environment (Schneider, 1987). The acknowledgement of potential positive contributions increases the attractiveness among creative individuals (Menger, 1999; Scalopan and Montanari, 2013). However, the predominant set of social values in a given environment can also have an influence

on individuals' expectations and perceptions (Pacheco at al., 2016). Therefore, the attractiveness of creative goals and the selection of ideas and projects is going to be the result of the interaction between individual and social factors.

The conjunction of individuals and social factors was portrayed in Schneider's (1987) theory of selection, the attraction-selection-attrition model (ASA). In the creative industries and entrepreneurship literature, there is a lack of conceptual work and theories about the selection of creative goals and the socio-emotional dynamics that bring collaborators together. The ASA model has been widely supported in social and organisational psychology literature, and this model is here used to reach a structured understanding of how entrepreneurs select for creativity and which are the intangible values driving this entrepreneurial process.

4.6 Socio-emotional Patterns of Selection in Creative Organisations

Schneider's (1987) model of Attraction-Selection-Attrition (ASA) contributed to the ongoing debate regarding the weight of situational versus individual factors to explain organisational behaviour. He insisted on the inseparability of persons and situations, proposing the resulting organisational behaviour as a function of both. This view of organisations as "situations containing patterned behaviours" can also be applied to networks, and it emphasises the benefits of holding a person-based approach that considers the influence of emotions in the characteristics of entrepreneurial structures and processes. Based on their selection criteria, entrepreneurs may decide to collaborate with an individual or choose an idea or project. The extent to which the creative goal will be successfully achieved, will depend on the contributions of entrepreneurs and collaborators in their networks, which are as blended in the final result as the individual and situational factors they represent (Bilton, 2014; Schneider, 1987).

According to the ASA model, the magnetism of organisations lies in their goals, which reflect entrepreneurs' personalities, attracting creative individuals and providing them with directions for their joint achievements. Conversely, entrepreneurs examine potential projects and collaborators to determine the structure and strategy to progress

towards their goals. The selection criterion evolves according to the environment and facilitates organisational survival (Schneider, 1987). Even though creative goals emerge from entrepreneurs' personalities and it is reasonable to consider that emotions have a role in the process, the ASA model remains a purely cognitive model of selection. Nevertheless, emotions are precursors of goal setting and they play a very important role in the selection of ideas and collaborators, who need to consider the consequences of choosing a certain type of project and partners (Baruch and Vardi, 2016; Weiner, 1985).

Socioemotional dynamics tend to be utilised by entrepreneurs to optimise the selection process and predict support. Extending and adapting the ASA model to the peculiar circumstances of cultural production, this study suggests that the repertoire of emotional experiences of entrepreneurs may become a source of competitive advantage (Averill, 1992; Barney, 1991; Barrett, 2017) also in terms of acquiring social and material support.

The pursuit of creative goals brings together ideas and collaborators who result in the development of networks that are both personal and professional. The creative industries literature has documented that creative goals are the main resource to start new projects and collaborations (Caves, 2000; Eikof and Haunschild, 2006; Menger, 1999). Entrepreneurs market their own abilities but also their personalities, emotions and values. As a matter of fact, private and personal spheres tend to be quite blended in the creative industries and professions almost equate to lifestyles (Eikof and Haunschild, 2006). The inevitable tensions associated with the pursuit of creative goals generates conflicted views between personal and commercial values, which entrepreneurs bridge by using their emotional creativity (Averill, 1980; 2005). As mentioned earlier, emotional creativity is associated with complex emotional experiences that are influenced by social rules. Emotional creativity could be used by entrepreneurs to transform their business tensions into socio-emotional experiences that lead to the selection of certain creative goals and the creation and interaction with the appropriate social networks to obtain resources and support, giving coherence to the whole experience.

Enhancing our understanding of how emotions trigger coherence with personal core values and connectedness to ideas, individuals and networks, becomes a powerful competitive advantage belonging to the emotional domain (Desmet, 2003), which can be explored with regards to the selection criteria of creative goals, but can also be explored to gain insights regarding the creation of networks around creative projects.

Emotions are a key aspect of how entrepreneurs get involved in the pursuit of ideas and projects, these creative goals being the main source of attractiveness of networks and organisations. In the next section, emotions are discussed as an inherent part of the organisation of creative work and the tensions that arise from the creative process.

4.6.1 Emotions and the Creative Process

When analysing a specific social context, entrepreneurs may decide to start new collaborations, continue the existing ones or look for more suitable creative goals depending on the opportunities and resources which they encounter. This cycle of attraction-selection-attrition (Scheneider, 1987) may transform the way a goal is perceived, changing the behaviour of those involved in its pursuit. Entrepreneurs are going to be influenced by cognitive and emotional assessments, which are going to result in attraction, selection, or refusal to pursue a creative goal, and, therefore, result in substantially different selection practices.

If goals emerge from entrepreneurs' personality, it is reasonable to consider that emotions have a role in the process. Emotions have been argued to trigger motivational synergies that activate individuals' behaviours towards goal achievement (Deci and Ryan, 2000). The interaction of these emotional and cognitive components results in selection practices that determine the socio-emotional characteristics of the entrepreneurs' networks and, consequently, the type of individuals and ideas they attract.

The production of cultural goods relies on a necessary input of creative individuals. This creative input, also defined as 'immaterial labour' is also present in the creation of knowledge and communication (Hardt and Negri, 2000; Larazzato, 1994). Immaterial labour is related to new technologies, communication and content creation,

involving activities that are not considered as work but have a paramount importance in the generation of cultural and artistic trends, taste, social norms and even public opinion (Lazzarato, 1994).

Baas, De Dreu, and Nijstad (2008) conducted a meta-analysis to examine the relation between specific emotions and creativity. Moods were grouped according to three dimensions: positive or negative tone of the emotion (i.e. happiness and guilt), activating or deactivating effect (i.e. joy and sadness) and the extent to which they motivate behaviours towards their promotion or prevention. They found that creativity is enhanced, first, by positive mood states that are activating, such as happiness. Negative mood states that are equally activating, such as anger, imply lower levels of creativity. Lastly, those negative mood states related to deactivation and avoidance were not associated with creativity.

This study demystifies the popular association between creativity and affective disorders or even mental health issues, since positive emotions are the ones that foster creativity. There is a natural tendency to avoid negative emotions (Barsade and Gibson, 2007; Frederickson, 1998; Isen, 1999), which is why individuals fail to focus on them to generate new associations and ideas. Research on organisational creativity (e.g., Amabile, 1988; Ford, 1996; Oldham and Cummings, 1996; Woodman, et al., 1993) also found positive emotions relate to higher levels of creativity at the organisational level (Amabile et al., 2005; Madjar, Oldham, and Pratt, 2002).

There are some studies, however, that found positive effects of negative moods on creativity (Akinola and Mendes, 2008; Clancy, Vince and Gabriel, 2012; Hirt, Melton and McDonald, 1996; Martin and Stoner, 1996; Kaufman, 2003). George and Zhou (2002) found three conditions under which negative moods might be positively related to creativity: perceived recognition, rewards for creative performance and clarity of feelings. Although one may be experiencing negative moods, when recognition and rewards are high and there is a clear perception of these unpleasant feelings, individual creativity is enhanced.

Positive and negative emotions can converge in one same experience. In fact, most people report that, in everyday life, they experience blends of emotions or emotional ambivalence, referring to the existence of positive and negative emotions towards a

stimulus at the same time (Scherer and Tannenbaum, 1986). Fong (2006) found that individuals aware of emotional ambivalence are better at identifying uncommon relationships between concepts, which is a relevant ability for organisational creativity. Pratt (2000) argued that employees' emotional ambivalence usually emerges during organisational recruitment and socialisation and suggested that individuals would be more creative at those stages, as they are aware of a wider range of emotions. Entrepreneurs at initial stages of activity could take advantage of an increased sensitivity and divergent thinking if they are aware of the complexities of these emotional experiences and use them to the benefit of their creative goals.

4.6.2 Emotions as Part of Creative Goods

Creative goods are sets of experiences, products and services based on individual creativity that serve as entertainment, identity building and have a social display value (Peltoniemi, 2015). These products are vehicles of expression with a remarkably symbolic rather than practical function. Their value is embedded in its novelty and social meaning, capturing individual and collective displays from the aesthetic, religious, ideological, political, intellectual and emotional domains. They perpetuate, explore and challenge the existing social order (Bourdieu, 1984; DeFillippi et al.,2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Hirsch, 1972, 2000; Markusen et al. 2008), being a means to discover and experience new emotions. They are a source of entertainment and connectedness with other individuals in different domains (Potts et al. 2008).

Emotions can be by themselves creative outcomes and objects of desire, precursors and consequences of selection (Averill, 2005; Tamir et al., 2016). The adequacy of creative goals is manifested by the high levels of emotional adequacy individuals experience when they reach them. Along these lines, unpleasant emotions make us aware of conflicts in the achievement of these goals, being a state that one wishes to avoid. Depending on specific circumstances, some creative goals will increase their relevance, reflecting on how individual beliefs are adjusted to contextual factors such as social rules. This dynamic process reflects the emotional synergies attached to goal achievement, which are crystallised in the form of personal core values (Ellsworth and

Scherer, 2003; Tamir et al., 2016). This paper unpacked the relationship between goals and emotions in cultural production from a psychology perspective, as the literature on the social constructions of these emotional synergies is still very scarce. Most authors have focused on the tensions derived from the divide between arts and business (Caves, 2003; Fillis, 2006; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007), the blurred line between the professional and personal life (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006; Faggian et al., 2013) and the links between professional goals and identity (Daskalaki, 2010; Scott, 2012), without exploring the role which emotions play in entrepreneurs' social interactions. Emotions depend on individual factors, but they are also socially constructed. It is in this intersection between psychological and sociological approaches that one can observe emotions become an unconscious asset that plays a paramount role in the selection and pursuit of creative goals. The complexity of the experience of these emotions and its creative elaboration deserves consideration from a number of angles that are described in the following section.

4.7 Propositions Concerning the Role of Emotions in the Selection of Creative Goals

Based on the review of the literature concerning the role of emotions and values in the selection of creative goals, this section offers a number of propositions that can guide future research on the role of emotions in the selection and pursuit of creative goals. The propositions below are summarised in Figure 3.2.

Proposition 1: When entrepreneurs have a high level of emotional granularity, they would select cultural experiences that display a rich range of emotion concepts.

Proposition 2: Emotional creativity is built upon emotional granularity. Emotionally creative entrepreneurs would select cultural experiences that make sense of new social realities, revealing new instances of emotions and creating original emotion concepts.

Proposition 3: Emotionally creative entrepreneurs may be able to select cultural experiences that display innovative emotions; that is, culture experiences that provide us with innovative emotion concept systems linked to the emergence of new values.

Proposition 4: The selection behaviour occurs as the result of balancing motivation and emotions. Core values of entrepreneurs are represented in the emotions contained in cultural goods they produce.

Proposition 5: Culture producers select their creative goals according to the emotions these goals elicit and how these are conceptualised and prioritised, resulting in an alignment with their own personal values.

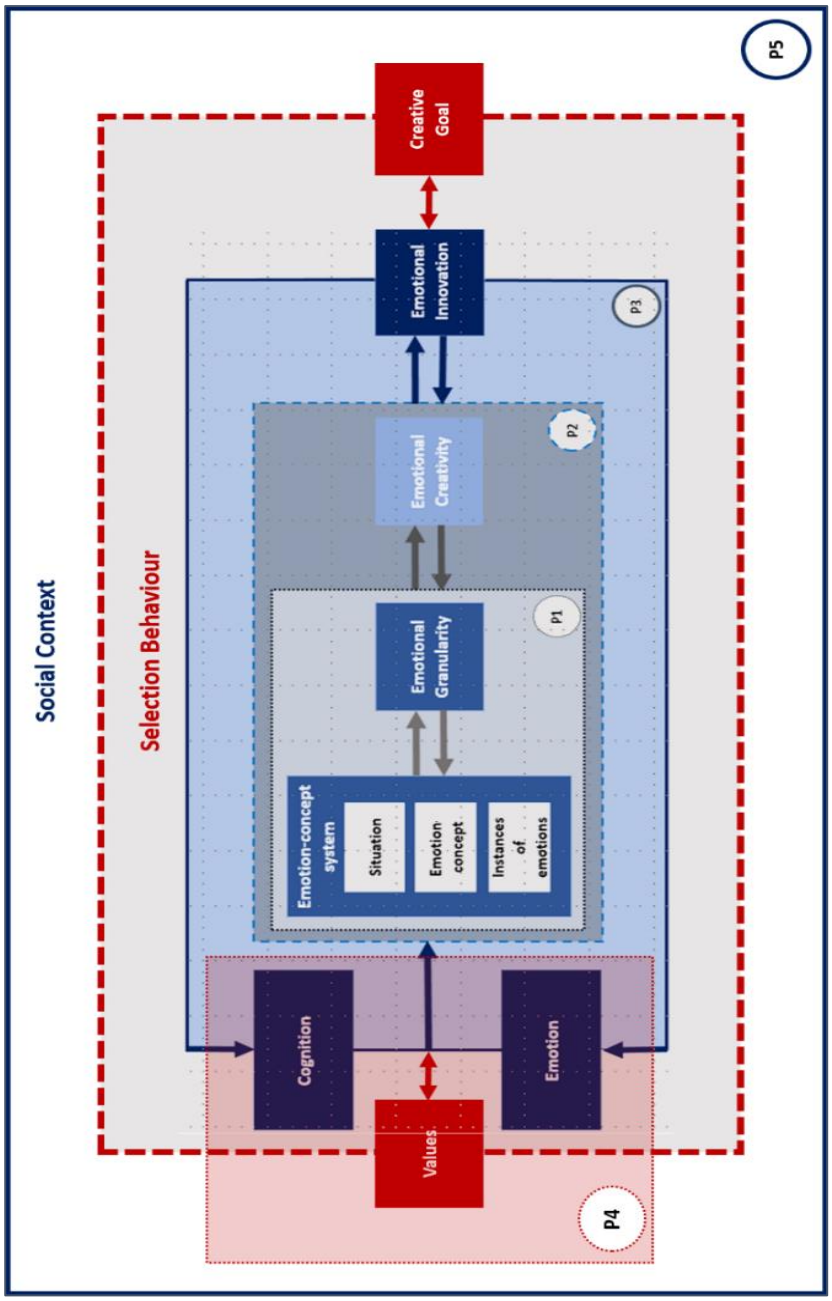

Figure 3.2 Conceptual Model for the Selection of Creative Goals. Source: the author

The different propositions can be tested by using the pertinent scales and tests available in the literature, such as the Experience Sampling Method (Kimhy et al., 2014) and the Emotional Creativity Inventory (Averill, 1999; 2005). However, the exploration of self-reported verbal expressions of emotions (Barrett, 2004) in a less structured manner would also allow us to gain a deeper understanding of the role of emotions in the selection of creative goals. Qualitative methods, such as interviews and ethnographies, would help us explore the interaction between emotions and the social context in which selection occurs and continue developing theoretical insights based on a situated analysis of this topic.

Our model of selection in creative industries focuses on how entrepreneurs' emotions and values are a key resource when it comes to the selection of creative goals. Socioemotional factors have a relevant influence in the selection criteria and the valorisation of cultural production (Tamir et al., 2016). Thus, the emotional side of creativity should be part of the explanation of the process of selection in cultural production. With its inclusion, this model overcomes the limitations of an overly cognitive model of selection, synthesising socioemotional aspects of cultural production through the values of culture producers. We provide direction for more mindful selection practices analysing the underlying factors influencing these decisions, shedding light on the socioemotional dynamics of creative industries' social network markets and opening up avenues of future research.

Furthermore, in this chapter, we built on Schneider's ASA model (Schneider, 1987) to explore the social construction of selection practices of entrepreneurs in the creative industries. We conceptualise the selection process as a behaviour in which emotional and cognitive components interact and lead to a creative outcome, encompassing the decision to engage in cultural production and achieve a successful creative outcome. Due to the peculiar characteristics of the creative industries (Peltoniemi, 2015), we emphasise the role of emotions in the pursuit and maintenance of personal and collective goals, highlighting the changing nature of emotions' categories and their relationship with superior cognitive processes such as creativity and innovation. The ability to identify and produce emotionally creative experiences for the audience will lead to innovative cultural experiences with higher levels of emotional granularity and

more sophisticated and creative expression and understanding of emotions. In the same manner, the congruence of the emotions elicited by the experience and the values of producers and audiences, will lead to high levels of satisfaction at the aesthetic, cultural and psychological levels, meeting the requirements of a highly creative outcome characterised by its authenticity, uniqueness and originality. The attunement of entrepreneurs to creative ideas and projects will be based on their emotional granularity and their capacity to understand, interpret and bring to life creative ideas and projects. This creative endeavour will increase the repertoire of emotional experiences available to audiences, resulting in emotionally innovative products and goods. To assess the experience and production of these creative goods and projects as positive, they need to be aligned to entrepreneurs' core values, as otherwise, they would generate rejection of them rather than an intention to select and materialise these goals.

We contribute to the analysis of emotional dynamics and value creation by creating a new theoretical framework that incorporates non-cognitive elements that have been traditionally overlooked. However, our model has certain limitations. Although the relevance of macro level factors in selection have been acknowledged (e.g. culture, social rules), this model is mainly based on social psychology literature, limiting the breadth of the framework but contributing to the recovery of an individual-centred approach in which emotion and cognition converge in the explanation of the selection practices of these industries. Sociological perspectives on emotions and their influence on selection will broaden our understanding of this phenomenon.

The valorisation of cultural production remains a controversial subject in the literature. On the one hand, criticism points at the tendency to equate creativity with novelty and originality rather than value and meaning (i.e. Bilton, 2015). On the other hand, most scholarly research focuses on the prediction of the market value or selection performance of cultural production (i.e. Power, 2011), without considering characteristics more intrinsically entwined with the psychological needs which these products satisfy and the role networks play in the consumption. Exploring the relationship between creativity, emotions and values would allow a more humanistic view of the selection. However, the inherent complexities related to the dynamic nature

of emotions poses considerable challenges at the methodological level. We have already noticed the mere division between positive and negative affect and activating and deactivating emotions, respectively, is not sufficient to cover the richness of human experiences or explain the dynamics behind selection (Barret, 2017). Therefore, we advocate for the inclusion of social level factors that usually remain in the shadow of more manageable and operationalisable constructs, such as the role of culture and personal values.

Breaking down the different components of the selection criteria would lead to a more accurate representation of the socioemotional components of selection, as well as a better understanding of their role in the commercial success of cultural production (Peltoniemi, 2015). The examination of emotion concept systems would generate new insights regarding the influence of personal core values in the creative process, and it would also enhance the adaptive capacity of entrepreneurs, helping them to analyse contextual conditions and improve the adjustment of their selection criteria to their creative goals.

This conceptual piece also contributes to the literature on entrepreneurial emotions by disentangling the underlying dynamics involved in the selection of business opportunities by encompassing emotion, cognition and the social context. Drawing from Goss (2005, 2008), we propose a conceptualisation of the very initial stages of entrepreneurial behaviour embedded in a context in which emotions and social interaction play a paramount role in the production, valorisation and consumption of goods (Potts et al., 2008).

4.7.1 Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The relevance of the emotional components of cultural products and the challenges of comprehending the meaning of artists' emotion concept systems, increase the difficulties of predicting the extent to which business opportunities are going to be a commercial success (Peltoniemi, 2015). Cultural experiences may exhibit high levels of emotional innovation and still not be well received in the market. The articulation of new emotion concept systems and values may challenge deeply rooted

assumptions and personal core values, explaining why they generate an unpleasant experience and put the enterprise at risk. It is important to consider that our emotional experiences are, in part, socially constructed (Barret, 2017) what means that it is necessary to conduct situated analysis to fully grasp how individuals react to creative products.

Conversely, when creative goods do not have any creative element or challenge the audience emotionally and conceptually, this may be a source of disappointment, as it would not be experienced as something original and new. However, there will always be an audience that is actually looking forward to consuming creative products which have a high degree of familiarity to them, as they may have consumed similar experiences in the past. Future research could examine empirical evidence and explore to what extent value alignment and misalignment is present in the selection criteria for the production and consumption of cultural production, as well as the level of awareness of values and emotions displayed. One could also explore to what extent emotional granularity facilitates the regulation of emotions through the experience of cultural production, being these familiar or relatively new.

Culture producers' emotional granularity and creativity is a source of competitive advantage because they are able to identify unique emotional categories and values, spotting the chance to unveil new social phenomena and realities and connect with the needs of the audience. This ability helps them assess the level of complexity of creative processes and goals. In the selection of cultural experiences, as expert 'sommeliers of emotion' (Barrett, 2017, p. 106), entrepreneurs select appropriate creative goals in a given situation and context. This ability would also help them decide the most suitable distribution platforms and provide fine-grained definitions of the categories to which their products should belong and even bring together communities around the values these products represent. Moreover, future research could look at emotionally innovative entrepreneurs and explore to what extent they would be able to predict or create new emotion concept systems based on the observation of emerging social realities, so they can reach their audience more effectively than less emotionally innovative entrepreneurs can. This would imply a qualitative approach to understand the motivations behind this selection and the personal values implied in the decision

to portray such reality. This model, however, does not consider the influence of macro-level factors that may be affecting selection, such as the political, cultural and economic conditions in which entrepreneurs operate. Further research could explore the extent to which the place in which creative products are created plays a role in how these are selected.

Understanding the power of emotional innovation would allow culture producers to find experiences aligned with their audience values and would help build new instances of emotions that may facilitate the identification of emotional trends in a highly qualitative way, which may help refine methodologies and analysis techniques, contributing to understand how emotion regulation occurs in social networks. This model does not reflect on how the relative positions of power and status may affect collaboration in these industries (Collins, 2004).

It has also been suggested that socioemotional factors play a very important role in the genesis and expression of emotions (Barret, 2017); therefore, the selection criteria and valorisation of cultural production should be understood within a wider frame of contextual factors. Social factors could be assessed in two different ways. Firstly, in terms of how entrepreneurs' interactions with the material, cultural and social attributes of their creative ecosystems determine the way in which projects are selected and expressed. Secondly, examining the extent to which entrepreneurs' choices become a source of competitiveness and magnetism for creative industries and cities. However, social factors are not within the scope of this theoretical framework and trying to integrate early results from different theoretical backgrounds would pose an enormous methodological challenge. The elements comprising our conceptual framework have been selected and discussed with the conviction that future empirical work could help us understand how entrepreneurs select their creative goals. Specifically, in our conceptual model we focus on how emotions may influence the production and later consumption of cultural production. Although social and cultural factors are acknowledged, this model emphasises the understanding of individual level factors present in the transmission of personal values into the production of cultural experiences.

Another avenue of future research could be the examination of socioemotional conditions behind existing trends of production and consumption of cultural production, which according to Collins (2004), resembles the creation of social movements. Future research could also investigate to what extent people tend to cluster depending on similar values and beliefs and how this affects the cultural experiences which they select. Both of these future research directions would have important implications in terms of further development of selection theories as well as how practitioners and audiences select cultural experiences. Chapters 5 and 6 explore empirically the role of emotions in a situated context. In Chapter 5, the interaction between individuals and their creative ecosystem is explored through the qualitative characteristics of the social ties through which projects are selected and materialised. These socio-emotional dynamics are explored in an entrepreneurial ecosystem framework, by observing the relationship between its different elements and how these result in a certain political sentiment.

CHAPTER 5

A Socio-Emotional Perspective on Creative Entrepreneurial Ecosystems

5.1 Abstract

The support which networks provide to entrepreneurs is one of the key elements in a thriving entrepreneurial ecosystem**.** However, very few studies put in context how the socio-emotional characteristics of networks affect entrepreneurs' perceptions of the availability and flow of these resources. The social bounds of these networks are usually explored according to the demographic characteristics of different groups, but rarely in terms of the social interaction rituals of specific industries. The paper presented in this chapter focuses on the creative industries and offers an initial qualitative exploration of the socio-emotional attributes of Edinburgh's publishing cluster by examining one of its most embryonic entrepreneurial processes: the selection of new books and writers. It captures material, social and cultural attributes of the Scottish City of Literature through 33 interviews with quangos, non-profit organisations, libraries, professional associations, writers, literary agents and small publishers. To access resources, information and support, entrepreneurs engage in relationships with a wide range of networks. The characteristics of these social interaction rituals have been contextualised according to the attributes of Edinburgh's entrepreneurial ecosystem. The findings suggest that entrepreneurs' emotions are influenced by the relational dynamics between different networks and context elements, such as the political sentiment prevalent in the social clusters belonging to different networks. These socio-emotional characteristics provide a common meaning to the experiences of network members and lead to the construction of collective cultural identities and creative ecosystem's boundaries, which prevail beyond the persuasive market logics.

5.2 Introduction

The economic development of regions is heavily influenced by the availability and flow of resources. The analysis of ecosystems from a process-based perspective allows one to capture how entrepreneurial resources are developed and recycled (Spigel and Harrison 2018). Entrepreneurial ecosystems (EEs) are the result of social, political, economic, and cultural endeavours by which a region supports entrepreneurship, ranging from funding, information, and supporting risk taking in the creation and development of new ventures in any economic sector. However, the EEs literature tends to focus on specific high-growth and high-tech places (Brooks et al, 2019), overlooking less technological industries that also have an important component of creativity and innovation, such as the creative industries. This paper argues that the socio-emotional characteristics of specific industries affect the creation of ties and flow of resources, leading to the formation of social clusters. The ties and structural holes between these social clusters configure different entrepreneurial processes and the overall social boundaries of EEs. This is illustrated by examining the characteristics of the EE of Edinburgh´s publishing industry and the effects of its socio-emotional characteristics on the selection of ideas and projects.

Emotions have mainly been analysed as part of entrepreneurial motivation due to the strong attachment to ventures, but also because of the emotional influence these projects have on the entrepreneurs (Cardon et al., 2005a, 2005b), but they are also manifested in the practices of the industry and as part of its cultural characteristics (Mesquita, 2013). Emotional experiences affect the way in which business opportunities are assessed (Foo, 2009), although our understanding on this topic is still limited. The impact of emotions is especially relevant in situations in which there is a high personal engagement with the project and equally high uncertainty about its result (Baron, 2008), which is usually the case in creative industries entrepreneurship.

Creative industries tend to coexist in close geographical proximity at places with a strong local identity and attractiveness (Bianchini and Landry, 1995; Florida, 2002). The creation of these densely populated spaces is conducive to the formation of numerous networks and the facilitation of knowledge exchange (Brown and Mason, 2017). Networks and social interaction play a key role in the development of

entrepreneurial ecosystems, as they contribute to the formation of structures and processes (Neumeyer et al., 2019). Studies show that social and structural factors have a strong influence on the way that entrepreneurs perceive their environment. The opportunity to learn from peers and mentors (Stam and Spigel, 2016), the chance to develop effective social interaction skills (Baron and Markman 2000) and the extent to which the structure of their social capital represents a safety net (Theodorakiet al., 2018), changes according to individual perceptions of the context of entrepreneurship. The socio-emotional characteristics of an entrepreneurial ecosystem are defined as the additional social stratum that results from the emotional energy (Collins, 2004) of the actors involved. The perception of the interplay between economic and non-economic features in a specific context results in individuals achieving a certain level of emotional energy, which is going to drive their positioning during social interaction. The manifestation of emotions such as anger, shame, solidarity and pride, are here explored as constructed by rituals of social interaction that responds to positions of power and status, network membership and the value being assigned to it in a specific space and culture. This emotional energy is also going to affect different entrepreneurial processes, such as the selection of creative goals, as it affects the assessment of potential projects and collaborators and the possibility to negotiate access to resources.

The socio-emotional features of social interaction are particularly relevant for creative industries because they operate in a social network market where selection for both consumption and production have symbolic and ideological connotations and are constructed on the choices and experiences of others (Potts et al., 2008). Generally, emotions are a relevant precondition for entrepreneurial activity (Cardon et al. 2005, 2012), enabling processes of opportunity recognition and personal identification with the new venture, which are key in the decision to pursue a creative goal which itself has a highly symbolic meaning (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2013). When reflecting on the differences between high-tech and creative ecosystems and the perennial dilemma between arts and commerce (Caves, 2000), one may assume that the perception of material, social and cultural characteristics of the ecosystem (Spigel, 2017) are filtered

through a socio-emotional lens that reflects on the emotions and values associated with creative projects and influences the selection and materialisation of business ideas.

To shed light on the role emotions play in the selection practices of creative ecosystems, this study builds upon the conceptual model developed in Chapter 4 and explores the role of emotions in the selection and production of books. The symbolism of these creative goals and the emotional energy resulting from the interaction of entrepreneurs with their ecosystem networks, results in an additional layer of social stratification. Social interaction rituals increase the collective emotional energy of their participants, fostering solidarity among network members. The collective emotional tone that results from participation in social interaction rituals, guides the network's decision to accept or decline the inclusion of new members, as well as its intention to turn proposed ideas into realities (Collins 2004; Goss 2005; 2008) exclude potential members or isolate themselves from other networks.

This article proceeds by providing a review on the conceptualisation of entrepreneurial ecosystems, focusing on the role emotions play in the social interactions of entrepreneurial networks of the creative industries. It follows by presenting the methodology and research finding. The last sections discuss the findings, present the conclusions of the study and avenues for future research.

5.3 Entrepreneurial Ecosystems and Networks

Entrepreneurship is a phenomenon that does not occur in isolation, and it has been studied from a systemic perspective since the nineties (e.g. Moore, 1993). During the past 15 years, the literature on entrepreneurial ecosystems has concentrated most scholarly attention for its potential to inform policy initiatives, innovation and regional growth (Alvedalen and Boschma, 2017). EEs are a metaphor for the complex systems where new ventures are developed and sustained, which resemble the intricate relationships existing in biological ecosystems, where all elements are interconnected and depend on each other to adapt and survive. This geographical phenomenon comprises economic, strategical, social and cultural components that scholars try to capture by creating various theoretical frameworks. Cohen (2006) defined an EE as a set of interconnected actors belonging to a local community who are committed to support the sustainability and creation of new ventures. The scope of these

relationships is the creation, discovery and pursuit of opportunities, which depend on social, economic and institutional factors. Later definitions of EEs point at new knowledge creation and the capacity of local actors to absorb this knowledge (Qian et al., 2013) as key elements in the creation of opportunities and the attraction of the right stakeholders. Mason and Brown (2014) highlighted the role organisations and institutions play in the regulation and governance of entrepreneurial processes in a local environment, highlighting the policy stratum of this phenomenon. The structures established in an EE connect actors and networks through different entrepreneurial processes, which need to be navigated according the formal and informal rules of these communities, pointing to culture as a way to distinguish the boundaries of EEs (Spigel, 2013).

The complexity of EEs has resulted in a fragmented framework that lacks an agreed definition and operationalisation of the phenomenon or a holistic view of EEs (e.g. Mack and Mayer, 2016; Stam and Spiegel, 2016). As an umbrella term, EEs has been linked mainly to the geography of entrepreneurship (e.g. Audretsch and Belitski, 2016; Stam, 2015), and its ability to enable the creation of social capital between networks of individuals, organisations and institutions (Spigel, 2017; 2017b). The emergence of places with high levels of entrepreneurship depends on the circulation of resources and knowledge and the ability of stakeholders to create value for each other (Adner 2017; Acs et al., 2017). The management of value propositions in the context of stakeholder relationships results in the alignment of actors and resources to entrepreneurial goals. Therefore, the geographic concentration of support structures may enable the formation of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) between networks of stakeholders, which is key for our understanding of EEs but it still remains an underdeveloped area of study. The convergence of social factors and individual practices within the EEs, result in a multi-layered phenomenon in which one can observe the emergence of an entrepreneurial culture (Spigel, 2013). These perspectives bring together a community that has a unique way to understand their entrepreneurial goals and put it into practice. The navigation of this cultural, social and economic context involves the observation and questioning of rules so one can be accepted but at the same time challenge the status quo, gaining different forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

Social capital is defined as the actual or potential benefits an individual or group may have based on the membership of a stable network of relationships and acquaintances (Bourdieu, 1986). The existence or lack of reciprocal ties between stakeholders results in the social stratification of EEs (Neumeyer et al., 2019). The characteristics of entrepreneurs and their selected projects are going to favour the creation of socially-bounded clusters. These ties are going to define the distribution of social capital among the different networks. Therefore, the position of entrepreneurs in the social structure of EEs, may influence their attitudes, their goals and the outcomes they expect to achieve (Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986; Stuart and Sorenson, 2005).

Social networks are analysed according to a number of features that include the nature of the relationship (e.g. formal versus informal, see Pichler and Wallace, 2007); the level of connectivity between stakeholders (e.g. density, see Aidis et al. 2008); the level of openness (e.g. Eisingerich et al., 2010; Ter at el., 2016); homophily (McPherson et al. 2001) and quality (e.g. centrality and ties of focal actors, see Ho and Pollack, 2014) among other dimensions. The study of the strength of ties (Granovetter, 1973), is a complex dimension assessed according to the frequency of interaction (daily versus spurious), multiplexity of the relationship (friend and partner) and emotional intensity (friend versus acquaintance) (Neumeyer et al., 2018; Ruef et al., 2003). The configuration of ties is important because it leads to the creation of different types of social capital. Putnam (2000) distinguishes between bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital is based on strong ties among actors who share similar characteristics, such as profession, gender or race. Bridging social capital, by contrast, relies on weak ties between actors that do not share many characteristics. The ties that lead to these different types of social capital are also associated with different levels of solidarity, trust, creativity and courage, but the emotional energy emerging from social interaction is usually not included in the analysis of EE networks.

The theory of structural holes (Burt, 1992), studies the absence of ties with the network of a focal actor, who has a position of centrality in a network. These structural holes signal the potential to obtain strategic benefits by creating ties to previously unconnected actors. The exchanges between actors who are not directly connected increase the chances of entrepreneurs getting access to information and resources

(Burt, 2005). On the other hand, networks that lack these structural holes and show a high level of closure, tend to generate trust and solidarity among members, who tend to enjoy higher levels of reciprocity and collaboration (Coleman, 1988).

Emotional energy is defined as the emotional charge which participants take with them after interacting socially. It has different features/impacts, such as valence (e.g. positive, ambivalent or negative emotions), and arousal (e.g. activating, neutral or deactivating) (Collins, 2004; Turner, 2009). The emotional energy that results from the interplay between social capital and the characteristics of individuals influences the pursuit of entrepreneurial opportunities (De Carolis and Saparito 2006; Goss, 2008). In fact, the goodwill to collaborate, usually leads to feelings of gratitude, reciprocity, respect, and friendship that strengthen these exchanges (Adler & Kwon, 2002). The embeddedness of entrepreneurs' activities in social networks includes family, friends and acquaintances from more external circles, which bring different levels of socio-emotional and material support (Granovetter, 1973; 1974:2009; Uzzi, 1997). These networks are the means through which entrepreneurs construct their perceptions of success and position in a given context. They are also a reference by which they assess the level of socio-emotional support of other actors, which results in the social construction of the meaning of these manifested emotions and, consequently, their collective identity. Emotions, and specifically when two or more people share and agree on them, are the basis on which individuals construct our social reality and they have a powerful impact on how they categorise and select the goals of our behaviours (Barret, 2017).

There are numerous studies that provide evidence as to how socially-bounded groups acquire different levels of social capital and support. Scholars have shown the inequalities between women and men (Hapton et al., 2009; Brooks et al., 2014; Manolova et al., 2007), different ethnic groups (Edelman et al., 2010; Kwon et al., 2013), social class (Morris et al. 2018), age (Weber and Schamper, 2004), national culture (Batjargal 2003; Ledeneva 2006) and type of venture, such as the family businesses (Shepherd, 2016). These levels of social capital, however, can also change depending on the context in which different social clusters pursue their goals (Welter, 2011).

Social networks are embedded in broader material, social and cultural strata that configure the characteristics of the EEs in which they operate (Spiegel, 2017). These features affect the availability and flow of key resources for the success and growth of their new ventures (Spigel and Harrison, 2018). EEs distribution of social capital has an impact on entrepreneurial activity. The extent to which emotions influence entrepreneurs' perceptions of access to these resources is a question that remains unanswered in the literature. The selection of business projects may be a consequence of the characteristics of these ecosystems or, conversely, the selection criteria of entrepreneurs may shape the dynamics between support services, organisations and institutions. The majority of the literature on entrepreneurial emotions focuses mainly on understanding the influence of individual emotions in entrepreneurial cognitive processes. Some studies start adopting an interactionist approach (De Carolis and Saparito, 2006), but the examination of the socioemotional dynamics that result from the interaction of entrepreneurs with their networks are an exception rather than the norm (Doern and Goss, 2013, 2014), especially if one considers systemic perspectives that go beyond the individual level. Emotions have not been considered at all in the EE literature.

This interactionist perspective is particularly pertinent to the creative and cultural industries, which rely heavily on the socioemotional characteristics of their networks (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006) and the intrinsic motivation of those involved in the creative project (Amabile et al., 1983). The next section explores the role of emotions in creative industries networks. It explores the symbolic value of its outcomes and how the associated emotions influence social interaction as part of the production of these products and services, as well as its consumption. As a result, creative industries have a very unique configuration when it comes to the creation of social and economic value.

5.4 The Role of Emotions in Creative Industries' Networks

Studying the role of emotions within the creative industries' context allow us to explore network processes. These emotional practices have the potential to become a collective phenomenon and manifestation of the existing culture within the creative industries (von Scheve and Ismer, 2013). Creative industries have been defined as

those activities which are based on creativity and talent, that can generate wealth by exploiting intellectual property (DCMS, 1998). They are based on the socially produced and consumed flow of new knowledge and rules. The choices to produce or consume creative products and services are made according to social information, as the empirical value of the experiences is unknown (Potts et al., 2008). Indeed, one of the most distinctive characteristics of creative industries is the emotional and experiential nature of their products, which are also vehicles of expression with a remarkably symbolic function (Bourdieu 1984; Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2008; Hirsch 1972).

Creative industries have proven to appeal to individuals motivated towards a relatively artistic lifestyle (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006). The value of cultural production is rooted in its social meaning rather than any other practical purpose. Cultural products are built on aesthetic, religious, ideological, political, intellectual and emotional foundations that depend very much on the context and historical moment in which they are produced. Their production and consumption allow us to perpetuate, explore and challenge the existing social order (Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Hirsch, 1972, 2000; DeFillippi et al. 2007; Markunsen et al. 2008; Bourdieu, 1984). These products are involved in processes of identity building but are also a means to discover and experience new emotions. Entrepreneurs struggle to assess the potential profit that could be obtained by the commercialisation of cultural production, what makes high levels of motivation and identification from the individuals involved in this sort of venture necessary to assume the risk. Even though a firm is already established, every release of a new product resembles the characteristic of an emerging business start-up (Caves, 2000; Townley, Beech, and McKinlay, 2009). Therefore, this is a highly entrepreneurial and emotional industry context if one compares it with industries whose value propositions do not imply symbolism or an emotional experience, or those which do not depend on the release of highly innovative products.

The oversupply of individuals and projects and the difficulties in predicting if a business opportunity is going to be successful, have led to a focus on distribution and marketing. Reducing the uncertainty of sales is prioritised over investing time and resources in the creators to improve their outputs. The creative industries' literature

explores the divide between arts and commerce, but the process of selecting the right partners and projects remains under-researched (Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Hirsch, 1972). The high rate of failure in these industries (Chen et al., 2015) and the temporary nature of creative work, mostly based on projects, highlights the relevance of social network membership to access opportunities and resources. Being able to bridge structural holes is also a key aspect of social capital for a network of professionals that may become reachable when a business opportunity appears (Daskalaki, 2010). It also implies that, in these industries, time plays an important role in the creation of ties and the maintenance of social capital, resulting in more complex relationship dynamics. As entrepreneurs rely on their networks to find potential projects and collaborators, the high level of emotional capital invested in these industries makes them blur the boundaries between professionalism and friendship (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006). Their entrepreneurial endeavours become part of who they are. Social network actors persevere in the maintenance and continuity of these relationships because of their transactional and personal value (Coulson, 2012; Ebbers and Wijnberg, 2009).

However, these strong bonds are not always positive. The relationship between producer and artists has proved to be very controversial (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007; Townley et al., 2009), and a clearer conceptualisation of these difficulties according to the artistic and economic goals of entrepreneurs would allow us to cast light on the socio-emotional nature of these conflicts, their relationships with other stakeholders (Peltoniemi, 2015; Wilson et al., 2017) and how these affect the social configuration of the EE. The replication of these dynamics at the organisational and institutional level, may have important implications for the social boundaries of EEs (Neumeyer et al., 2019) and the interconnectivity of regional creative economies (Mateos García et al., 2018).

Creative industries are characterised by their high levels of social awareness. Their commitment to social values can make them compromise economic gains to respond to community obligations (Banks 2006). As this type of behaviour is not a response to market logics, one may wonder which the emotional bonds are that prevent them from pursuing higher economic profits. Therefore, this research represents an attempt to present a socio-emotional view of a creative EE, exploring how emotions link and

bound different social clusters within an EE and to what extent these emotions influence the selection of projects and the collaboration between these different networks (Chen and Wang, 2008).

The social network lens usually focuses at the individual and firm-level considerations, but this study contributes to the literature reconstructing the networks of a creative industries' EE from a macro-level of analysis. It examines the socio-emotional positions of the different stakeholders and incorporates historical data to provide an evolutionary perspective on the configuration of the socio-emotional characteristics of a creative EE. Figure 5.1 below depicts the framework developed for this purpose.

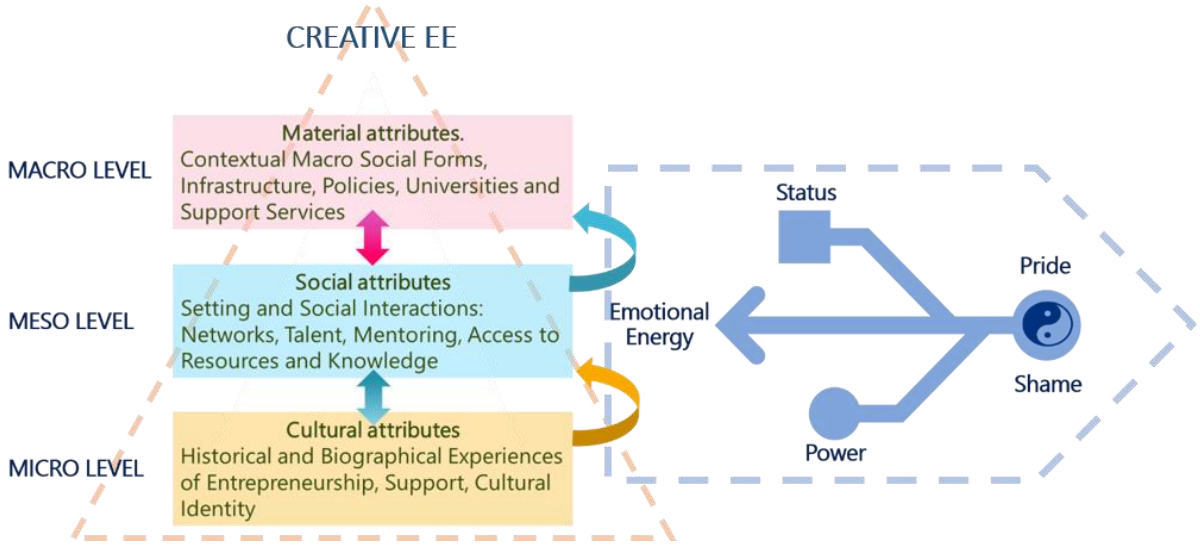

Figure 5.1 Theoretical framework for the study of the socio-emotional characteristics of a creative entrepreneurial ecosystem. Source: Adapted from Spigel (2017) and Goss (2006)

The conceptual framework developed in this paper results from the interplay between entrepreneurs' individual agency and the characteristics of the EE in which they operate. Entrepreneurs assess the potential of a creative project according to its economic and non-economic features. Part of this situated analysis takes into consideration the emotional energy that circulates between them and the actors that may give them access to the information and resources that would make possible the pursuit of the business opportunity. The socio-emotional characteristics of the context create an additional source of challenge or support (Goss and Sadler-Smith, 2018) that

derives from the social boundaries of the different networks. During social interaction, the exchange of emotional energy may or not seep into these boundaries and result in the achievement of a position linked to a certain level of status and power. An EE´s attributes may shape the socio-emotional boundaries of entrepreneurial networks. The culture and social norms regarding the display of emotions affects the social interaction rituals in which information and resources for entrepreneurial activities circulates, bounding different social clusters and maintaining a certain status quo in terms of emotional energy.

The concept of the socio-emotional boundaries of creative EEs is presented in this framework. This concept has been represented as a dashed triangle that surrounds the material, cultural and social attributes of creative EEs. The circulation of resources and information is represented by solid arrows. The dashed arrow with the USB sign symbolises the emotional energy that is linked to these exchanges and that shapes the perception and participation in these rituals of social interaction. The framework goes beyond the micro- and meso-level to discuss a macro-level social interaction order and history that determines the socio-emotional features and boundaries of the place.

The characteristics of EEs are influenced by the culture of the place. Culture affects both economic processes and individual practices, which translates in the emergence of different types of entrepreneurship in specific regions (Spigel, 2013). The recognition of common characteristics leads to the creation of social bonds in which individuals exchange knowledge and support (Shaw et al., 2017; Spigel, 2017b), increasing the embeddedness and legitimacy of the venture. Entrepreneurs need to interact according to certain rules to be rewarded with resources they would not be able to attain in isolation. Positive social outcomes facilitate the creation of a culture of entrepreneurship based on the cooperation among social networks (Jones et al., 2018), whereas discrimination based on gender, religion or political ideology can generate conflicts and disconnection among individuals and networks (Palalic et al., 2017), which would need to find strategies to take action and meet their goals.

The perception of being connected or being distinct from others varies according to cultural factors (Oyserman et al., 2002). Emotions are experienced in our relationship with others (Frijda, 1986), which means that social interaction determines, to a great

extent, the way in which entrepreneurial processes such as the selection of goals are experienced by individuals (Zampetakis et al. 2017). Attitudes towards risk taking and processes of trust building among different networks, happen in a cultural context that dictates the ways in which emotions are expressed (De Leersnyder, Boiger, & Mesquita, 2013). Negative emotions tend to be suppressed when entrepreneurs are trying to gain support, and more research is needed to understand how they regulate these emotions to meet both their goals and cultural imperatives guiding social interaction (Cacciotti and Hayton, 2015).

The next section presents the methodology used to study selection in a creative EE, providing information about the empirical context of this research, its research design, the participants and other sources of data collection.

5.5 Methodology

The first step to understand the socio-emotional dynamics of a creative EE consisted of identifying its different networks to achieve a macro-level perspective of the social interactions and transactions between these networks. The study adopted a multi-stakeholder approach that allowed the research to consider the different dimensions included in the research design and the identification of the main actors belonging to the networks of a publishing ecosystem (Layder, 1993). This design allows examination of the structure of the relational ties between a wide variety of stakeholders in an entrepreneurial ecosystem.

Publishing is one of the most traditional creative industries; its longevity and embeddedness in the fabric of the creative economy makes it a central node that connects many different actors and organisations, such as publishers, quangos, cultural and professional associations related to this industry. Its long history is key to understanding the evolution of the industry and this has been reflected in the collection and analysis of data. Its spill-over effects extend to other industries that base their creative products on books, such as the film, performing arts and video games industries. Edinburgh is the first Creative City of Literature of UNESCO's network and was selected for the richness of its case, as the City has a long tradition of fine printing and its publishing activities are strongly supported by different institutions. This design allowed the research to bring together structural and agentic elements,

which were consistent with its interactionist theoretical framework. A focus on the interaction between macro, meso and micro dimensions enables the exploration of the situational links between these layers (Layder, 1993), which is explained in more depth in Chapter 3.

The data collection consisted of contacting knowledgeable individuals and asking them for recommendations and introductions to other actors playing significant roles in these publishing networks. The first participants were approached at industry events and professional conferences. The scrutiny of organisations' websites, news and public reports confirmed the key organisations to be contacted and participants were asked if they could make introductions to facilitate meetings. A first round of interviews focused on quangos and other institutions that participate in the design and implementation of cultural policies related to book publishing. During this phase, there was a parallel review of archival data consisting of public reports, policy papers and history books that enriched the understanding of the different initiatives and incidents mentioned during the interviews, and helped triangulate the data (Blaikie, 2009). Participants consisted of funding bodies, quangos, NGOs and public libraries.

The second round of interviews included a wide range of actors whose core activities were directly related to the production of books. Publishers, event organisers, professional associations, bookshops and writers that had at least published or commercialised one book within Edinburgh's publishing cluster were contacted and interviewed. Eleven Edinburgh-based publishers and two publishers from Glasgow shared their views on Edinburgh's publishing context and were represented in the sample. This study has focused on micro and small companies, as this is the size of most Scottish publishing companies. It covered a variety of markets, including children books, young adults, comics, schoolbooks, poetry, academic publishing, religious texts as well as trade fiction and non-fiction. This sample was selected to make sure there would be a representation of different commercial logics, achieving a rich and varied view of the practices of publishers based in Edinburgh.

In total, this multi-stakeholder research consists of 33 interviews. The stratified sample used to collect data included a wide range of Edinburgh-based publishers to achieve a high level of representativeness. The broad spectrum of stakeholders with a wide

variety of attributes facilitated the reconstruction of the relational structure of this creative EE. The data were collected between September 2015 and July 2017, 33 interviews were conducted yielding a total of 32 hours of recordings lasting between 28 and 149 minutes (in average, 62 minutes). These interviews were transcribed generating over 755 pages of text and almost 250,000 words. The transcripts were coded following an inductive approach using NVivo 11. All interview scripts were read at least four times, and emotions were classified according a very detailed taxonomy elaborated by Willcox (1982). The objects that elicited these emotions were identified, and a second round of analysis clustered the emerging themes according to the material, cultural and social characteristics of the EE. The whole process is explained in detail in Chapter 3. Table 5.1 below presents a summary of the analysis.

Table 5.1. Summary of emotions and themes identified in the analysis

Material Attributes' Themes	Writers	Publishers	Bookshops	Literary agency	Governmental bodies	Publicly funded organisations	Professional organisations
Political Sentiment (UK, Referendum, Brexit)	Concerned, Uneasy	Hesitant, Critical, Proud, Hostile, Depressed, Proud, Concerned	Proud, Worthwhile	Critical	Worthwhile	Proud, Dishearten, Confident, Supportive, Critical, Isolated, Ashamed	Critical
Funding	Concerned, Inadequate, Insecure	Aware, Critical, Hurt, Helpless, Inadequate, Rejected, Thankful	Critical		Aware, Challenging	Distant, Responsive, Secure, Critical, Frustrated	Frustrated, Aware, Critical
Support	Proud, Critical, Hopeful	Trusting, Proud, Critical, Discerning, Worthwhile, Thankful		Nurturing	Proud	Creative, Proud, Bonding, Worthwhile, Empathic, Critical, Thankful, Frustrated	Frustrated, Free
Scottish Market	Aware, Uneasy, Concerned, Critical	Proud, Confident, Concerned, Daring, Critical, Confused	Proud, Nurturing	Frustrated	Nurturing, Proud	Worthwhile, Proud, Stimulating, Supportive, Discerning, Nurturing	Resigned, Aware, Worthwhile
Internationalisation	Hopeful	Aware, Critical, Discerning, Daring, Optimistic, Energetic,		Aware, Proud, Worthwhile		Critical, Aware	Creative
Social Attributes' Themes	**Writers**	**Publishers**	**Bookshops**	**Literary agency**	**Governmental bodies**	**Publicly funded organisations**	**Professional organisations**
Paid and Unpaid Work	Proud, Aware, Critical, Inadequate, Helpless, Uneasy, Inferior, Discouraged, Sarcastic, Ashamed, Insecure, Frustrated	Worthwhile, Critical, Helpless, Thankful, Content,	Nostalgic, Proud, Connecting	Critical	Solidary, Loving, Empathic	Proud	
Awards and Residencies	Content, Ashamed, Inadequate	Proud, Critical, Discerning			Proud	Proud, Critical, Concerned, Worthwhile	
Collaboration	Stimulating, Critical, Sarcastic, Isolated, Supported, Thankful	Stimulated, Loving, Proud, Aware, Empathic, Secure, Cheerful, Stimulating, Trusting, Concerned, Helpless, Critical, Apathetic, Sarcastic, Distant, Excited, Ashamed, Happy, Insecure, Overwhelmed	Aware, Proud,	Loving, Stimulating, Empathic, Excited	Frustrated, Faithful, Hopeful, Loving, Confident, Appreciated	Proud, Critical, Concerned, Worthwhile, Responsive, Critical, Helpless, Ashamed, Hopeful, Daring	Worthwhile, Proud, Respected
Festival and Other Events	Annoyed, Thankful, Critical, Discerning, Proud, Sarcastic, Ashamed, Energetic, Creative	Daring, Critical, Proud, Aware, Thankful	Proud, Worthwhile, Persuasive, Empathic		Worthwhile, Creative, Aware, Persuasive	Excited, Stimulating, Creative, Empathic, Responsive, Aware, Proud, Cheerful, Nurturing, Worthwhile, Amusing, Irritated, Sarcastic, Trusting	Empathic, Worthwhile, Creative, Encouraging, Respected
Universities		Proud	Thankful		Aware	Empathic	
Cultural Attributes' Themes	**Writers**	**Publishers**	**Bookshops**	**Literary agency**	**Governmental bodies**	**Publicly funded organisations**	**Professional organisations**
Scottish Identity and Culture	Daring, Critical, Insecure	Proud, Aware, Worthwhile, Discerning, Critical, Confident, Energetic	Faithful, Loving, Proud	Critical, Aware, Proud		Confident, Distant, Daring, Stimulating, Proud, Nurturing, Discerning, Irritated, Critical, AwareConcerned, Hopeful, Excited	Creative, Proud, Empathic,
History		Proud, Discerning, Aware, Nostalgic			Nurturing, Proud	Proud, Aware	
Communities	Creative, Critical, Insecure, Appreciated	Proud, Aware, Worthwhile, Discerning, Critical, Confident, Energetic, Nurturing	Nurturing, Appreciated, Proud, Thankful		Solidary, Proud, Nurtuting	Worthwhile, Empathic, Confident, Distant, Daring, Stimulating, Proud, Critical, Irritated, Nurturing	
Books' Catalogue	Discerning, Trusting, Frustrated	Aware, Worthwhile, Discerning, Thoughtful, Hopeful, Optimistic, Free, Bored, Loving, Uneasy, Enthusiasm, Stimulating, Active, Insecure, Fascinated, Hopeful, Creative	Hesitant, Proud, Critical, Angry	Aware	Distant	Proud, Empathic, Rivalry, Worthwhile, Aware, Anxious	Worthwhile, Creative, Surprising
Writers' Motivation	Proud, Creative, Hopeful, Fascinating, Daring, Discerning	Discerning, Proud, Commiserate, Empathic, Hostile, Regretful, Concerned, Trusting, Worthwhile, Nurturing, Responsive, Persuasive	Connecting	Guilt, Distant, Critical	Empathic,	Critical, Excited, Aware, Empathic, Nurturing, Remorseful, Ashamed	
Self-publishing & Digital Publishing	Critical, Discerning, Hopeful, Proud, Remorseful	Alert, Hopeful, Discerning, Cynical, Critical, Skeptical, Helpless, Hostile, Angry, Ashamed	Ashamed	Discouraged	Critical, Irritated, Aware	Concerned, Critical	Disgusted, Condescending, Aware

5.6 Findings: The Socio-emotional Links between Cultural, Social and Material Elements of Edinburgh's Publishing Networks

The exploration of the themes linked to the emotions expressed by participants were clustered around three layers: material, social and cultural. The analysis followed the relational organisation of EEs and studied the socio-emotional links between the networks belonging to different layers.

Publishers use their social capital to create ties with sometimes distant actors according to the demands of their projects. Networks engage in the generation of resources and knowledge, which flows as a result of social interaction and the creation of connections between socially bounded networks. Some of the cultural organisations belonging to Edinburgh's publishing network have a very central and official/formal role in the industry, whereas other stakeholders, such as libraries and bookshops are catalysers of serendipitous encounters between actors belonging to the material and social spheres. The remainder of this section describes how the selection of a publishing project is explained by different stakeholders, providing a snapshot of the socio-emotional boundaries and bridges that needs to be overcome to materialise these projects.

5.6.1 Cultural Attributes: An Evolutionary Perspective on Edinburgh's Creative Publishing Cluster

To facilitate the understanding of the origins and characteristics of the scene of book production in Edinburgh, this section includes a review of the last century of the history of the publishing industry in Scotland, with a focus in the City of Edinburgh. The reconstruction of the history of the industry is useful for several reasons. First, history helps contextualise the industry and understand its latest developments and trends, including some of the factors influencing its social and material attributes. Information about the changes in the size, types of ventures, relationships with other countries in the UK, legislation and main players, provides us the opportunity to reflect on the evolution of this creative EE and its cultural attributes, providing a longitudinal dimension to the study.

Secondly, this analysis also provides the chance to understand the cultural values Scottish publishers defend and the rituals in which they engage to select, produce and

distribute their books. Thirdly, the history of the industry, its levels of innovativeness and evolution of its reputation, shows how the historical dimension feeds rituals and practices. The symbolism and emotional energy attached to the history of the industry, inevitably feeds Scottish political sentiments. The relationship between Edinburgh and London has passed through different stages, and as is shown in this section, it has impacted deeply upon the commercial relations between these two EEs, especially in terms of potential audiences for publishers from both countries. After all, as one participant explains, Edinburgh's history of entrepreneurship explains literary phenomena occurring in the present.

> *Publisher 4: It (the City of Literature) has been part of growing confidence and awareness of ourselves as Scottish. And that is not something to be worried about or ashamed about. I don't know if you know the phrase the Scottish Cringe but that is the idea that for decades, people were embarrassed to be Scottish; that is, something was Scottish it would be second rate.*

The review of the history of publishing could have started with the historical event of the Union with England in 1707, as academic participants in this research explained that this fact had important consequences in the way in which England and Scotland see their markets nowadays. Other experts pointed nostalgically at the Scottish Enlightenment as the source of their international reputation. The City of Literature trust was inspired by The Speculative Society, founded in 1764, which had the mission to improve the quality of the literary works in the city. These facts were mentioned in interviews with NGOs and publishers, pointed at the emotional energy that emerges from the cultural attributes of the city, which have transcended their symbolic value and motivated the creation of material ones.

> *NGO 5: First there was the Enlightenment over the whole of Europe but the Edinburgh one was perhaps particularly significant because for a very small country it had to probably a greater significance internationally than some might expect. You had major figures like Adam Smith, whose work is still influential. There is David Hume and so on. As part of that Enlightenment, English began to be the adopted language of writing and of publishing, Scottish writers then began to look to the south.*

So, they looked for Englishmen who could polish the language and then publish their books… In some 19th century there was really a complete reversal of that. Edinburgh became a major publishing centre and you had very large firms, for example the Blackwoods, Chambers, there is a whole raft of them. The situation changed so that English authors wanted to be published in Scotland. So, the 18th century and 19th century are really two sides of the one coin.

At the end of the 19th Century, the UK market for books was becoming very international. Novels published by a firm in London, Edinburgh, or any other main city, were circulated throughout the whole of Britain and its colonies. Writers moved between English-based and Scottish-based publishers without losing their audiences and London-based publishers could be as receptive to Scotland's stories as might a Scottish-based publisher be to a novel set in England (Ansell, 1998). This is something publishers are trying to make happen today:

Publisher 4: For a long time throughout the empire the more Scottish you were the more British you were. There was of course this slight problem that people in England meant to say Britain but said England, which they still do… Also overseas, one of the issues, I used to work for the British Council and I worked Istanbul, and the term for British Council was Anglaise Culture, so English Culture and Heritage Council. So, what (name of publisher) is part of a larger issue and in terms of historical outlining, recognising that they is that English and British are not co-terminus terms. Although, for many folk they are... What we are part of is increasingly creating a wider international recognition of the distinction between English literature, British literature, Scottish literature…

New copyright laws and the implementation of the Net Book Agreement in 1900 (which concluded in 1997) guaranteed stability in book prices and protected booksellers and publishers from disruptive practices such as the introduction of inexpensive new editions and distribution models including what we now know as paperbacks and periodicals such as newspapers and magazines (Ansell, 1998; Nash, 2007).

In this period, writers would start publishing in fiction magazines as a new, innovative form of distribution. From here, they may have the chance to link the serial publication contracts to traditional book rights. This trend changed at the end of the 20th Century, when newspapers started broadening the range of periodical publications (e.g. weekly, monthly) and became the main market for serial fiction and short stories, which benefitted the dissemination of Scottish literary pieces (Finkelstein, 2000).

The vibrant Scottish newspaper market filled the lack of a strong book production industry in Scotland. Scottish literature was published in these newspapers feeding the cultural life of the country, which had an active literary market which supported local writers. Local publishers and printers supported the tradition of poetry and other genres. In this period of history there was a resurgence of cultural nationalism in Scotland, and entrepreneurial ventures such as newspapers (e.g. *The Scotsman*, *Scots Observer*) and publishing houses enabled Scottish businessmen and printers to become highly influential in the wider British market, occupying important roles as editors and publishers outside Scotland and facilitating the renaissance of Scottish literature beyond its borders. There was a remarkably strong Scottish presence throughout the publishing, printing and newspaper industries, with significant figures supporting Scottish writers (Nash, 2007).

Scottish literary culture was living a moment of reawakening in 1914, before the Great War. The Scottish Renaissance, initiated in the early 1920s by the poet and critic C.M. Grieve (Hugh MacDiarmid), continued during the war years. Scottish publishers such as Nelson and Constable continued to operate from Edinburgh and London, and many of their authors were able to move between both markets maintaining their audience in these difficult times (McCulloch, 2007). However, their contributions were made to British literature rather than Scottish literature alone, as these publications oozed British patriotic pride and confidence as a response to the conditions of war. Poetry was another genre that also reflected this patriotic attitude, although it offered the opportunity to explore more emotional and visceral exploration of the hostilities of war. Poetry is a genre more open to the use of different languages, such as Scots, and its literary devices helped it escape more subtly from censorship. In fact, Scottish poetry played a very prominent role in the awakening of a genuinely Scottish literary

culture in the period between wars (McCulloch, 2007), enabling a 'literary devolution', and rescuing Scottish letters from Kailyardism, as this literary movement was an exaggeration of the charms of Scottish rural life.

The post-war period continued with the emergence of the modernist movement, the Dada manifesto (1918), but in Scotland there were no publishers or newspapers hatching to bring in these progressive ideas and innovation in literature and other artistic disciplines. The Scottish Chapbook, a periodical of experimental poetics, was launched in 1922 with a limited number of subscribers which made it possible to cover expenses. There was no intention to make profit, but rather open Scotland to the European avant-garde movements. This flagship of the Scottish Renaissance movement only lasted a year, and one can find other newspapers with similar aspirations having equal short lifespan and destinies. Surprisingly, the conservative family-run publishing house William Blackwood & Sons, founded in 1805, decided to take the risk to collaborate with unknown authors writing in Scots, such as MacDiarmid, whose work is central to Scottish modernism and a canon in cultural terms. Despite his lack of fit, the small print gave him the chance to start his career in 1925 (McCulloch, 2007) and the press continued to publish his work despite the moderate commercial success of these publications. Porpoise Press (1922) also played a very important role in the publication of Scots modernist poetry, although as its administration became increasingly London-based, its significance decreased.

The Scottish literary revival relied heavily in periodicals and poetry publishing, but fiction continued to be an important part of it. Drama also experienced a renaissance, although scripts do not necessarily achieve book publication, but many were published by Glasgow periodical publishers. This phenomenon was linked to the 'The National Theatre Movement', a campaign initiated by diverse drama communities. An increasing number of women started to publish modernist fiction in which they questioned the role of women in society, such as Carswell and Allan, and also the canons of publishers, which expected a more 'Scots format' and struggled to understand the innovativeness of these works (McCulloch, 2007). However, they managed to get published both in London and Edinburgh. The commercial success of

these books shows that, despite publishers' prejudices, the audience was ready for? these books. The literary establishment, nevertheless, remained largely male.

The economic situation worsened in the 1930s and most of the Scottish writers and publishers discussing Scottish matters were based in London. There was a genuine interest in understanding Scottish languages and modernist literature, but also Scotland's social, economic and cultural problems, such as the Irish immigration and Glasgow slums. The magazine landscape also changed, and as the menace of Europe´s fascism grew stronger, magazines focused more in politics than literature, many of them disappearing during World War Two (McCulloch, 2007).

Poetry started to experience a linguistic divide, being between English work published in London and Scottish works published in Scotland. Most sophisticated drama was published in both countries, but predominantly in England, and the plays performed in London's West End. The renewed concern for socio-economic realities and political themes was reflected in the broad publication of Glasgow fiction, together with the traditional work on Scottish identity. The outbreak of World War Two interrupted all literary publishing activity and the writers who were to become the new talent of the 1940s did not manage to publish any work until after 1945. The generations from the 1950s and 1960s showed a more critical reflection on the values of tradition and modernity, questioning Scottish identity and engaging critically with Scots and Gaelic. As a matter of fact, 1951 was the year of the creation of the School of Scottish Studies at The University of Edinburgh, which counted with the support of Edinburgh University Press, which became a subsidiary of the University in 1992 (McCulloch, 2007; University of Edinburgh, 2015).

In the decade of the 1970s, Scottish ventures faced structural problems and financial challenges that ended up with most of the literary scene based in London. Scottish companies had their offices down South because of the small size of the Scottish market (Macleod, 1953). Most of these were family-run firms that lacked the skills to adapt to new challenging market conditions, and most of them merged or disappeared in the hands of larger firms and media groups. This trend continued during the 1980s and 1990s (Potter, 2007). Companies such as Nelson moved down South, and they became subsidiaries of larger companies, as happened with MacMillan and Collins.

These mergers debilitated the Scottish publishing identity. As a response to this threat, a new wave of Scottish writers emerged in 2000s, connecting their writing to a new Scottish identity and nationalism, the devolution of the Parliament and an internal reassessment of what it means and feels to be Scottish, and how life is lived in Scotland. Magazines still played an important role as talent scouts, with successful ventures being active from the 1970s to the end of the first decade of the 2000s (e.g. Akros and Cencrastus).

> *NGO 1: It did not surprise me that this was happening in the run-up to the independence referendum. If you look back to 1979, when we had that devolution referendum in Scotland, if you look back and clippings from that period, poetry was really happening then. It was really interesting, really involved in the political scene. I think in Scotland, when people are deciding on big issues that influence the future of the country, they want to hear from the poets.*

They also collected work from established authors, and created a platform for contemporary poetry in English, Scots and Gaelic. Scottish cultural matters, different forms of arts and the idiosyncrasy of Scottish culture were part of the devolution movement and the resurrection of the Scottish collective sense of confidence (Varga, 2007).

> *Publisher 12: Yes, I think what happened in the early nineties was transformational. It actually transformed Scotland culturally and more. Culture term first. Like James Kelman, if you think back to 1992, there was a famous court case for a guy and the Judge asked him a question and he answered by saying Aye in Scots rather than yes. And that was in court... The judge said he did not recognise what he was saying… That is why we ended up with the Parliament a few years later. It was part of that cultural battle that made people confident. Before 1992 Scots what happened was Scots had an inferiority complex. Publishing was very important. Looking back politically, everything that's happened in Scotland was because of the early nineties. That made the ground for the writers and poets and thinkers and cultural people*

that led the crowd, not the politicians. Now people are very strident about being Scots. That was not the case before then.

Since 2000, Scotland has been experiencing a revival of its literary landscape. Since the release of Lanark, by Alasdair Gray, new writers and new Scottish publishing houses have been blooming. The period of mergers and acquisitions has left room for independent publishers to flourish in Scotland. They are mainly based in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and supported by Creative Scotland (Creative Scotland, 2015).

The Scottish Arts Council, now Creative Scotland, was created in 1967 and has been crucial in the rehabilitation and sustainability of the creative and entrepreneurial publishing ecosystem as the major funder of literary magazines and books (Potter, 2007).

Publisher 4: It is something was happening in Scotland in the sixties and seventies, which is difficult to put a finger on it.... You can see where I am heading, a lot was going on for some reason. I think it is partly emerging from the war and the recreation through Edinburgh festival of an interesting culture off to the war. Clearly the Edinburgh Festival was very much part of that process, just as the Arts Council was established in 1945. In 1947, it was about recreating British and the Scottish culture in an international context. That was growing through the fifties and I think that is why in the sixties, it all begins to lift off.

In 2014, there were, officially, 105 publishers in all Scotland: 25 in Edinburgh and 10 in Glasgow (Creative Scotland, 2015). The Scottish Publishers Association, now known as Publishing Scotland, was founded in 1973 in collaboration with Creative Scotland and helps Scottish publishers in the marketing and promotion of their books. Other organisations under the umbrella of the Council include Scottish Book Trust (which is a national agency promoting reading and writing), the Gaelic Books Council, the Scottish Poetry Library, the Scottish Storytelling Centre and the Association for Scottish Literary Studies (ASLS), which promotes the scholarly study of Scottish literature and language (Potter, 2007; Scottish Centre for the Book, 2012). Despite the efforts to provide clear guidelines and transparent founding guidelines, Creative Scotland has not been immune to criticism and some have accused it of making bad

decisions which have encouraged a publishing culture too focused on grants rather than commercial success. The bursaries and funding given to writers have also been criticised, considering that writers do not deserve subsidy, just because they want to make a living out of writing (Potter, 2007).

Additionally, most authors discovered by smaller Scottish publishers tend to leave them for London-based larger publishers who can afford better contracts, distribution and promotion. These circumstances have fuelled discussions regarding the extent to which writers who have received subsidies should return the money after obtaining a good contract, although not everybody agrees. London publishers respect the peculiarities of Scottish writers, who would do nothing but spread the high quality of their work if they decide to sign a contract with a publisher based in London, the US or elsewhere (Potter, 2007).

However, Scottish publishers have made the most of the rise of Scottish nationalism and the strengthening of Scottish identity. While English identity has been homogenised, Scottish identity has become increasingly noticed because of the referendum for independence that took place in 2014, making Scottish titles more appealing to international audiences (Noorda, 2016).

These circumstances, among others, influenced publishers such as Penguin and Hodder Headline, who are opening offices in Scotland to curate their Scottish lists. Nowadays, Scottish literature has an international agenda due to its universal value and publishers' re-realisation of its potential. Scottish publishers and writers are reinventing themselves in these new circumstances. These favourable conditions and the availability of public funding have enabled the creation and consolidation of successful publishing houses such Canongate, Polygon, Birlinn and Floris Books, which are, together with the new wave of female writers (e.g. Jackie Kay), some of the main representatives of Scottish publishing today (Potter, 2007). However, critical voices pointed at a potential over-reliance on a kitsch form of Scottishness that might be detrimental for the representation of the cultural depth of its literary production (Boyd, 2014). The circumstances are still challenging for those small presses that need to increase the reach of their books and barriers to trade in the rest of the UK or

overseas would have very negative effects in the industry (Publishing Scotland, 2012), for which international trade is a key entrepreneurial asset (Noorda, 2020).

> *Publisher 6: I think there are some trade publishers in Scotland who are far too introverted, so they think, you know, they think the world sort of stops at Berwick and, you know, they need to get out more. I mean, Scotland's a small market, so it's not good pretending it's huge. So one of the things the trade publishers don't do is just look beyond, you know, look beyond the borders for their markets, for their books. UK, Europe, you know, there's a big market out there…So seeing your market begin and end in Scotland has been an issue with some of these.*

5.6.2 Social Attributes: Resource and Socio-emotional Bounds Around Selection

When inquiring regarding publishers' selection practices, one of the first questions is where they find writers and books that are worth being released. When it comes to recruitment pools, publishers mentioned they use traditional means and avoid self-published authors. They are inclined to rely on recommendations of literary agents or even commission works through their personal networks.

> *Publisher 8: London agents is quite an interesting one for us, because we haven't worked a lot with London agents in the past, and on the whole we their terms are quite difficult for us because they want quite large advances which we can't afford… We have had a couple of successes with our agent of down south, we have got a little bit more of the foot in the door now so that is an area we are starting push a bit more. Most London agents don't have many Scottish authors on their books, they have just one or two and it's just kind of random, they just happen to have someone but those are new relationships that we are building now and its quite interesting, because they are outside of Scotland the relationships until this point have been squarely inside of Scotland and the London agents is one of the first times we are branching out.*

> *Publisher 4: It is much more networking. It is the old publishing approach, if I want to get a book published on a particular topic… I will ask someone who I know if they know anyone working in that (academic) area, Then I will go to*

that person and say I am looking for someone to write on this particular subjects. Do you know anyone? It is like following a piece of string and eventually someone says, yes, that sounds really interesting. I'll write it. The trouble now with modern academics…Academic assessment now is very much dominated by what is called REF. So for a lot of the cycle between this exercise, authors are obsessed by getting their journal articles published and getting citation factors.

This was confirmed by other stakeholders.

Publicly Funded Organisation 7: One time it was the editor, but editors don't really exist. Most writers are now allied to their agent and their agent will move them from one publisher to the next depending on what they've been offered, how they've been nurtured, how they've been branded. I actually think that close relationship one time the writer had with his publisher, that's part of the past, that's quite unusual.

Literary agent: So I can say to a publisher, they are a brand new author and they can go in for various book awards. There is no history and no skeletons in the cupboard (self-published work). As soon as they have had the disappointing sales of your first book, or second book, it is so much harder for me as an agent to make that case to a publisher. I can hear them, on the phone, tapping away into Nielson book scan. Then they will say, the first didn't sell very well, then I will have to say that this is their breakthrough book because of xyz.

Therefore, they rely on strong ties and follow the recommendations of trusted colleagues. Participation in literary awards and events such as the Literary Shop, organised by the City of Literature as part of the Edinburgh International Book Festival, are not only a sign of quality, but also a recognition of a writer's marketing potential. Awards increase the status of winners and their visibility in the industry. Along the same lines, creative writing courses and formal training are another way to increase a writer's perceived status, as additional instruction shows real intention to hone their craft rather than being opportunistic J.K. Rowlings-to-be, publishers and quangos mentioned.

Publisher 10: It's about the personality of the authors as well, we need authors who are engaged, who aren't content locking themselves in their room and not engaging with readers. Not so commercial requirement these days that publishers talk about discoverability and the personality of the author is a big element, and discoverability have to be willing to engage with the readership. The readers want to know about the writer, and the part of the reason why they choose a book to read readers is based on the on what the writer says about the book, how persuasive they are, which is a big change.

The most important literary prizes, such as the Booker Prize, take place in London, but there are a few prestigious award programmes and residencies organised by the Scottish publishing network (e.g. The Saltire Society Scottish Literary Awards). Publishers propose as potential award winners those from their own files or those they are hoping to attract. When it comes to residencies and training, writers are asked to nominate other writers as next year's potential participants, which means that sometimes these networks are closely bounded. This lack of diversity and predominance of white middle-class writers has been documented in the interviews but also in reports for the whole of the UK, and writers winning awards are usually part of a certain network and they are known to the establishment (Squires, 2017).

Quangos and publishers acknowledge the importance of networking and collaboration even though it is something that does not happen much at the regional level, at least in a formal way. Most publishers describe themselves as part of literary niches that belong to larger networks of specialised publishers beyond Edinburgh's geographical boundaries. The prevalence of this identification prevents them from joining formal networks, which is detrimental for the positioning of some associations in the sector. Many of them are, as some participants described, lifestyle publishers.

Quango 2: There needs to be more of an appetite for growth and I think if we get more of that and the more entrepreneurialism and more strategic thinking about how business is actually grown rather than just thinking is this book does well, the other, that's really good for me. Then I think that will help because sometimes in today's world, it is numbers that matter and our numbers are still

quite small really. That is my one issue and concern about the industry. We are still seen as being pretty small.

Some publishers fall under the radar of governmental agencies unless they achieve a certain business volume or become interested in improving their economic performance in international markets and ask for help from professional bodies. However, representatives of quangos, funding agencies and professional associations describe publishing network actors as very competitive when they are compared to London publishers. Their distinct Scottish identity makes them come together. A wide array of Edinburgh publishers corroborated so during the interviews.

Publisher 1: It is a people's business; you need relationships to work in publishing. Even if you are a hard-nosed person sitting in a corporate in London.

*Publisher 2: We were fighting a battle. When I started in (name of publishing house), our slogan was F*** London. That was our attitude. We will do it ourselves. It was not based on Scottish nationalism; it was based on punk. We are not asking London to provide us with things, we would do it ourselves. Sometimes you have to do that, from your own corner.*

This rivalry indicates that the collaboration between these two creative EEs is socio-emotionally bounded by emotions such as pride and contempt.

5.6.3 Material Attributes: Symbolic Value of Scottish Literature.

Small publishers and their stakeholders perceive the Scottish market as smaller and not as prosperous as the rest of the UK. They describe this characteristic as a threat to their industry, which cannot be maintained only by the sales in Scotland. Internationalisation, however, seems to be a top-down endeavour, as it requires a complex strategy, high levels of confidence and collaboration among different agencies, education institutions and organisations, as well as careful management of financial resources, which are mostly in London.

Unfortunately, despite the existence of support services, most publishers work in isolation and turn their backs on these challenges. The fact that publishing does not

require many resources makes it easy for publishers to work from home and this relatively comfortable lifestyle can lead to them being perceived as not interested in acquiring or improving their business skills. Quangos explain how they have been intensifying their efforts to make publishers be more proactive and improve their international presence, although publishers suggest that sometimes they fail to communicate effectively their initiatives.

> *Quango 2: I think it takes time and crucially it takes players to be able to say I want to grow, and I really really need to grow. I am not just eight to six and have a lifestyle company that turns over 100 grand a year and my books will sell reasonably well. We need people to go out there and say I need to get to a million, it sent two million, then five million, then ten and have a good plan in mind. We do have some of it, but we do not have enough of it.*
>
> *Publisher 7: You may have also came across the term called consultation fatigue. Across the cultural sector, all the various art forms, there is a huge factor of cultural fatigue in that there has been so much consultation over the years and very little action…*

The characteristics of the relationship between publishers and funding agencies have a strong impact on their emotions in terms of self-efficacy. It is not only a chance to materialise projects but a sign of potential profitability and reputation that increases their emotional energy. Their improved position may give them access to focal actors and alternatives sources of support, improving their chances of success. Writers also ask funding agencies for support and receive bursaries that allow them to concentrate on their work until the book is completed. An employee of a quango reflects on the fact that newcomers to the industry, both publishers and writers, pass from having the supporting reviews of their closer circles to hearing professionally-informed literary and business-based critiques to their proposals, and need to develop a thick skin. Agencies are open to contribute towards any step of both the creative and the commercialisation process, but publishers and writers need to be very precise in the way they justify their economic needs. The benefits of these investments are calculated in terms of the activities generated by the consumption of literature and may include,

hospitality, book sales, events, tourism and consumption of other cultural products based on books, such as theatre plays, films and video games, just to name a few.

> *Quango 1: Other funding agencies and investors will see that and think if they are involved and they are Scottish Government then it must be alright because they've invested… We funded (name of internationally successful writer) many, many years ago, we funded her about eight thousand pounds to support herself in order to write the second (name of series) book. Had we had a clause in the contract that said we would want 1% of sales from the books that would've been doubled our budget every year, but we just gave her the money. It was a bursary.*

Publishers acknowledge the accessibility of these grants and bursaries and praise the support and recognition of niche players' potential. However, the situation is not easy for many of the publishers which consider their ability to raise funds only as good as the person in the institution willing to support you.

On the other hand, the relationship between publishers and writers follow a very different dynamic. The selection seems to be based most of all on the quality of the writing and the alignment it has with publishers' values. Publishers and literary agents need to identify themselves with the story, as book production, distribution and commercialisation is lengthy and requires high emotional investment. Writers are the clear antagonists. They look for formulas that may result in economic profit and control over production, leaving aside other types of remunerations that could be negotiated, such as the use of offices and equipment and the access to training. Instead, contracts revolve around advances and royalties and the bargaining power is completely asymmetric. Publishers set the rules, they are not willing to deal with egos and for writers is very difficult to speak up and improve their remuneration conditions. The relationship is described by an NGO representative as full of mistrust. These inequalities are not only explained in terms of commercial success but also as an inherent characteristic of the creative industries, although writers hope to initiate a dialogue with regard to how this could be mitigated by changes in cultural policies such as the legislation of the price of books (e.g. end of Net Book Agreement) and the remuneration of writers.

Writer 1: All the language is still there, and they are still saying "we love our writers and it's so important, we wouldn't be anything without their books". Actually, if you look at the way those publishing houses behave, where the money goes, is very corporate largely publishing now. Publishing houses pay their teamers more than what they pay to the vast majority of their writers. If you look at writers going in, with a genre book perhaps, they might get £2,000 or £3,000 as an advance if they are lucky even about big publisher. And this figures are even less if you look at the...I'm sure you've seen all this stuff. To get really tiny advances they may work for a year or two years on that book. And they are paying their own staff the living wage.

Edinburgh publishers admit taking gambles on books that are not money spinners but help preserve a catalogue of Scottish classics or cover topics which are considered of local interest. They do it because if they do not produce them, they would never have that record. Their work is perceived to have a vital role in Scottish culture scene because they allow new generations to discover and read about their heritage and this is pointed out as one of their key strengths. However, different actors within the publishing network struggle to define what makes them Scottish publishers and authors. They reveal how they feel about their work displaying a plethora of personal values and personality characteristics that guide their contribution to the publishing network, but it is very difficult for them to provide that collective description of what makes them who they are. They do references to the place where they are born, the place where they live, the context in which the stories they publish are based, but there would be discrepancies even when trying to assess the relevance of these characteristics in the definition of what Scottish literature is. The comparison of the following quotes makes it more evident.

NGO 13: Those battles are long gone. If you have come and made Scotland your home, we are flattered. We want you to be part of Scotland.

Quango 2: We do not talk about Scottish authors; we talk about authors who live in Scotland… So, most publishers would see that they have a responsibility to help authors living in Scotland.

Bookstore 1: The first rule is if they're Scottish.

On the other hand, bookstores have an overwhelming power when it comes to the construction of commercial categories for literary production. The criteria to categorise fiction books is mainly based in the author's nationality, the publisher is not considered. Non-fiction publishers are considered as part of the Scottish literature when they offer the chance to explore subjects related to Scotland. Bookstore managers rely on the judgement of their buyers and search on the websites of main online booksellers and specialised social networks to decide how to classify book production in commercial terms. The final categorisation, however, is going to depend on the sales of the book, confirming the subconscious belief that quality equal sales. Many of the publishers and writers consulted, prefer to stick together within the category of Scottish literature independently of the genre, nationality and context of the book. The rationale behind this is that, although it may be detrimental to their individual sales, it gives them a high degree of distinctiveness that they would lose if their books were placed on random shelves according to any other characteristic. But the construction of this commercial category continues being controversial. The selection of quotes below help understand the mixed feelings of the participants.

> *Publisher 8: We are an international publisher that happens to be situated within Edinburgh. Because Edinburgh as a publishing scene is overwhelmingly literary, we are not a literary publisher, we are non-fiction, we are not really so much part of it.*
>
> *Publisher 7: We are part of increasingly creating a wider international recognition of the distinction between English literature, British literature, Scottish literature.*
>
> *Bookstore 1: It is a fine line between the general fiction department and the Scottish fiction department. There is a bit of a battle always going on… They tend to end up in the Scottish section… people, when they go big, they will end up in … the bestseller chart or the tables… It's down to the buyer. Their word is final… The big rule - don't piss off the bookseller that's meant to sell your book, because they're not going to. Just don't.*

5.6.4 The Emotional Value of Informal Networks

Bookstores and event organisers take advantage of the synergies generated by mainstream players to organise fringe festivals and parallel events, which normally clients can attend for free. Based on informal agreements and personal networks, these events mobilise publishers and writers, who contribute their time to build community around these venues. Attendees relate to the spontaneity and creativity of the participants of these events, who may sometimes bring comedy, music and many other forms of arts to accompany the books they are presenting. These events are usually a way to recycle the authors and audiences attending bigger festivals. When an author is being paid to collaborate in a big event, they are also asked to collaborate with these small businesses, which become community spaces for people who otherwise could not afford to speak and listen to the authors. This phenomenon has a long tradition and involves different literary genres.

> *NGO 2: There was another scene entirely taking place at the same time (than the festival) … They had actually reinvented a poetry reading for the 21st Century and made it interesting… If you look back to 1979, when we had that devolution referendum in Scotland, if you look back and clippings from that period, poetry was really happening then. It was really interesting, really involved in the political scene. I think in Scotland, when people are deciding on big issues that influence the future of the country, they want to hear from the poets.*

Although these events are a way to increase foot traffic, they are also an opportunity to scout literary talent, especially for literary magazines. Publishers competing in the trade market consider marketing skills as a decisive factor for a writer to succeed and put a lot of pressure on authors to take part in events and be active at social media. Publishers' requisites provoke mixed emotions among writers, as they feel self-promotion is detrimental for the literary value of their work at the beginning of their careers. They reflect on the extent to which popularity and quality converge and consider that success may be a middle or long-term endeavour. Most writers describe public relations as a learning process, and regardless of receiving very small advances, they feel the need to do anything to make the book work. Despite the introverted nature

of writing, especially if compared with other disciplines such as performing acts, communication skills are a signpost of potential success for most stakeholders in the industry.

> *Writer 1: A lot of people think, oh well let us just write a book, a nice narrative, it does not have to be some ground-breaking bursting through assumptions, it is just a good story. Whereas I am like no, it has to be like psychotherapy. I need it to be… You read something and it changes you and it makes you or provokes you to do something.*

Publishers' challenging entry barriers and demands of promotion skills, have led some authors to create alternative networks of self-published and digitally published authors. These networks are populated by newcomers to the industry that seek to avoid publishers' gatekeeping and support each other by promoting their work, attending their events and sharing tips that may increase their visibility and sales. Most of them engage in this type of publishing hoping to get a deal with a traditional publisher. However, independently of the quality of their work, these authors are defined as a souk of vanity publishing by institutions, literary agents, editors and publishers, which find these books lack quality and rigor a team of publishing professionals brings in and generally refuse to work with them. Bookstores are slightly more open-minded and give these independent authors the opportunity to display their books on their shelves. They agree to take the stock free of charge for a few months and then calculate the sales and pay authors their royalties. Bookstores only have to face the storage cost while, once again, the author needs to deal with the promotion. This practice also affects authors that have been published traditionally and now need to deal with the book stock themselves. Bookstores benefit from the sales originated by writers' family and friends and usually focus on authors that belong to their communities to benefit from the proximity of their acquaintances.

5.7 Discussion

The study of Edinburgh's publishing industry is here used to explore the configuration of EE networks in the context of the creative industries. This framework has been used as a scaffolding to explore the socio-emotional characteristics of a creative EE (Spigel, 2017). The distribution of social capital has been explored

through a socio-emotional lens, examining the existing ties and structural holes between different social clusters. Social and structural factors affect the way business opportunities are assessed (Cardon et al., 2005; Foo, 2009) and this paper addresses the emotional energy resulting from this assessment using a systemic perspective which entails the main networks in a creative EE.

Entrepreneurs in the creative industries rely heavily on their connections and interactions with local networks (Townley et al., 2009) to maintain and acquire social capital (Brass, 2009). They are not only a way to access knowledge and resources, but also act as a source of socio-emotional support, a crucial factor that fosters resilience and improves the viability and sustainability of their projects. As seen in previous studies, the socio-emotional characteristics of creative industries' network markets (Potts et al., 2008) influences its spatial configuration, making its interlaced network fabric very permeable to the local history and culture of the place where they are based.

The selection to fund, produce and consume books is highly embedded in the cultural values of its stakeholders, what configures their symbolic value (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2008) and the distinct socio-emotional characteristics of their relational landscape. Local history and culture play a profound role on how ties work (Jack, 2005; Daskalaki, 2010). Culture and social connections depend on one another and result in the conjunction of a social structure (Lizardo 2006; Carley and Hill 2001) with individual practices (Spigel, 2013; Neumeyer et al., 2019) that bounds the entire EE. Proud of the successful history of Edinburgh´s industry, publishers acknowledge the influence of their cultural heritage in the selection of books, as they look for titles that resonate with their values and cultural identity. As not all books are predicted to be equally successful, they balance mainly commercial titles with a passion-based selection of more literary and specialised books, that offer an added value to the communities of readers in their local context (Cardon et al., 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2002). This strategy can be understood as a safety net for their books, which becomes a clearly defined niche, but the small size of the Scottish market forces quangos to create networking opportunities to increase the scope and sustainability of this creative EE (Clarysse et al. 2014). The cultural attributes of Edinburgh's EE are reflected in a deep political sentiment (Collins, 2004) that affects the selection of books and how

publishers perceive their market. Cultural attributes, and specifically national culture (Batjargal 2003; Ledeneva 2006) have been found to have a strong effect on the selection and materialisation of projects, as it is an important aspect of the identity of its networks, which will evolve and adapt bonding and bridging ties to enable creative networking (Daskalaki, 2010) and a sustainable strategy for their books.

Edinburgh publishers, however, have a very traditional selection model; they mostly rely on their strong ties and personal networks when they need to commission some work (Hirsch, 1972). The scope of selection for publishers tends to be the book itself, rather than the author, over whom they have a dominant position. Selection is based on the quality of the work, the assessment of editing efforts needed before it gets published and the attitude and skills of the authors towards promotion and social media. Publishers' network participates in the selection process as a source of information and emotional support. As mentioned in previous studies, the affective dimension of these networks makes them give recommendations which are aligned with personal values and this filter tends to reduce the emotional ambivalence triggered by uncertainty (Collins, 2004; Cardon et al., 2017; Jones and DeFillippi, 1996).

Relationships in the publishing network are very problematic because of the high power asymmetries between different actors. Publishers are quite individualistic and tend to see themselves as unique and worthy of occupying central positions in niche networks (Kilduff and Krackhardt, 2008) rather than being team players in their local circles. However, as they become involved in wider networks and markets, a perceived risk of ostracism makes them join together and transform their cultural identity into a commercial category that is used as an umbrella for authenticity that prevails over other market logics (McGuire, 1894). They transform this socially-constructed emotion of Scottishness into meaningful cultural experiences that unfold their collective identity through the discussion of their literature. Authors, in turn, are focal actors with little or no bargaining power, who need to accept the negative emotions associated with these bonds to continue occupying a central position in the industry's social interaction rituals (Collins, 2004). Hence, positive but also negative emotions can enable and sustain asymmetric power relations (Blair, 2003).

The distribution of social capital has an impact in the likelihood of accessing public resources, which is one of the main sources of funding for this sector. The means by which publishers and writers have access to additional sources of funding, is a function of the social structure (Bourdieu 1986), and most of them rely on the quality of their strong ties and the level of relational trust (Galunic and Moran, 1999) in their personal networks. Economic support is gathered through relatively smaller and less structured networks for creative EEs, as they do not rely as heavily on venture capitalists or business angels, but rather on a small, relationally-based networks of investment. The main resource of this industry is the subsidised or free labour of authors during the process of writing up but also during the promotion of the book. At most, they receive support through residencies in cultural organisations, funding from public agencies so they can work on their projects for a few months, or small advances from publishers.

Projects are more likely to be supported when applicants show evidence of ongoing collaboration and embeddedness in the industry, which means that they need to show evidence of network size and strong ties. However, most successful initiatives were developed following a bottom-up approach, getting support by bookstores, NGOs and finally professional associations and quangos. The main emotion towards the cultural networks and attributes of the cluster is nostalgia, usually counterbalanced by an energic attitude towards material networks. A strong political sentiment fills Scottish publishers' hearts with a rebellious fury, a righteous anger that ends up being the engine of the frenetic cultural activity of the city (Goss, 2006), spreading its effects from the centre to the periphery of this creative EE.

5.8 Conclusion, Implications and Limitations

This study contributes to the entrepreneurial ecosystems' literature by reflecting on its socio-emotional attributes and how these affect entrepreneurs' selection practices. In particular, their perceptions of availability and flow of resources (Foo, 2009) and the social bounds of their activities (Neumayer et al., 2019). The socio-emotional features of creative EEs assign different levels of influence to different elements pertaining to the social, cultural and material spheres. Through the lens of emotions, one can observe an overlap between the cultural and material attributes that facilitates the creation of bridging ties among different networks (Burt,

2009). The histories of entrepreneurship are a strong connector between socially accepted business practices and cultural traditions of the region, facilitating the creation of bonding ties (Putnam, 2000). Material networks also rely on their cultural heritage to assign a symbolic value (Hesmondhalgh, 2007) to the industry in economic and non-economic terms.

The study also contributes to the literature on entrepreneurial emotions by reflecting on the paramount influence which political sentiment (Goss, 2008) has in creative ecosystems' rituals of social interaction, and how it signposts the overlap between the cultural and material layers (Spigel, 2017). It is a very powerful tool that can be compared to a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it is used as a 'social glue' that brings together the social and material layers of the ecosystem, what may lead to changes in the definition and perceived social boundaries of the EE. Creative ecosystems are socio-emotional network markets where events such as bookfairs, festivals and other cultural events increase the power and status of stakeholders. Networks from both the material and social layers, converge during these events, which are used as an important connector of these networks with the cultural spheres, and a catalyst that triggers the magnetism and propagation of ideas and values to the broader audience. On the other hand, the closure of structural holes (Burt, 2009) entails a compromise regarding one's identity and the creation of ideological barriers around the networks that are central to the interaction.

The exploration of the emotional attributes of creative ecosystems social interactions helps identify and explain the selection of projects by entrepreneurs. This study shows an initial exploration of how emotions influence the selection of creative goals through the reach and distribution of social capital, as well as the complex dynamics behind commercial categorisation. Cultural and material networks normalise and legitimise support for those entrepreneurs whose vision is aligned with their views on cultural identity. These circumstances create a context in which the expansion of social structures is the result of networks' alignment with the establishment, securing access to entrepreneurial resources. A non-conformist response to the pre-established requisites for successful social interaction may result in the contraction of these networks or the disappearance of some actors. It can also result in the creation of new

social structures where resources can still be recycled, and the new ideas and projects transformed into new business practices. Both the legitimisation and the recycling of mainstream and counter-cultural values contribute to the formation of a dense fabric of entrepreneurs, energising the creative ecosystem's business practices (Spigel and Harrison, 2018).

Despite the exploratory nature of this study, the data shows that publishers could benefit from a clearer communication of the commercial strategy to booksellers, improving the categorisation and placement of their products, what would be also very beneficial for the image of Scottish publishers. The study also points at informal practices that have great relevance in the pursuit of business opportunities, providing newcomers to the industry with tools to identify potential collaborators and practices that may help them develop a wide variety of useful ties within the industry networks.

In terms of policymaking, the lower advances publishers offer to writers could be compensated by different ways of provide funding. The support given to writers could be linked to the collaboration of other stakeholders so there could be higher bets in emerging but most importantly in consolidated talents, securing a minimum period of economic stability during the creative process and more ambitious promotional plans. The data show that writing is not very sustainable, and funding could also be based on the willingness to participate in courses where writers can learn to engage with an audience, improving their public relation skills and potential success when collaborating with bookstores and libraries. This type of support would have positive effects on the levels of collaboration among different networks.

The study of the socio-emotional characteristics of EE presents a number of limitations. There is a very limited number of studies focusing on this area of research, which makes necessary the generation of discussions and agreement regarding definitions, operationalisation and selection of the most appropriate methods to collect and analyse evidence. The heterogeneity of this phenomenon requires further investigation to be able to establish an adequate basis upon which solid foundations can be built and results generalised. The manifestation or repression of emotions are going to be linked to different cultural rules and industry practices, which means that

it is necessary to explore other countries and industries to be able to refine propositions and conceptual models that help understand the role of emotions in these EEs.

The emerging themes point at interesting areas of future research. They raise questions regarding the extent to which the social boundaries of creative ecosystems are determined by actors and networks' shared meaning of discourses, such as historical events and political views. Further research could explore the symbolic meaning of boundaries and its effect on entrepreneurs' value propositions. Further research could continue exploring the links between emotions and the cultural mechanisms by which social boundaries are produced. In the same vein, it would be interesting to investigate the effects that the perceived social boundaries have for the development of entrepreneurial ecosystems (Lamont and Molnár 2002; Neumeyer, 2009; Stam, 2018).

Future studies may also explore to what extent these creative ecosystem configurations may affect the intentions of different creative individuals, who may feel that the environment is going to be hostile just because of their social class or academic background. Inclusion and diversity arise as pressing issues in the creative industries and our society would benefit from a deeper understanding of the dark side of the socioemotional dynamics behind the selection practices for both production and consumption in the creative industries.

CHAPTER 6

Festival Stakeholders. Emotional Strategies to Mobilise Resources

6.1. Abstract

The relationships between the multiple stakeholders of festivals remain under-theorised from a managerial perspective. The relational strategies different players use to set common goals and secure access to resources involve breaking cycles of pride and shame that lead to conflict or consensus among the parties involved. An additional challenge to collaborate is the need to provide the audience with creative and innovative experiences that guarantee the attractiveness of the festival. The paper presented in this chapter argues that the socio-emotional dynamics behind these political processes play a paramount role in the successful development of festivals as a creative experience. This is shown by exploring the role of emotions in the mobilisation of resources in a literary festival. Archival data and 33 interviews were used to collect the experiences of a wide range of festival stakeholders, which facilitated the exploration of these political processes from multiple perspectives, capturing the socio-emotional dynamics that exist in the relationships between festival organisers, publishers, writers, bookshops and non-profit organisations. The paper discusses the implications for managers and policymakers, suggesting an agenda for future research.

6.2. Introduction

Festivals are seen as one of the most effective ways to support the creative industries, and have become a priority in the agendas of policymakers (Pine and Gilmore, 1998, Andersson and Getz, 2009; BOP Consulting, 2016; Getz, 2016; Goldblat, 2010; Van Niekerk, 2017; UNWTO, 2018). Cultural tourism scholarship has mainly scrutinised festivals as an act of consumption of culture and

criticised how the increasing economic impact of these events has led to the festivalisation of culture (Richards, 2007). The management of festivals is also key for the tourism industry, because of the rise of global competition to attract visitors and the increasing demand for events to consume culture in a proactive way (Richards and Wilson, 2007).

Private firms, public organisations and non-profit associations are the three forms of organisations that collaborate and compete in the organisation of festivals, generating different configuration of business models. Festival stakeholders need to coordinate complex initiatives that can generate positive indirect economic effects for the city and region where they are held when managed properly (Anderson and Getz, 2009). Collaboration is successful when it generates creative partnerships, between the public and private sectors, decreasing external threats and creating a cohesive offer that attracts tourists and strengthen the image and reputation of the place (Fyall et al., 2001; Garrod et al., 2002).

Recent special issues and literature reviews (e.g. Jakob and Van Heur, 2015; Getz and Page, 2016; Van Niekerk, 2017; Wilson et al., 2017; Laing, 2018) suggest that the relationships between festivals' multiple stakeholders remain under-theorised, as most studies focused on how festivals manage their audiences rather than their own collaborative processes. The understanding of festival management would benefit from further discussion of the interaction of festivals with broader social networks and how these relations affect the creation and development of festivals (Andersson et al., 2013; Edwards, 2012; Getz, 2010; Wilson et al., 2017).

The context of festivals provides us with an opportunity to continue exploring how the study of emotions can enhance our understanding of the creative industries. This study explores the use of emotions and personal connections in inter-organisational networks as a way to mobilise resources (Cardon et al., 2009; Cardon and Patel, 2015). Adopting a multi-stakeholder perspective, this paper explores emotions as part of the relational strategies in the political arena of festivals (Larson, 2002). To be able to mobilise resources, festival organisers align their interests with other stakeholders, finding a compromise that satisfies all parties (Larson, 2011).

To achieve the right balance of resource dependence, artistic and business goals, festival organisers need to reach collaborative agreement with different stakeholders, so they do not compromise their autonomy and creative potential. In the meantime, they need to continue being legitimised by the rest of the festival stakeholders and the broader community (Getz and Anderson, 2010). These political processes are essential for the survival of the festival, as it can ultimately compromise their vision and transform their genuine values in mere branding at the service of the main sponsors (Larson and Wikstrom, 2001). However, the emotional and ideological interests (Elbe et al., 2007) of different stakeholders are not only a source of conflict, but also the inclusion of new elements that, despite being a sample of creativity and innovation (Larson, 2009), may generate resistance among more conservative stakeholders.

One of the challenges for festivals that become permanent institutions is their ability to innovate and offer creative experiences while staying loyal to their own brand, by which they are recognised (Larson, 2011). This paper discusses how the management of relationships with multiple stakeholders affects the organisation of a creative festival product, focusing on the emotions linked to the mobilisation of resources (Elbe et al., 2007; Vestrum, 2014), as it will help us achieve a more nuanced view of how trust and conflict are built and managed as part of these political processes. The surplus of resources obtained by festival organisers can be recycled beyond their strong ties (Granovetter, 1979), creating new relationships that lead to innovative initiatives that benefit a broad range of actors and networks. Drawing from relational sociology (Goffman, 1959; Collins, 2004; Goss, 2005; 2008), the socio-emotional dynamics behind collaborative endeavours of festival stakeholders are explored. The status and power of different stakeholders affects their will to participate in more innovative events or stick to mainstream formulas, contributing to expanding our understanding of the role of emotions play in the mobilisation and recycling of resources in creative projects.

The paper contributes to the literature by exploring the socio-emotional mechanisms behind the political processes of festival stakeholders, helping to unpack the notion of trust, consensus and the motivations behind the behaviours both processes elicit. The paper also contributes to the literature showing how distant relationships may impact

the festival. It explores the relationships of festivals with broader social networks, reflecting on how stakeholders beyond its political arena can develop a symbiotic relationship with the festival, benefiting from the recycling of marginal resources and contributing to the legitimacy of the festival.

6.3 Literature review

The efforts of journals to make sense of the interdisciplinary field of festival management have resulted in the publication of studies that go beyond the economic impact, the marketing and managerial perspectives on festivals (Carlsen et al., 2011) to show the complex and multifaceted nature of these events and their broader social, cultural, environmental, developmental and technological dimensions (Wilson et al., 2017), and the potential of this new avenue for research.

Research methods (Mair and Whitford, 2013), the collaborative nature of festivals' creativity and innovation (Jaimangal-Jones et al., 2018; Marasco et al., 2018) and the peculiarities of specific festival sub-types, have also started to receive scholarly attention (Lashua et al., 2014). Recent literature reviews and special issues (e.g. Getz and Page, 2016; Jakob and Van Heur, 2015; Laing, 2018; Wilson et al., 2017; Van Niekerk, 2017) also call for future research focusing on intermediaries and collaborators to expand the literature on entrepreneurship and festival stakeholder management. The next subsections explain the fragile balance festivals need to achieve to be innovative but at the same time relatable to the audience. It continues exploring the management of stakeholder relationships, acknowledging the socio-emotional characteristics of these political processes. Finally, it provides a resource-based description of the potential configurations of stakeholder relationships.

6.3.1 Balancing arts and commerce

Festival stakeholders are those who can influence or are affected by the achievement of the goals of an organisation, their interactions being defined by the power, legitimacy and urgency they have for the different parties (Freeman, 1984). Legitimacy refers to the degree to which the actions and goals of an organisation are

adequate for the social system in which these are pursued (Getz and Andersson, 2008). These relationships need to be orchestrated according to these common goals, and at the same time, trying to prevent an excessive dependence on key partners (Getz and Andersson. 2010), so the level of autonomy of the festival will not become compromised. Despite the commitments developed with different stakeholders, as an inter-organisational network, festivals need to be able to renew their product, incorporating innovative elements that may be considered a risk by most conservative stakeholders. Innovation is, therefore, a key aspect in the management of the festival, which needs to strategically integrate and adapt to social trends to maintain and increase the appeal of the event without eroding the trust of its stakeholders (Larson, 2003, 2009, 2011, 2013).

To achieve this balance between resource dependence and autonomy, tradition and innovation, festival managers engage in a variety of political strategies that situate these relationships between competition and collaboration (Larson, 2002), navigating through socio-emotional dynamics of consensus and conflict as part of the management of the event (Larson et Wikstrom, 2001). Stakeholders project their values and expectations about how the event can serve their interests, originating different tactics that include the use of power to create legitimacy but also the recognition of abilities and motivations that originate trust (Lewicki et al, 1998). Therefore, the ability to generate emotions such as faith and hope are going to play an important role when stakeholders are assigning meaning to these collaborative relationships (Goss, 2008). The relevance of trust is often superficially mentioned in the literature on festival stakeholders (e.g. Getz and Anderson, 2010), but rarely explained in detail; therefore, the emotional dynamics behind political processes such as trust building remain generally under-researched, especially in terms of its influence in the negotiation of goals and access to resources.

By the same token, a situated analysis of these agreements could lead to a more emotionally informed understanding of collaboration between festival stakeholders. This would unpack the political processes between stakeholders with different levels of dependence, power and goals (Larson, 2009; 2011). As these interaction dynamics change, actors are allowed within or excluded from the political arena of the festival,

changing the capacity of the festival to establish new alliances and increase its ability to innovate (Larson, 2011).

6.3.2 Emotions and political processes: the management of festival stakeholders

Stakeholders are defined as any individual or group that can affect or is influenced by a firm's achievement of its objectives, who can affect or is affected. Power, legitimacy and relative dependence on stakeholders have been identified as key elements in understanding the exchanges happening in their interactions (Anderson and Getz, 2008).

When stakeholders engage in processes of social exchange, they generate emotions that act as rewards or punishments, depending on their expectations and appraisal of what they value and want to obtain from the other actors (Goss, 2008). The repeated interaction among them produces a series of interaction patterns or social interaction rituals (Collins, 2004) that provide important clues regarding the network dynamics and the requirements to acquire membership (Burt, 2000). Those patterns that lead to a productive exchange are based on trust and collaboration, but social interaction can also result in a negotiated exchange based on formal agreements, with fewer emotional effects (Lawler, 2001). When social exchanges lead to a positive emotional appraisal of the interaction, emotions of self-efficacy and collective efficacy emerge, increasing the motivation of individual stakeholders, who would experience greater embeddedness and group solidarity (Goss, 2008).

If we consider the temporary nature of festival networks (Larson, 2009) and the entrepreneurial role of festival managers, the socio-emotional dynamics among stakeholders become even more salient, as the incorporation of new elements to these networks requires the renewal of trust and the re-assessment of the benefits of social exchange among the different stakeholders, who need to find common values and meaning from this membership (Goffman, 1959) to reap benefits from these interactions.

Reflections upon these political relationships are the origin of the 'political market square' (Larson, 2002, p. 121). This is a conceptual tool to understand the production

and marketing processes considered during stakeholders' interactions to build the necessary legitimacy to access resources and decrease the risk of failure (Getz, 2002). Agreements are based on the trust between different parties and the need to avoid high levels of interdependency (Getz and Andersson, 2010). The complex relationships between the social, political and economic interests of stakeholders' networks converge at the industry, firm and urban policy levels establishing the grounds for festivals' acceptance and sustainability. When organisations pursue goals that are also aligned with society's values and public good, they gain a certain level of legitimacy, which allows them to access resources. The management of festivals rely on political relational processes of communication and collaboration with other stakeholders in which the legitimacy of the event continues to evolve (Larson, 2002; 2009). Once their initial positions in the political market square have been secured, stakeholders have the chance to contest culture and politics in their own terms, which links legitimacy to a shared social identity and compatible values of the respective stakeholders (Larson, 2009).

The potential creative benefits stemming from social interaction between different groups are discussed in the social networks literature as related to the level of strength of their ties or an actual lack of association between them, which makes the connection a source of opportunities and new ideas (Granovetter, 1973; Burt, 2004; Uzzi and Spriro, 2005). In any case, festival managers can act as brokers (Winch and Courtney, 2007) linking different innovation networks within an industry despite not having an authoritative role. They can connect idea generators and users, performing a broking role that differs from other roles of intermediation in the industry where organisations are previously connected. Festivals provide a scenario where stakeholders belonging to different networks can be exposed to different ideas, making unique connections between ideas and those with the means to exploit these opportunities (Winch and Courtney, 2007). Innovation networks emerge from cooperative processes that lead to the forging of alliances among different groups previously not connected (e.g. Howells, 2006; Batterink et al., 2010) that are perceived as valuable and trustworthy by the festival organisers. Among other factors, resources are going to have a paramount role in the successful generation of creative festival products (Carlsen et

al., 2010), as their availability motivates stakeholders to reach agreements on how much risk they can assume. Power is going to be used to fulfil individual interests and change the direction of innovation; however, the literature on festival innovation suggests that conflict can also be a source of creativity (Larson, 2009).

Festivals can also go through internal processes of renewal that are also influenced by resources. As festivals mature, they become legitimised by different stakeholders and their value starts being taken for granted (Larson, 2011). Thus, it becomes quite common that festival managers stop learning from their previous experiences, failing to combine exploration and exploitation, as has also been observed in other creative industries (e.g. see an example from the videogame industry, Cohendent and Simon, 2007). In the case of institutionalised festivals, innovation can have the purpose of refining routine elements of the event, and combining them with new creative components that may generate conflicts as they call for higher levels of managerial uncertainty and creative destruction (Goss, 2005).

6.3.3 Resource-based configuration of stakeholder relationships

Festival stakeholders can be public, private and voluntary organisations (Larson, 2002) that can be categorised according to their relevance for the survival of the festival as primary stakeholders, which are those which have formal relations with festivals and are key for their survival, and secondary stakeholders, which have less impact on the festival's existence (Freeman, 2010). Stakeholders can also be classified according to the type of partnership. Morgan and Hunt (1994) explain these partnerships according to the relational exchange existing between partners as supplier and buyer (e.g. manufacturers of goods and services and long-term customers), internal partnerships (e.g. departments and other within-firm exchanges) and lateral partnerships, which are strategic alliances with competitors, non-profit organisations, local businesses and institutions including universities, the council and other governmental bodies.

Other taxonomies reflect on the level of power of different stakeholders over the festival, from those with regulatory power (e.g. public agencies), the actors that act as

collaborators (e.g. providers), to those impacted by the event, such as the local community in which it takes place (Getz, Anderson and Larson, 2007).

Festivals can have different ownerships (i.e. public, private or not-profit) which is another dimension to consider when analysing its potential audience. They can offer open access, request an entrance fee or use a combination of both according to their income generation strategy (i.e. public funding or private sponsorship) and the nature of the events in their programmes (Getz and Andersson, 2010).

In terms of levels of dependence, the literature has identified the following actors as the main stakeholders in a festival network. The festival organisation, including management, staff and volunteers; the audience, which is the main source of support; the city or municipality, which regulates the occurrence of the event and may provide access to public spaces or funding; the industrial sector to which the festival belongs; restaurants, vendors and voluntary associations that contribute to the activities of the event; the media, which uses the festival to create content in exchange for publicity; suppliers of commercial goods and services; sponsors contributing to the festival in exchange for publicity and marketing activities; allied festivals with which there is some degree of resource sharing or collaboration; and the public or community where the festival is celebrated (Larson, 2003; 2009; Getz et al., 2007).

Festival managers are the nexus of these different stakeholders and set the basis upon which collaboration is built (Larson and Wikstrom, 2001). They engage in political processes that imply negotiating with different players and finding a niche within their community. The situated analysis of these relationships explores resource dependence as a conflict-consensus continuum (Larson, 2002; 2009) that enables the emergence of processes of legitimacy building and resource mobilisation. As mutual collaboration increases, the different interests of stakeholders are addressed in the political processes of the event, improving the potential performance of the festival and its sustainability (Van Niekerk and Getz, 2016). However, the lack of cooperation can also have serious consequences for the survival of the festival. To confront high levels of uncertainty, stakeholders compete for resources, implementing different political strategies that assure them a continuous supply (Quinn, 2006; Hede, 2008).

The level of resource dependence between festival managers and the different stakeholders has to be balanced to secure not only the festival's survival but also its creative autonomy and social acceptance. Legitimacy is going to be key for understanding how relationships are built among different stakeholders, both within the political market square and the external environment of the festival. In fact, the inability to mobilise and access resources is one of the most common causes why festivals fail (Getz, 2002). The ability of festivals to claim assets lies in the extent to which they are perceived to be aligned and contributing to the public good. The level of competitiveness of a festival with respect to other competitors, is assessed by its capacity to attract sponsorships and its potential to have a positive impact on the economic regional growth (Larson et al., 2015). There are other dimensions of the legitimacy of festivals linked to non-economic factors, such as the symbolic values represented by the event, which are linked to the values of its stakeholders. Moreover, the legitimacy of the festival depends on its ability to act as a social glue in its community, bringing people together, connecting through their social identity and celebrating how these shared values that are transformed into the affective component of the event (Collins, 2004; Driscoll, 2015) and a renewed sense of relatedness.

In spite of the prominence of the symbolic meaning of resource dependency and the paramount importance to align political strategies with social values and cultural identity, the festival management literature does not take into account the socio-emotional dynamics behind the mobilisation of resources, which becomes key in the inclusion or exclusion of potential collaborators from the political market square of festivals (Larson, 2002). Therefore, the present study addresses this gap, exploring how collaboration is negotiated among festival's stakeholders. It focuses on the role emotions play in the mobilisation of resources, which is key to the creation and consolidation of teams and new alliances to foster innovation. The identification of the competing needs and how these tensions are resolved will help reach a better understanding of the socio-emotional characteristics of inter-organisational networks.

6.4 Methodology

Festivals are interdisciplinary events that have been examined by adopting a wide array of methodologies (Driscoll and Squires, 2018). They started being investigated from an anthropologist view (Falassi, 1987; Turner, 1982), a cultural sociology and a human geography perspective (Quinn, 2005). Drawing from Bourdieu (1983), festivals have been considered the scenario where the performance reproduces the tensions of the broader literary field. One of the most dramatic changes in the industry in recent decades has to do with the disappearance of the 'wall' between writers and the audience, which is taken to the extreme by new technologies and the requirement for a constant presence in social media (Driscoll, 2015). Within the framework of the creative economy, most of the research on festivals has been quantitative (e.g. Andersson and Getz, 2009; Carlsen and Andersson, 2011; Hvenegaard and Manaloor, 2006), using surveys and secondary data to collect evidence. This has led to a majority of cross-sectional studies belonging to the positivist paradigm. The present study contributes to the development of a more diverse field of festival research, positioning itself among the increasing number of studies adopting a qualitative approach (e.g. Arellano, 2011; Clarke and Jepson, 2011; Derret, 2003).

The exploration of the emotions and political processes of festival stakeholders requires the collection of rich qualitative data to achieve a nuanced view of this phenomenon. Rather than focusing on the cost-effectiveness these agreements have for the different stakeholders, this study explores the process by which these arrangements are made, concentrating how emotions are used to leverage the political playfield. Therefore, to understand the different shades of emotions in the relationships between the stakeholders of a festival, the study focused on the characteristics of the social interaction of these players in the context of Edinburgh International Book Festival (EIBF).

The first stage of the data collection consisted of an exploration of the history of the festival to understand its origins and evolution. At the second stage and inspired by relational sociology's dramaturgical metaphors of social interaction (Goffman, 1959; Collins, 2004; Goss, 2005; 2008), the different stakeholders in the context of EIBF

were mapped out and interviewed. The analysis of the data focused on the contributions and expectations of stakeholders involved and their collaborative agreements with extended networks.

The study focuses on the emotions associated with the exchange of resources and the extent to which the agreements stakeholders reach to collaborate, contribute to the achievement of an innovative festival. These agreements involve the inclusion of new elements to the festival performance such as new writers, new formats to present the books and other initiatives that departure from the traditional presentation of books and writers, including the incorporation of elements from other performing arts. The multi-stakeholder design facilitates an understanding of the role different institutions and organisations play in the literary festival and fringe events of the city of Edinburgh. The exploration of these boundaries and connections brings together a variety of viewpoints, which expose the conflicted views regarding Edinburgh's literary landscape and the tensions experienced by festival managers, sponsors, publishers, writers and voluntary organisations when explaining themselves with regards to the festival. Links between the elements belonging to the macro and micro dimensions of this phenomenon were then considered (Layder, 1993), while maintaining the attention in the idiosyncratic narratives of stakeholders about the participation or exclusion from the festival as the festival's 'moments and their men, not men and their moments' (Goffman, 1967, p. 3).

Data collection consisted of archival data that reflected the history of EIBF (Squires and Filkenstein, 2019) and 33 semi-structured interviews amongst which there were the most relevant primary stakeholders of the festival, and organisations with which they have strategic alliances and competitors, such as bookshops, non-profit organisations, libraries, professional associations, governmental bodies, 12 Edinburgh and Glasgow-based publishers and 4 writers, who agreed to share their views on the literary festival and Edinburgh's publishing context.

EIBF opened its doors for the first time in August 1983, being held every two years until 1997, when it became an annual event. In 2018 it consisted in 152 free events and 891 for-profit events and sold more than 16,000 tickets. The annual reviews published

on the EIBF website (EIBF, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019,2020) were the source to create Table 6.1, which shows the evolution of the different contribution stakeholders and festival initiatives have been making to the festival income since 2004. EIBF receives 11% of its funding from Creative Scotland, City of Edinburgh Council and the Scottish Government, 32% from its box office and 49% from sponsorship, donations, memberships and trusts, being a highly embedded and institutionalised festival.

Table 6.1. Income and expenditure of EIBF. Source: EIBF (2020).

FESTIVAL'S INCOME	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**
Sponsors, donors, memberships and trusts	25,0%	30,0%	37,0%	34,0%	40,0%	37,5%	35,8%	40,1%	41,3%	44,9%	46,9%	50,0%	45,6%	48,8%	48,7%
Box Office	16,0%	38,0%	37,0%	33,0%	34,0%	33,5%	33,0%	30,7%	28,5%	30,7%	28,4%	27,5%	33,7%	30,9%	31,5%
Core Funding	18,0%	18,0%	13,0%	17,0%	14,5%	14,1%	13,5%	12,6%	13,4%	13,6%	12,6%	13,1%	12,4%	11,1%	11,1%
Project Funding	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	6,9%	10,7%	11,2%	12,1%	5,6%	7,4%	5,5%	4,2%	5,5%	4,4%
Booksales (net) and Sundry Income	16,0%	14,0%	13,0%	16,0%	11,5%	8,0%	7,0%	5,4%	4,7%	5,2%	4,7%	3,9%	4,1%	3,7%	4,3%
Total	£995,727	£1.09m	£1.2m	£1.3m	£1.6m	£1.8m	£1.9m	£2.0m	£2.3m	£2.2m	£2.4m	£2.5m	£2.6m	£2.95m	£3,17m
FESTIVAL'S EXPENDITURE	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**
Programme and Festival Site	43,0%	45,0%	45,0%	43,0%	40,5%	40,0%	45,4%	44,3%	42,5%	40,3%	43,0%	41,9%	44,0%	48,0%	46,9%
Staff	39,0%	37,5%	36,0%	36,0%	33,0%	34,2%	31,9%	32,6%	32,9%	34,4%	32,8%	35,6%	36,5%	33,6%	34,9%
Marketing, Development and Fundraising	10,0%	9,5%	10,0%	9,0%	14,5%	13,3%	14,7%	13,3%	14,1%	15,8%	15,6%	13,1%	11,7%	10,6%	10,3%
Admin, Overhead and Depreciation	8,0%	8,0%	9,0%	12,0%	12,0%	12,5%	8,0%	5,8%	6,9%	6,4%	6,4%	7,2%	5,9%	6,0%	6,2%
Box Office	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	4,0%	3,6%	3,1%	2,2%	2,2%	1,9%	1,8%	1,7%
Total	£993,153	£1.08m	£1.1m	£1.3m	£1.7m	£1.9m	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	£3.25m

A total of 58% of the people attending the festival are local and 4% international. The festival hosts performers from 62 countries and more than 400 journalists, which translates into 1,152 nights of accommodation and other indirect economic benefits. The festival has created 27 permanent jobs and 148 temporary ones. It has also facilitated the growth of outreach activities for different audiences around the city and the organisation of fringe events and alternative festivals by community ventures (EIBF, 2018). Since the EIBF has been included in Nielsen BookScan, it has proven to outsell all other bookshops in the UK during the Festival period, which is key to attract the best publishers and writers.

This study focuses on those stakeholders organising the EIBF as well as competitors and local writers that are part of the fringe events organised around the literary festival. The participants provided a multifaceted perspective on the interaction and mobilisation of resources between the festival's stakeholders.

The data were firstly categorised by type of stakeholder, and then, the emotions expressed by the participants were classified using Willcox's taxonomy (1982). The analysis identified the object of such emotions and the themes linked to these. After that, the themes were filtered and those quotes expressing emotions and opinions about the festival were subject to an additional round of analysis. The quotes were examined to assess whether the agreements and interactions mentioned made reference to the backstage of the festival (e.g. private agreements regarding founding, travel expenses, accommodation), its social front (e.g. public collaboration with other stakeholders for outreach activities, media agents) or the negotiation of the actual performance (e.g., format of the event, date, position within the programme). Emotions emerged as a result of the exercise of reflexivity during data collection and analysis of data, achieving an interpretation that reflects on the contemporary social world as it is perceived, rather than relying on conventionalism (Fitzpatrick and Olsen, 2015; Holmes, 2010). Table 6.2 below represents a sample of the second round of coding, in which emotions are linked to the resources and agreements of the festival mentioned by participants.

Table 6.2. Sample of second round of analysis

Respondent	Emotions	Resources	Innovative element	Quote
Quango 1	Mad: frustrated	Backstage: Collaboration	New events	"One of the things that we have to do, because our funding is limited, is advocacy and encouraging people to work together and making partnerships happen and that is one of the key things we do. With the sector review there were 38 recommendations and I have no money to do any of them. But I've managed to do about three quarters of them just by talking to people and getting them to work together and picking things up like that. The thing I'm working on at the moment is that we have 40 book festivals every year and we also have a huge network of libraries and other book shops. None of whom are working together. "
Manager Bookshop (Fringe Event)	Joyful: Stimulated	Performance: Book sales	Descovering new genre	"...He comes up in August and occasionally does a show at the Fringe and I've got a regular (customer) who came to the show at the Fringe... and she was like "I don't usually buy poetry but he was so good!" So you do, because if you see an author perform, it's not just the fact that you then buy the book and take it away and read it. You've got that connection between seeing that author and meeting them and whenever you get that book you're like 'Oh yeah, I saw them!' It's like a little happy memory story that comes with it."
Event Organiser 2	Joyful: hopeful	Backstage: Fringe event	Scottish reality and ideas	"I was trying to find how the publishers work. You are bringing these ideas back. Hopefully, some of the ideas you bring back as well. Hopefully, you are also making people aware of what is happening in Scotland."
Quango	Peaceful: nurturing	Backstage: Providing funding	Start-up festivals	"...in Scotland the network of literature festivals that has been brought up, is a really key point because in the 1990s it was quite interesting and very fast moving ... The only literary festival was that the Edinburgh International Book Festival and of course, if you like, that is the king. In the Arts Council days we use to sit and say it is wonderful to have the Edinburgh International Book Festival but would not be wonderful if we had all over the country? So the Arts Council would give grants for if people wanted to open their own festival. So they would start up. Now they are 50. All over the country."
Festival manager	Sad: remorseful	Performance: event format	Joint event	"I offended a writer this year because he doesn't have any book and so, I mean, it's quite hard. And then I had another event which was kind of a big discussion about...so I said 'Uh, would you like to come and be part of this discussion because you have key things to say' and he said 'No, I've only come if I'm on the same level playfield as my fellow writers, I won't...' So he was kind of offended. He was a Scottish writer that wasn't getting to be invited to do his own event, talk about his own work..."
Writer	Sad: ashamed	Backstage: unpaid work	Exclusivity	"Recently there has been a few high profile writers who have been stepping down from book festivals because publishers don't pay their authors. And there was a sort of committee and he said "I'm sorry but I can't stay here unless you're prepared to pay" and they said "we can't afford to pay". And he said "well, everybody else get paid so I'm leaving". And Joan has been refusing to be at the book festivals because she was getting paid 50 pounds but they put in place some kind of contract were she wasn't allowed to any other events within a hundred miles from the book festival for two months because they wanted exclusivity for 50 pounds per an hour."

6.5 Findings

6.5.1 The Historical Dimension of Edinburgh International Book Festival

Cultural events such as literary festivals bring benefits to the local communities that go beyond the economic impact, adding value in the social, cultural and financial spheres. They bring the opportunity to meet authors in person, buy books and are the perfect excuse to engage in tourism and travelling. Digital media amplifies the effects of festivals, which benefit from live streaming, podcasting and the creation of virtual communities of readers that spread the word of what has been experienced in these events (Squires and Filkenstein, 2019). The broader cultural environment of literary festivals includes a wide range of actors and activities occurring in different spaces, such as libraries, bookshops, schools, literary awards ceremonies, digital media and tourism sites. Private and public interests converge in the presentation of books and literature, although most of the responsibility lies in the author, who has to promote the book, entertain the audience, and meet the media so the book will have the appropriate marketing intermediaries.

In the 19th Century, the literary events were focused on a single author, such as the celebration of the birthday of Robert Burns every 25th of January in Scotland. Book tours were then mostly a series of lectures held in different cities which could take him to international destinations. Literary events became collective manifestations of culture in the 20th Century. The celebration of vernacular languages, literature and culture was firstly seen in Scotland in 1892 with the Royal National Mòd, a festival focused on the promotion of book culture that was publicly supported and not focused in the generation of profits. Most literary events in this period were set in public spaces, bookshops, and run by charitable organisations (Filkenstein and Squires, 2019).

During the First World War, the Government commissioned and funded books as part of its secret propaganda plans to make sure the population would support it and its allies, sending authors abroad to spread their message in literary events. The result was positive enough to make them establish an annual book week that commenced in 1926 in Cheltenham, following the example of other European book festivals. Book selling

was experiencing a rise due to the creation of mail order books, an idea imported from the US that was used in both countries to promote each other values and strengthen their alliance. The Government would make regular recommendations to libraries and schools to spread their contributions to democracy and progress. Following the Second World War, literary festivals became powerful promotional artefacts for books and the literary culture in the UK, combining the release of books by established authors and the presentation of new ones. Festivals are spaces for authors to meet their audience, for publishers to deal with their commercial relationships and transactions and, of course, for selling books (Filkenstein and Squires, 2019). Cheltenham officially became a literary festival in 1949, the year in which was also founded one of the most important Scottish publishers of the post-war era.

John Calder Publishers Ltd was created in 1949 and named after its founder. John Calder was one of the most important charismatic publishers of this period; his innovations were both pragmatic business solutions and innovative additions of avant-garde literature and forward-thinking authors to his list. He brought to the UK readership translations of Tolstoy, Chekhov and Dostoevsky, as well as the work of many authors blacklisted by McCarthy in the US. He also introduced new paperback formats to compete against Penguin and identified the value and potential of writers such as Margarite Duras, Eugène Ionesco and William Burroughs, and managed to publish Samuel Beckett's work after arduous negotiations with Faber and Faber. He was also a marketing visionary and created a powerful word of mouth buzz by sending titles to literary figures and booksellers close to some of the main universities in the UK. In 1960, he organised a lecture tour with three authors which was a huge success and ended the tour with a reception at The University of Edinburgh. He proposed to the director of the Edinburgh Festival what became the precursor of the Edinburgh International Book Festival. In 1963, Calder organised the Edinburgh Writers' Conference at the McEwan Hall with the support of the British Council. He invited over 100 writers and deployed an astute publicity strategy of sending letters for and against the conference to *The Scotsman*, discussing Scottish identity, nationalism and censorship with the media to awaken the interest of the audience through his wide and progressive vision of culture (Milne, 2007).

After the Second World War, the English language started its globalisation and books were again brought to the international arena to influence other cultures. Examples of these actions are exhibitions in Lebanon, Peru, Chile and Venezuela (1970) and later China (1978). It was also in 1970 that the Specialist Publishers' Exhibition for Librarians (SPEX) was created, and five years later it would become the London Book Fair. This fair, unlike its European counterparts, was focused on the trade of publishing rights rather than the engagement of writers and the audience (Filkenstein and Squires, 2019).

Another example of literary festivals' entrepreneurship can be found in Richard Booth. He was the creator of the 'book town'. As a bookshop owner, he managed to combine the appeal of second-hand and antiquarian bookshops with the touristic charm of Hay-on-Wye, which declared itself 'book town' in 1961, then being followed by other towns in the UK such as Wigtown in Scotland in 1998. The Hay Literary Festival has partnered with several countries (e.g. Ireland, Spain, Mexico) and others such as, Australia, Finland and Switzerland have created their own book towns. This project has revitalised so evidently these small towns via cultural tourism, that many of the new book towns have been initiated by quangos and other institutions rather than single entrepreneurs (Filkenstein and Squires, 2019).

Despite the influence of Hay, the outdoors literary festival of Bedford Square Book Bang and the Cheltenham Book Festival have been the main role models for the Edinburgh International Book Festival (EIBF), which was officially founded in 1983, becoming the first event in Scotland dedicated only to books. The first director, Jenny Brown, decided to set the EIBF as an outdoors festival, like music festivals, and managed to operate it with a mix of sources of funding including local authorities, commercial sponsors and newspapers that managed to cover the expenses when adding the revenue from ticket sales (Filkenstein and Squires, 2019).

Nowadays, the effects of globalisation include more international promotions and book tour circuits, as well as cultural events developed internationally such as UNESCO's 'World Book and Copyright Day' every 23rd of April, since 1995, which commemorates the death of Cervantes and Shakespeare. The UK version was created in 2011 by Canongate publisher Jamie Byng: The World Book Night. Apart from

giving away thousands of books on that first night, the date has been a commercial hook to encourage mass participation in the releases of books such as JK Rowling's saga Harry Potter.

Another UNESCO sponsored initiative made possible the rebirth of Edinburgh as UNESCO's first 'City of Literature' in 2004, combining the prestige of its literature and its potential for cultural tourism and substituting the former annual designation of UNESCO's scheme for 'World Book Capital'. This idea was then spread among a number of creative industries (e.g. music, design, gastronomy, to name a few) and cities in different countries, which are known as the Creative Cities Network. 'Edinburgh City of Lit' is a trust that promotes literary tourism and encourages business to make the most of their venues' touristic potential by exploring and promoting its links to Edinburgh's literature (UNESCO, 2019). The criticism given to these initiatives is that they privilege a middle-class, white, female audience that consumes middle-brow cultural events where the cultural identity of Edinburgh is commodified and nicely packaged for its consumption (Filkenstein and Squires, 2019). However, currently there are more than 40 literary festivals in Scotland (Creative Scotland, 2015) happening in urban and rural areas throughout the year, bringing the chance to buy books to towns without bookshops and creating a safe space to discover and share the progress of Scottish cultural identity.

6.5.2 Partnership and networking

Edinburgh is a centre of intense publishing and literary activity, where the levels of involvement fluctuate considerably among those collaborating with EIBF. This is the largest literary festival in the world and serves as an umbrella for many other literary events. A great number of organisations and institutions organise the main events in their agendas in August, a month when many international festivals are hosted by the city. In the case of the EIBF, institutions ranging from the Scottish Government to the British Council bring in politicians and other international guests to enjoy the literary festival and other artistic and cultural events that take place at the same time. The annual general meetings of professional associations, quangos and societies related to literature and publishing, orbit around the main public event of the

industry as they have the chance to gain international exposure. Several events are also programmed around the EIBF with the collaboration of public libraries and non-profit organisations creating and promoting a literature culture. EIBF managers describe their typical audience as 50 upward, middle class, white professionals, and one of EIBF concerns is to attract younger, future inveterate readers to be part of the audience.

EIBF is a highly institutionalised event and its partners increase the level of legitimacy of the festival in the national and international scene, expanding its prestige, networking opportunities and business collaborations beyond the festival and its setting. The EIBF is supported by the City of Edinburgh City Council, Creative Scotland, The Scottish Government and its lead sponsors are Baillie Gifford, an investment management firm, and the People's Postcode Lottery. The festival is also supported by the Royal Bank of Scotland, academic institutions such as The University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh Napier, The Open University, the British Academy and the Edinburgh Academy. Businesses and professional associations are also involved, such as the Society of Authors, Nielsen Bookscan, the National Library of Scotland, The Scottish Oil Club and Waterstones among others.

One of the initiatives of the City was a request to be granted the status of Creative City of Literature, which was sent to UNESCO and granted in 2004. The City of Literature trust has since then been funded by the City of Edinburgh Council and they organise an event included in the festival programme called the StoryShop, where local writers have the chance to present their work. They also organise networking events and promote literary tourism in the City.

A key aspect of the festival management is the agreement with publishers about which writers are going to participate in the events. Festival organisers point at the commodification of writers' signatures and creations as a threat to the attractiveness of festivals. Writers are transformed into brands that power the treadmill of 'professional' festivals, repeatedly pushing them through the same circuits, over again. This makes it more challenging to find media outlets interested in mainstream events, as best-selling writers are very likely to have received media coverage at previous festivals. This is also a threat to writers, who are easily pigeon-holed into specific genres or even characters. Despite the EIBF efforts, most established publishers will

be reluctant to send their writer if they consider the innovative elements of the event outweigh its commercial potential, which hinders the creation of new formats. Small publishers are more likely to collaborate. Nonetheless, the EIBF pays writers for coming and welcomes them with a package that includes accommodation and designated leisure areas within the festival venue, and they also take care of the commercial aspects of the performance that mean high investments that not all festivals can afford. In fact, not all festivals pay writers to attend. EIBF stocks the latest release and also the back catalogue of the writers, increasing the chances of commercial success. The EIBF is very aware of the need to provide accountability of these sales to increase their bargaining power. As they explain:

> *That is so important to the publishers (Nielsen BookScan) especially for books that are launched in August at the festival. It really makes the difference between getting them in kind of the top 10 of the book sales charts. Last year the biggest was (name of writer) and he was our best seller, but because we weren't part of Nielsen, (the book) didn't appear at all, the book sales didn't appear at all and that meant that instead of being around...The publisher thought he may have been around number 5, but he was about number 73.*

This means that the publisher lost the chance to have the book stocked and present in the top ten charts of all bookshops, which meant not reaching a desirable level of visibility and sales. The EIBF also makes sure writers utilise their networks to increase their business outreach. This may consist of charitable events or collaborating with more business-oriented organisations, such as other literary festivals sometimes beyond Edinburgh and Scotland. The directors of the festival explain:

> *So we're not kind of exclusive, we'll work in partnerships and things with other organisations to maximise the time (of the authors). A well-known American children's writer is coming this year and we've worked with the publisher to give them other contacts beyond of Edinburgh and Scotland.*

The agreements to share resources are explicit among those stakeholders included in the political market square, but there is a tacit recycling that involves actors beyond the political processes of the festival, as is explained in the following section.

6.5.3 Resources and recycling

The EIBF is celebrated in the private gardens of Charlotte Square, an historical square of the City of Edinburgh and now expands its activities in one of the surrounding streets. In terms of income generation, the EIBF has a commercial programme for which it requests the audience to buy tickets, but there is also a programme that can be attended for free, thanks to the sponsorship of public and private contributors. This means that the EIBF receives material support from a wide range of stakeholders within and outside the festival and publishing industry, avoiding high levels of dependency on a single resource or stakeholder. Spreading the risks, festival managers secure a certain amount of autonomy. In fact, the month of August is known in Edinburgh as the festival season, conceived as a magnetic field in which every festival works as a connector that facilitates encounters among institutions, organisations and individuals working in the same or complementary industries, such as the media and the performing arts. Festival organisers are very aware of these synergies and work in partnership with public and private stakeholders to set alliances and share resources so all can maximise their returns as a tourist attraction and festival destination, implying a sophisticated marketing orientation.

Likewise, other actors related to the industry such as bookshops and libraries mobilise their networks and contacts to manage to host literary fringe events. The organisers of these alternative events do not pay writers, but take advantage of those already invited to the EIBF, and new, local emergent writers, offering them their venues and a potential audience to increase the sales of their books. Libraries and bookshops benefit from creating community around their venues through the increased foot traffic and, in the case of shops, increased sales. In the meantime, writers recognise the need to contribute to the book sales, especially in the case of self-published writers, and book stores are aware that the sales coming from family and friends are sometimes similar

to what they would achieve with a renowned author. The effect is multiplied during the literary festival, which brings the opportunity to exhibit local talent.

Writers become recycling resources that are mobilised especially through the bookshop networks, contributing to the alternative literary scene of the City of Edinburgh and the consolidation of EIBF as the mainstream reference and source of entrepreneurial opportunities for these community ventures. The bookstore does not even need to pay for the books in advance. Rather, they stock a number of books and agree on a percentage to be paid to the writer after sales. However, depending on the success of the event, the writer may be invited to repeat their appearance, with the bookstore keeping part of the stock permanently on its bookshelves. A self-published author explains:

> *(Name of bookshop) has been amazing. Absolutely amazing... I spoke at the fringe festival, (Name of bookshop)'s Writers at the Fringe… That was amazing. They asked me to do it, which was fantastic. Really successful nights.*

6.5.4 The socio-emotional aspects of collaboration

The EIBF is considered a public manifestation of Scottish writing by its local publishers and writers. They consider the festival as part of their way of life, their space, platform and opportunity. They have a strong sense of ownership and belonging to the community, which signposts their identity and values. The invitation to present a book in the main literary festival is equivalent to a literary birth, personally and professionally, bringing authors closer to the recognition they seek. The festival combines their international brand with the local cultural values. The EIBF philosophical ties are closer to the government rather than to private business owners, promoting the achievement of idealistic interests such as the proud claim of Scottish national identity in the international arena. However, the over-reliance on hallowed authors limits their ability to come up with new formats and names. Upcoming writers express with resentment they are eager to make the most of the festival:

I would perhaps like a wider variety of authors at festivals. Sometimes you go to festivals and you always see the same faces. It doesn't help many local authors or upcoming authors; it tends to rely on big international names.

Public funders and quangos try to turn the scales by providing festival organisers with funding and material resources, encouraging them to take risks, support the local industry and be innovative. Another emotion that arises when discussing the distribution of material support to festival organisers is solidarity, and funding is discussed as a way to support the literary culture of the country so new start-up festivals can be created. This is an example from a governmental body:

In the Arts Council days we use to sit and say it is wonderful to have EIBF but would not be wonderful if we had that all over the country? So the Arts Council would give grants for if people wanted to open their own festival. So they would start up. Now they are 50. All over the country.

Access to venues and potential audiences are also offered to those interested in spreading the literary culture of the City of Edinburgh (e.g. writers, non-profit organisations), sometimes out of contempt for the establishment, but the most influential quangos express their interest to bring in a new vision of the world, exploring other realities, generating empathy and connection. A quango representative explains:

I think that the book festivals have replaced that (religion). They are in a sense almost like the cathedrals of a secularized country. People are coming together, they are talking about ideas, how do you make a better society… I think that is very important because how do you build a humane society? Well, it has to be by bringing people together and explaining what other people have to contend with. If you know the reality of the life of someone living in Syria, you will more likely to be sympathetic to what they are enduring because he

can relate it to yourself and you would feel in that situation, rather than a few just see lots of boats arriving on the shores of Italy. Literature to my mind is very key and building that up.

Unfortunately, the most creative stakeholders of festivals are those that report more negative emotions, such as anger. This is partly because of the insufficient payment for their creative endeavours and the lack of appreciation for the associated tasks related to marketing. They are used to working almost for free, and the request for their presence in events organised, within and beyond the EIBF, brings them the chance to connect with a diverse audience, whose support may translate in sales that would bring them closer to where they want to be professionally. These feelings of righteous anger are present in self-published, novel and famous authors and, interestingly, all of them collaborate or want to have the chance to collaborate with the organisers of these fringe events. As a renowned Scottish author says:

I do festivals and things all the time, you will sell to 20% or 30% of the audience. So if there are 50 people in the room or 300 people in the room. I'm in the EIBF, at the speaker's tent, that can accommodate 50 people in the room. We won't sell more than 7 books and I'll get 70 pence per book, you know? I'm talking about the biggest festival in the world and actually they do pay… I've been coming here for 20 years, I've had best sellers, so there is a lot of people out there and people don't really take notice. And so, you sell a book at a time, or you sell a painting at a time, or you sell a piece of jewellery at the time, whatever your creative thing is… And you need to sell a lot until you hit your momentum, really.

However, the opportunity to connect to the public still motivates writers beyond the economic aspect of it, bringing up the passion to hone their craft no matter the economic output. A poet reflects:

> *Being offered to read at events and getting paid for it, I have been supported by loads of people. Consistently. With (name of publisher) and (name of two editors) they were always there, places in Glasgow. A lot of people do get a lot of success and they're cracked. Or, that is not as challenging, but challenging might not be as popular. I want something that is gonna make me think or make me uncomfortable, not something that is just gonna be like 'oh, that was very nice'.*

This continuous recycling leads to new combinations of resources that translate into the presentation of new writers and the creation of new formats for the events, held out of solidarity or commercial interest in the venues made available by book stores, libraries, non-profit organisations and quangos. The emotions related to these exchanges include the joy linked to the discovery and the sales of books that become souvenirs of happy memories. As a festival director recognises:

> *And it's also quite nice to think that I'll go to (name of festival) across in Glasgow and get a bit of a taste of how certain events may work, because there's still a bit of lead way in our programme to go 'Oh, I know which person would work particularly well now that I've heard them speak'.*

6.6 Discussion

This study shows an initial exploration of the emotions linked to the mobilisation of resources (Elbe at el., 2007) in the context of a literary festival. Stakeholders and entrepreneurs use their emotions and the emotions they elicit in their personal connections to get access to support and resources. Writers seem to be the resource exchanged between publishers and managers organising events at bookshops and libraries, who pay authors with the opportunity to increase their pride and prestige, an opportunity that most of them do not refuse to avoid the shame (Cardon et al., 2009; Cardon and Patel, 2015). The high level of institutionalisation of the festival (Getz and Anderson, 2010; Larson et al., 2015) has resulted in a quite stable access to resources ranging from public funding to private sponsorship, which is complemented by ticket sales and other temporary collaborations. The consequences for the innovative

purposes of the festival are twofold. On the one hand, they are highly aligned to the interests and values of its primary stakeholders, which means the EIBF has to compromise its creative goals to collaborate with other stakeholders and maintain its perceived legitimacy and brand values (Larson, 2011). On the other hand, the availability of resources and the commitment to support new Scottish writers, gives the EIBF a certain degree of autonomy (Getz and Andersson, 2008), being able to programme events with new authors and smaller publishers, keen to engage in innovative formats in exchange for greater exposure. The social interaction among stakeholders is based on shared interests that facilitate a consensus perspective (Larson and Wikstrom, 2001), and stakeholders cooperate from a position of trust, which is based mainly on solidarity (Collins, 2004; Goss, 2008).

The status and power of the festival generates high levels of emotional energy (Collins, 2004) that facilitates festival managers' introduction of new elements. It is necessary to consider that, during social exchange, stakeholders experience emotions linked to the potential consequences of this exchange. Solidarity is experienced when those involved in the interaction make positive attributions towards each other behaviours and future exchanges (Lawler, 2001; Goss, 2008). In the case of event organisers, the emotional energy is gathered from publishers and writers that are regarded as resources with potential to be recycled from the festival (Elbe at el., 2007). The availability of a venue to interact with the audience, generates economies of scale for writers already paid to be in the city. In the case of local writers not invited to the festival, these fringe events are the most similar emotional experience they can possibly obtain.

The organisers of these events explained how solidarity mobilises family and friends to these events where, ultimately, the sales come without making much marketing investment. Trust is also the basis on which royalty fees are agreed. The economic benefits run together with processes of community building that event organisers link with hope and the creation of happy memories and a growing culture of reading and attending literary events. In fact, fringe events are sometimes the place in which writers are discovered and offered a chance to present their work in the main festival. Therefore, the solidarity that initiated the recycling of resources is also a source of innovative potential of the EIBF.

Conflict can also be a source of emotional energy when it comes to introducing new innovative elements to festivals. Funding is used to overcome fear and promote courage among established and start-up festivals, but the lack of it is also a catalyst of creativity, as we can see by the entrepreneurial spirit of writers who are upset for how they are paid for their jobs. They manage to increase their emotional energy by participating in events that increase their status and strengthen their links to the local communities. These alternative events have been explained as born out of the contempt towards the inclusion criteria of institutionalised festivals (Larson et al., 2015), and the lack of representation of local ideas and realities. By the same token, the exclusion of potential readers among the working class communities, makes new emerging and local writers engage in the promotion of their work in initiatives with no commercial purposes, although this continues being based on their free work and feed their resentment and anger (Goss, 2005).

Shame and anger are emotions that are associated with negative social exchanges that have a limiting effect over self-efficacy (Collins, 2004; Goss, 2005a). In the case of writers, they are the weakest stakeholder in the political market square of festivals and most of their relationships come from a position of conflict based on the perceived unfair and low economic retribution of their work, which hinders their status. Anger is, therefore, a way to deal with the shame of being in a situation over which one does not have much control, but it is nevertheless painful and inexcusable (Goss, 2005b). Anger triggers higher levels of emotional energy to protect ourselves from the disapproval of others, activating pride. The organisers of alternative events and festivals take advantage of this situation and offer writers an innovative business idea that validates their need for agency and control (Goss, 2005b). Success is here defined in a way that increases the emotional energy of the writers involved.

6.7 Conclusion

The political market square of festivals benefits from social interaction patterns in which there are high levels of consensus and trust (Larson, 2002). Positive emotions associated with consensus lead to safety and exploration, which are enablers of creativity and innovation (Amabile et al., 2005; Larson, 2009).

Trust is usually based on feelings of solidarity, which implies positive attributions towards each other's behaviours and future exchanges (Goss, 2007). At the beginning of collaboration, solidarity tends to mobilise marginal resources (Elbe et al., 2007), which are conducive to entrepreneurial initiatives. These activities, however, may sometimes be based on negative emotions (Doern and Goss, 2013).

Negative emotions are associated with conflict, and often indicate that there is a high level of resource dependence among stakeholders, what may pose a challenge when some are trying to incorporate innovative elements to the festival. When stakeholders experience a high degree of conservatism that clashes with their creative proposals, they may engage in entrepreneurial behaviours that include new elements that challenge the status quo. Anger is usually associated with excessive dependence and helplessness, experienced by the less empowered stakeholders. Shame is associated with actions whose aim is to tolerate interactions perceived as unfair and engage in behaviours that aim of which is to maintain relationships that are considered as vital to one's activities, which in turn consolidates the legitimacy of the main conduct of principal stakeholders. Both negative emotions motivate stakeholders to engage in appeasement behaviours (Doern and Goss, 2013) that help them avoid the negative consequences linked to their inferior position. Anger and shame can contribute to ignite pride and foster collaboration among stakeholders outside the political market square of festivals, that have complementary goals and can restore their position in terms of power and emotional energy (Collins, 2004).

Recycled resources such as venues and potential audiences reduce the risk of engaging with innovation by organising events with new writers or proposing new formats. Recycling resources and collaborating with local communities, provides new opportunities to those excluded from the mainstream festival to take small steps towards innovation (Quinn, 1985). The entrance of new players to the festival scene brings about creative new ideas and solutions on how to renew products or processes (Larson, 2003, 2009). Both festival and fringe events shape the local production and consumption of culture, and this eclectic and unofficial solidarity becomes a source of and forum for entrepreneurial activities that promote social interaction and cultural exchange. This paper contributes to the festival literature by explaining how inclusion

and success come from a shared cultural identity, a shared emotional experience, and the recognition of the richness and ideological validity of alternative forms of literature, which in turn strengthens the position of the leadership of the main festival.

As an implication for managers, this study offers festival organisers and stakeholders the chance to benefit from a broader understanding of the terms in which collaboration is understood within and beyond their political market square. Acknowledging the socio-emotional dynamics behind collaboration and conflict can facilitate the selection of collaborators according to the content and format of the performance they are willing to create. Along the same lines, the recycling of resources makes the benefits of the festival expand more widely and its extended networks can supplement or increase the initial scope of stakeholders, adding value to the overall activities of the festival and increasing the returns expected from the resources gathered for the development of the festival.

The study also offers some insights for policymakers. Understanding the main frictions between stakeholders can help them define more specifically the terms of collaboration they wish to support and offer incentives to overcome the obstacles that prevent stakeholders from presenting more innovative proposals. It is important to acknowledge that both at the institutionalised and grassroots entrepreneurial level, stakeholders are benefiting from the work of writers and their willingness to work almost for free to avoid being ashamed or experience the potential consequences of contradicting stakeholders in positions of power. Considering the conditions in which the job of writers in festivals is developed, it is very unlikely that writers would break this vicious cycle. By the same token, as other studies have pointed out (Larson, 2009), not all successful festival networks are very innovative. Some of them benefit from the spill over effects of lending, implicitly or explicitly, resources to stakeholders outside their political market square, whose artistic and commercial aspirations position the festival as the referent in the cultural scene. Emotions are an engine that promotes the recycling of resources and the replication of relationship patterns that benefit those who hold control over the resources needed to create and maintain festivals. This emotional energy, however, needs to be renewed by adding new elements to the negotiation and challenging the order of things so audiences can still

be attracted to the festival. Fringe events can play an important role in consolidating the prestige and the position of the mainstream festival, multiplying its indirect economic effects by recycling its resources.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

This final chapter presents the main contributions and implications of this research. As stated at the beginning of this thesis, the interdisciplinary nature of the research topic has led to the integration of a quite fragmented literature, reviewing theories and constructs across fields to be able to explore different aspects of emotions and their role in the production of creative goods. To achieve a comprehensive view of this phenomenon, it has been necessary to bring together contributions from a range of disciplines such as social psychology, relational sociology and festival management, to make a contribution to the creative industries entrepreneurship's literature.

The chapter is structured as follows. The first section discusses how the two empirical chapters of the thesis feed the conceptual model which was developed and used as the departure point of the empirical work, unpacking the theoretical contribution of the dissertation. It reflects on how the findings can help refine this conceptual work and it presents the theoretical contributions of this thesis, explaining how the study of emotions advances the understanding of the creative industries. The second section discusses the implications of the findings. It reflects on the ways in which this thesis can inform policy and practice, making recommendations based on the studies. The third section acknowledges the limitations of the thesis, reflecting on the challenges that the study of emotions involves and acknowledging the shortcomings of this doctoral work. The fourth and last section of this chapter, proposes avenues for future research.

7.1 Theoretical Contributions

Despite the vertiginous advance of affective sciences in the past decades, emotions are still an emerging area in management sciences (Cardon et al., 2012), in most cases incorporated to the research arena in the last half of the 20th Century (e.g. Baron, 2008; Forgas, 1995; Stets and Turner, 2006). It is still very common to observe

a conceptual divide between cognition and emotion, as if they were two separate concepts rather than two intertwined elements equally necessary for decision-making (Barret, 2017). Despite the fact that the fallacy of the separation between rationality and emotions was identified and discussed decades ago (Damasio, 1994), a view of emotions as disconnected from cognition still prevails, revealing an existing bias in the way decision-making is understood and explored in the creative industries entrepreneurship's literature. This thesis contributes to the emerging academic discussion on the role emotions play in the ideation and pursuit of entrepreneurial endeavours in the creative industries.

The literature on creative industries entrepreneurship has been examined with the aim to build a theoretical framework that helps reach a better understanding the role emotions play in how creative goals are selected and materialised. The creative input of individuals (DCMS, 2001) and their interaction with social networks (Potts et al., 2008) constitute a basis for the production and consumption of creative goods, and the socio-emotional dimension of this creative entrepreneurial process has been the cornerstone upon which the whole thesis has been built.

Chapter 4 explores the role of emotions in the recognition and pursuit of entrepreneurial initiatives, which is the first research question of this project. As there are no theoretical work to help us understand this topic, this chapter contributes to the literature by developing a conceptual framework (Figure 3.1) to analyse the role of emotions in the selection of creative goals. Selection criteria are achieved by balancing a valorisation of artists' work with an assessment of the extent to which these cultural products would match audience taste and needs. Therefore, selection is a compromise between economic and artistic demands to achieve a particular creative goal. The ability to identify the socio-emotional reality portrayed in a creative project and connect it to its potential audience makes the selection criteria become a source of competitive advantage. This framework, however, is based on the studies available, which represent a quite fragmented and dispersed stream of studies belonging to different disciplines. The lack of a more cohesive line of research has been a great challenge and limitation that is discussed in more depth in Section 7.3. Along the same lines, and after having reach conclusions from the empirical data, the role emotions

play in the selection and pursuit of creative goals would have benefited from a deeper focus and analysis of meso-level factors. Emotions have been found to be heavily influenced by the social and political context, and these were not represented in the initial conceptual model. The introduction of new emotions and social realities goes hand in hand with the identification of new ways in which the loss, maintenance or gain of status is experienced, and emotions are also related to how power can be used to influence or silence others. Emotions have been traditionally associated with certain genres, such as poetry, but the person selecting and materialising a creative goal is signposting her/his identity, economic strategies and ideology with these choices. In the same way, emotions are instrumentalised at different stages of the creative process through social interaction. The aim of these interactions is to get access to the best raw material and external support, from the selection to the development and promotion of the creative good. The conceptual model could also be narrowed down exploring more in depth how emotions influence these different aspects of the production of creative goods and also, according to the different stages of the creative process (e.g. talent scouting, review of submissions, negotiation of commissions, editing, marketing, potential visibility and so on). Reframing the propositions of this conceptual model according to the evidence found in the data, will also help address more accurately some of the methodological challenges this thesis has faced. Balancing the propositions for a better representation of the relevance socio-emotional factors have in the selection of creative goals, would clarify the operationalisation, measurement and contextualisation of findings in a more conclusive manner, offering a more solid foundation and justification of the methodology.

When reflecting on the role emotions play in the selection of creative goals, the data showed that emotions influence individual entrepreneurs in different ways. They play the role of signposting the values a creative good represent. The emotions emerging from the experience of consuming a creative product provides information regarding the values represented in this experience, and they can be used to facilitate the understanding of social reality, increasing empathy. Raising awareness about these aspects of emotions can facilitate decision making when it comes to selecting a

creative goal and market it appropriately to the audiences that would be interested in or identify themselves with these experiences.

The ability to recognise and identify rich representations of socio-emotional realities has a positive influence in the selection of creative goals, as it helps entrepreneurs to identify those opportunities aligned with their ethos, the values they want to promote and the audience they want to reach, strengthening their selection criteria as a source of competitive advantage. A strong alignment and consistency between a publishers' ethos and the kind of creative experiences they provide, is very difficult to imitate by competitors. The selection criteria depend on the emotional creativity and awareness of the entrepreneur identifying business opportunities, but also on the willingness of this person to take risks in this regard, generating a portfolio of creative goods that have value and encourages the audiences to engage with certain cultural identities and social realities.

At the macro level, the emotions involved in the selection and materialisation of creative goals are heavily influenced by the city or region where these initiatives take place. There are contextual factors that impact the awareness and expression of such emotions, shaping to a large extent the selection criteria and realisation of these creative goals. The cultural attributes of cities and regions have been found to have a profound effect on the expression and instrumentalization of emotions for the selection and materialisation of creative goals. It is important to note that material and social aspects also play a relevant role. In particular, historical elements such as the historical experiences of the industry and the cultural identity of its members, have a strong influence on the selection criteria and also in the political sentiments ruling the relationships between the different networks in the industry, even beyond the social boundaries of these creative entrepreneurial ecosystems.

When it comes to social networks, emotions signpost the position of the different individuals. They help identify the membership of individuals to the different networks, as well as the position from which they interact. Status and power are very present during social interaction and they are linked to wide range of emotions that vary from pride to shame. Emotion display can have different functions depending on the situation and individuals involved in the exchange. The strategies to mobilise

resources are usually linked to actions that imply either an increase of the emotional energy or the avoidance of shame of the individual lending the resource, although the outcome leads to different consequences. For instance, festival managers and quangos increase their power and status when they let others recycle resources from which they would not be making any extra profit, having a positive effect on their legitimacy and embeddedness in the community. However, those writers agreeing to work for free, despite the symbolic increase of their visibility, are actually avoiding shame and perpetuating a disadvantaged position that is taken for granted by the rest of members of the network. Therefore, acknowledging the emotional dynamics behind these political strategies can help raise awareness about these virtuous and vicious cycles, which are easier to break when they are identified as part of a system, an interaction order, rather than an individual experience. This includes a better understanding of the reasons why some of the creative goods produced are selected despite not being suitable, a priori, for large audiences. It also sheds some light on the reasons why some ventures struggle to scale up. These and other implications are explored in more depth in Section 7.2.1 and 7.2.2.

The pursuit of creative goals, in the case of the creative industries, is carried out by passionate entrepreneurs (Cardon et al., 2008) who tend to concentrate on specific geographic areas, originating creative clusters (Florida, 2002; Mateos García et al., 2018). Contributing to the literature on entrepreneurial ecosystems (Spigel, 2017; Spigel and Harrison, 2018), Chapter 5 explores how the features of these spaces depend on the ability of individuals and networks to collaborate with each other. To explore the way in which emotions influence the interaction of entrepreneurs with other social networks in a creative entrepreneurial ecosystem, this study adopts a relational sociology perspective, contributing to the analysis of the socio-emotional characteristics of a creative entrepreneurial ecosystem. The history of chains of social interaction (Collins, 2004) among individuals and networks pertaining to a creative entrepreneurial ecosystem, consolidate an interaction order which establishes the power, status and level of emotional energy of its members (Goss, 2008). This study adds an additional layer to the analysis of entrepreneurial ecosystems and contributes to the discussion and conceptualisation of the social boundaries of these spaces. The

findings show that the history of the place plays a key role in the definition of boundaries, together with the political sentiments of key actors and networks, which protect their interests and identity creating ideological barriers (Goss, 2008). Political sentiments motivate pressure for the distinction of their own literary identity as a brand, which a purely marketing criterion tries to reduce to a genre or commercial category for its own benefit.

As proposed in Chapter 4, publishers are interested in books and writers giving a voice to current issues and reflect realities they can relate themselves to, although they may not be a great economic success, confirming that the robustness of their ethos is considered an important part of their selection criteria. Economic pressures are balanced with other criteria such as contributing to the preservation of seminal works, masterpieces, the support of cultural identity, diverse political views and themes considered of local interest; in other words, they are interested in creating a portfolio that matches their cultural identity and ethos. Critiques to austerity, the bureaucratisation of funding opportunities and the monetisation of writers' work, shows their need to make a political instrumentalization of emotions, and this provides invaluable feedback for the enhancement of the conceptual model.

The role of publishers as the guardians of quality and taste, increases the pressure for them to have strong connections with other actors and networks such as funding agencies, literary agents, media outlets, protecting the prestige of their role from digital actors and platforms. They need to get connected to networks and change if they want everything to stay the same. All publishers expect writers to support the risks they are taking and work for free, although they use different excuses to bypass the shame (Goss, 2005), such as needing their time to actually get books distributed or scout new talent. Unpaid labour is usually translated as a trait, as having an entrepreneurial attitude, which entails not expecting advances, increasing online activity to reach high visibility on social media, free or modestly paid participation in events and a tacit agreement to be branded and even pigeonholed according to the interests of the publisher. The traditional precariousness of creative work has been updated with an increased work overload due to the proliferation of social media networks and digital platforms that facilitate self-publishing and promotion, increasing the pool of

candidates and potential replacements if writers decide to exert their anger against publishers (Goss, 2005). These findings point at the contribution emotions can make to the creative industries entrepreneurship literature, especially with regards to the political sentiments that set up the boundaries and collaborative relationships among networks. This approach would be even more relevant to understand those industries that rely on project work and inter-organisational networks, such as the creative industries. In the same lines, the study of emotions enhances our understanding of the complexities behind the selection of creative goals and the materialisation of these projects.

Chapter 6 deepens on the exploration of the role of emotions in the pursuit of creative goals by examining collaboration in the context of a creative industries' events. It explores the socio-emotional relational strategies that influence collaboration between the stakeholders of a literary festival. The aim of this paper is to achieve a better understanding of the collaboration among inter-organisational networks and contributes to the literature on entrepreneurial processes in the management of festivals by exploring how emotions contribute to the mobilisation and recycling of resources (Wilson et al., 2007). Drawing from the literature on political relations among stakeholders, we explore how they capitalise on their emotions and networks (Collins, 2004; Goss, 2005; 2008) as a means to achieve stable access to support and resources (Jakob & Van Heur, 2015; Larson et al., 2015). This chapter reflects on the different strategies and resources negotiated in the agreements among festival stakeholders and how these may benefit those beyond its political arena. It expands our knowledge on creative industries' practices, contributing to the literature on festival management. Chapter 6 provides a situated analysis of how emotions are part of political strategies to optimise resource dependence among inter-organisational networks in the context of a literary festival. The mobilisation and recycling of resources, and the consequent emergence of fringe events, is here conceptualised as an entrepreneurial manifestation of culture, contributing to the institutionalisation of the cultural model offered by the main festival, with which these events have a symbiotic relationship. By taking risks that established stakeholders tend to avoid, marginal actors find an unexpected fit with the ethos of artists and funding agencies, which are

willing to support and collaborate in more innovative initiatives. At the same time, their dependence on festival stakeholders, validates the central role of institutionalised festivals and their ability to raise resources and attract broader audiences that benefit entrepreneurial initiatives beyond its realms.

Fringe event organisers elicit positive expectations during social exchange with publishers and local writers, whose presence in the city is a festival resource that they recycle through solidarity. They generate sales and foot traffic without making much marketing investment, counting with the family and friends of local writers and audiences attending the festival. These events are based on unpaid work and can also feed the resentment and anger of writers, who are already the weakest stakeholders in the festival. When writers feel conflicted and have negative expectations, their self-efficacy resents their position (Goss, 2005), making them look for alternatives to validate their agency and control, such as these fringe events.

The analysis of the data of these empirical studies supports the pertinent role of emotions in the selection and pursuit of creative goals, signposting it as an interesting area of research that can help explore the traditional divide between arts and commerce (Caves, 2000) from a different perspective, enhancing our understanding of the soft skills necessary to engage in creative industries entrepreneurship. The data also reveal how cultural and economic factors play a role in the display and instrumentalization of emotions during social interaction which should be included in the conceptualisation of the selection practices in creative industries. The integration of these data to the conceptual model developed can be seen below in Figure 7.1, which shows what would be the departing point for future studies, explored in more detail in Section 7.4 as part of the suggestions for further research.

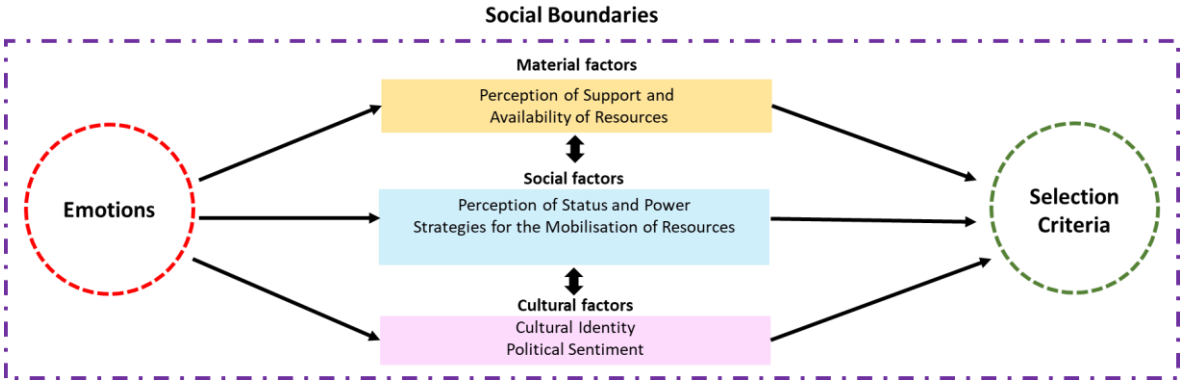

Figure 7.1. Update on conceptual model after completing empirical research.

Exploring the role of emotions in the selection of creative goals has led to the identification of three dimensions that interact with each other and are linked to the social boundaries in which the entrepreneur operates. The first dimension identified has to do with the material factors and how these are perceived by the entrepreneur. The availability of a structure that supports creative industries entrepreneurship and the availability of resources are going to be filtered by the socio-emotional lens of the entrepreneur and assessed against her/his selection criteria.

The second dimension is related to the social factors affecting how the entrepreneur perceive herself/himself in the interaction order. The emotions emerging from perceived positions of status and power are going to signpost potential strategies to mobilise resources. The ability of the entrepreneur to navigate these social networks is also going to affect the type of projects that are going to be selected and pursued.

The third dimension is linked to cultural factors influencing the entrepreneur. Culture has been identified as the main dimension affecting the expression of emotions and the identification of values in creative ideas and projects. Cultural identity has a great influence in the selection criteria of entrepreneurs and how they assess the social boundaries of their activities. It also impacts the political sentiment of entrepreneurs and how they understand the social systems in which they operate.

The interaction between these three dimensions results in certain selection criteria, which are representative of the ethos of the entrepreneur. The selection of creative goals is, therefore, the result of the perception of contextual factors through a socio-emotional lens, which allows the entrepreneur to assess her/his ability to navigate the environment to access support and resources, and position herself/himself within certain cultural and social frameworks.

7.2 Implications of the Findings

In the next subsections, implications for policy and practice are discussed and there are some recommendations made in the light of the evidence found in these studies.

7.2.1 Implications for Policy

The findings of this thesis unveil the role of emotions in the selection of creative goals. When exploring Scottish publishing industry and Edinburgh's creative entrepreneurial ecosystem, one can observe the influence of history in the industry. The historical and political heritage of the publishing industry imprint the city with unique socio-emotional characteristics that have a paramount effect on publishers' identity. The evolution of Edinburgh's publishing industry is inevitably linked to its connection to England, which is considered a different market although both countries are part of the UK. This is a quite significant finding for this PhD researcher, especially since there is no ISBN office registering and differentiating Scottish literary production from the rest of the nations of the kingdom. Also, there are many festivals whose sales are not registered by Nielsen Bookscan, such as Bloody Scotland. Having this information could corroborate some of the beliefs held by the participants in this research, providing exact figures corresponding to the Scottish market, and providing an objective, production and sales-based measure of the extent to which Scottish publishers and festivals remain local or have the ability to reach beyond the boundaries of its ecosystem. Once this information is available, it would be easier to identify those publishers that have the potential to reach wider audiences and make a better case for other publishers to attend Scottish festivals.

One of the issues identified in these studies is that funding basically consists of a few solid and long-term bets and a long tail of small initiatives that otherwise would not be able to take the risk. Having a Scottish ISBN would allow researchers/policy makers to perform more in-depth situational analysis before designing forms of support and promotion. It would be necessary to discern the potential of some of the small publishers to scale-up and reach wider audiences.

Another challenge identified in these studies is related to the marketing strategies of small publishers. Most of them have a very limited budget to promote books and did not mention the support professional organisations actually offer them through mentoring and courses to improve in this area. Many publishers delegate online presence and participation in events to writers, who are supposed to have a clear business strategy to achieve results from this unpaid work, what means publishers are leaving in lay hands a key aspect of promotion. Although there are organisations providing writers with courses to be able to handle public engagement successfully, in most cases there is plenty of room for improving these practices, and this can be targeted through public policies.

However, publishers and writers complain about the bureaucratisation of public funding and argue that getting access to these and other resources, such as residencies and literary awards, is partly based on their relational networks. When applicants can show evidence of ongoing collaboration and embeddedness in the industry, there are more chances for them to get this support. This means that perhaps there should be more initiatives focused on fomenting encounters and meetings that can reduce relational asymmetries and foster the creation of social capital to enhance collaboration and support.

Policymakers also need to be aware that the most vulnerable element of the publishing industry is also its key resource. Writers are selected through traditional channels that may signpost their dedication and intention to hone their craft, such as a Masters in creative writing and other courses not available to all. The minimal subsidies or free labour of writers takes place during the process of writing, but also during the promotion of the book and engagement in fringe events. This situation reduces the chances to have a diverse pool of writers and views represented in the sector. Book publishing makes for a majority of middle-class writers, because they are the ones who can afford those conditions of work. This is now disguised as a need for writers to become entrepreneurial, when the reality is that there are fewer chances for working-class writers to have the time and resources to increase their chances to succeed, as publishers also look for those books that require minimal editing. Publishers complained about the fact that most of the writers leave for larger companies in

England after passing this critical initial period, which also prevents them from scaling-up their businesses. But who is to blame? It would be beneficial to explore ways in which this vicious circle could be broken and enhance the future prospects of the industry.

In the case of literary festivals, this thesis offers insights into the main friction areas between stakeholders, and this information can help policymakers to level the playing field by targeting specific terms of collaboration from the initial stages of development of the festival. It is also important to measure the potential recycling that resources can experience and assess the impact it has on the festival, fringe event's organisers and complementary businesses beyond the closest festival stakeholders.

In any case, all players are, again, benefiting from the work of those writers that have the ability to work for very little money or even for free, contributing to the online campaigns and physical promotion of the book in paid and free events, multiplying the benefits of their contributions to the local communities. Considering this, the gap with working-class writers is unlikely to decrease and philanthropic and for-business organisations will continue benefiting from their free work.

7.2.2 Implications for Practice

Emotions play a defining role in the selection of creative goals. From the content of the book to the chemistry and trust in the writer, publishers explain how emotions influence their decisions in multiple ways. The experience and display of emotions depends on what we have learnt society considers acceptable or not. In the case of the publishing industry, relationships are usually characterised by an asymmetrical distribution of power that affects the collaborative agreements among different actors and networks. Although the expression of what may be acceptable is quite subtle, emotions are often instrumentalised so all parties can collaborate and achieve their goals. A situated analysis of the networks one wants to access and the recognition of the minimum requirements of fit in the group is necessary to be able to connect to those networks that may enable a higher level of embeddedness in their communities (Uzzi, 1997).

Despite the common acknowledgement of these as soft skills, the identification of these unwritten socio-emotional rules is actually a hard skill to learn, especially since it requires individuals to be aware of their own positioning and ability to compromise. The challenge lies in identifying the multiple determinants of social interaction, which include the history of the place, the characteristics of the local culture, the social boundaries of its creative entrepreneurial ecosystem and the political views of its main networks. This information is extremely relevant from a managerial and personal perspective, as these socioemotional skills can also predict meaningful life outcomes and satisfaction with one's own professional development (Heckman and Kautz, 2012). Raising awareness of the social practices in place in the creative industries is a valuable resource not only for professionals and students willing to join these industries but also for practitioners to reflect on how they are developing and maintaining their portfolio, and assess the extent to which they are achieving a balance between local and global themes, commercial and artistic initiatives.

This thesis also highlights some of the elements that have to be considered in the development and maintenance of festivals, such as avoiding excessive resource dependence and the secondary effects of solidarity, signposting the rise of new practices and collaboration beyond the already established festival stakeholders and how these can have symbolic and material benefits for stakeholders and their wider community. There are areas of opportunity and friction that need to be present in the mind of practitioners to facilitate the selection of collaborators and key players according to the content and format of the creative goal they are trying to achieve. Similarly, the embeddedness in the community and the recycling of their resources in fringe events can be used as an argument to renegotiate their position and access to resources.

The data also show that publishers need a clearer communication of values and commercial strategy towards bookshops which could improve the placement of their products and the use of the Scotland brand. It is important to establish a clear distinction between serious books and souvenir literature, as this may be detrimental for Scotland's brand.

Finally, the study also points to the importance of building and maintaining ties with the rest of the individuals and networks in the industry instead of working in isolation. Informal practices are key in the pursuit of business opportunities, and an essential tool to identify potential sources of support, collaborators, as well as a platform to develop a wide range of contacts beyond the perceived boundaries of their own networks.

7.3 Limitations

The scant literature and theoretical frameworks available in this specific area of research has been one of the main limitations of this thesis. The lack of previous studies that could be used as a compass, made this a very challenging project, especially in terms of research design and methodology.

The study of emotions is subject to a high degree of controversy because of the lack of agreement in the definition and operationalisation of this phenomenon (Scherer, 2005). Disciplines such as history, sociology and management have shown a growing interest in the study of emotions, but there are not many methodological debates in the literature, and this lack of reflection and clarity is one of the main challenges for researchers and practitioners (Flam et al., 2015). The identification, collection, classification and interpretation of material on emotions, this being visual, narrative or of any other nature, is confronted by the imperative of standard methodologies to keep neutrality and rationality at the heart of the research process. This premise is considered as unrealistic by many emotion scholars, as researchers and participants engage in social interaction and experience emotions that have to be taken into consideration (Turner and Stets, 2006), as happens in other disciplines such as psychotherapy. One can argue that denying the existence of emotions during the interaction with participants is as subjective as denying the existence of transference and countertransference in a session of therapy (Heimann, 1950). Yet, these debates remain anchored at a theoretical level (e.g. Bericat, 2016) and practical methodological guidance remains scarce in most social science disciplines when it comes to emotions, with the exception of those adopting feminist methodologies (Ahall, 2018; Fem-Mentee Collective, 2017).

Researchers are inherently social, and when they communicate and connect with others, there is a reciprocal comparison of status and power that triggers emotional responses, sometimes at an unconscious level. This is the reason why traditional methodologies have to be pushed beyond the actual standard ones, making a compelling case about the best ways to identify and analyse emotions (Flam, 2015). Widely accepted positivist approaches should be the starting point to engage in a more critical scrutiny and reflexivity, facilitating the acknowledgement of the inevitable influence of one's own expectations and emotions about subjects and participants being examined. Along the same lines, the fact that the most reliable methodologies hold these positivistic stands, reveals the reason why there are not many empirical studies on emotions in the area of management, as emotions have limited visibility and, therefore, their measurement is a challenging task. Positivist standards tie the study of emotions to this possibility of seeing them, to be able to measure them. As they have multiple dimensions, such as the physical, expressive and cognitive manifestations (Kuzmics, 1994), it is important to reflect upon the fact that, even if one could access data from all these dimensions, there will still be room for interpretation and contextualisation according to the situation in which emotions are experienced and revealed. Skilful researchers such as Hoschschild (1979) consider the expression of emotions as a mere instrument to navigate situations in a way that complies with the emotional script, socially accepted for these situations. The emotions that are 'appropriately manifested' in an interview situation would be the tip of the iceberg of what would be happening beyond the eye's reach.

The interpretation and contextualisation of these individual emotions, the identification of patterns after engaging in conversations with a number of participants, is what reveals the collective emotional energy (Collins, 2004) of individuals socially-bounded to spaces and networks. It is this collective emotional energy that makes one question the processes and systems from which these experiences emerge. Examining those emotions used to describe the relationships with others, those manifestations that are publicly correct, one can also identify which emotions are not present in these narratives, as well as those individuals and networks relegated to a corner of the depicted scene, the aggrieved. Despite the limited manifestations and reachability,

emotional experiences are linked to social structures and feeling rules that shape the way they are managed to keep or gain status and avoid shame (Hochschild, 1979).

Another limitation of this thesis is the scope of the study. The lack of literature on the role of emotions in the selection of creative goals led to quite a wide scope from the beginning of this project. Its interdisciplinary nature made necessary the review of a large number of studies belonging to different disciplines. Many of them helped the PhD researcher discern which were the areas that would be left out of this thesis, but it took a considerable amount of time and debate to be able to narrow down the research questions of this thesis. The lack of a unified body of literature has been a great obstacle when the scaffolding of the thesis was being built, and it took a considerable amount of time to put together a sensible conceptual framework to capture the first half of the research.

Another limitation of this thesis is the heterogeneity of the creative industries. The empirical work has the publishing industry as its setting. The unique characteristics of this industry may not be exactly the same as those to be found in the rest of the creative industries. Other creative industries may follow different protocols when it comes to the practices associated with the selection of creative goals and the socio-emotional characteristics of its ecosystems. Although one may find that emotions also play a role in other industries' practices, it would be prudent to continue exploring the influence of the local history, culture, the identity of its networks to understand the social boundaries of their ecosystem. Due to the role creative industries have in each other's diffusion of innovation, it is important to reflect on their characteristics separately but also who they influence each other as a whole.

Additionally, our understanding of the role emotions play in the selection and pursuit of creative goals would have benefited from a deeper focus and analysis of meso-level factors. The influence of emotions, which has shown itself to be more historical and political than how it has been represented in the initial conceptual model, would have been explored in more depth, with a different interview guide. It would have been interesting to include some focus groups with representatives of the different networks and invite another researcher to code the emotions identified to compare the degree of internal validity and accuracy of the categorisation. This approach would have needed

a more detailed review of the literature in the politicisation and instrumentalization of emotions and further training to be able to conduct the focus groups adequately.

7.4 Recommendations for Future Research

This thesis has led to the identification of three broad areas for future research that are explained below.

First, it is important to acknowledge that recent developments in the study of emotions need to be supported by equally increasing discussions on methodological developments that can help integrate the study of emotions in those disciplines from which they have been traditionally absent. Most of the methodological discussions are still very theoretical or have limited applicability. It is necessary to explore, with a pragmatic spirit, the extent to which creative industries' entrepreneurship could learn from other disciplines and adapt their current instruments to continue exploring the role emotions play in a wide range of entrepreneurial processes. With that objective in mind, future research could explore feminist methodologies (Gilligan et al., 2003) and psychotherapy tools (Riso et al., 1996) successfully used in the collection of data coming from individuals. These are approaches that focus on how individuals cope with the emotional experiences attached to their societal roles, and facilitate the discovery of one's emotions, proposing alternative interpretations so a balance can be achieved. It would also be very beneficial to explore instruments that capture group dynamics and open up the possibility of studying emotions during social interaction, such as focus groups. The incorporation of psychodynamic theories could also help the researcher to identify which emotions and actors are left out of the participants' narratives. Future research can explore the convenience and potential adaptability of theories such as the internal family systems (Schwartz, 1997) to study the dissociation from one's experiences from a sociological perspective.

Secondly, the creative industries literature would benefit from more reflection on the definition and typologies of these eclectic industries, probably using different criteria, such as the dependence on technology and the reliance on temporary networks. Further research can also make a contribution to the understanding of creative industries'

processes and practices by continuing unpacking the relevance of socio-emotional factors linked to the negotiation of access and collaboration, such as the history, values and identity of the networks involved.

The socio-emotional characteristics of creative entrepreneurial ecosystems which have begun to be explored in this thesis, but this is a topic that needs further development and exploration both theoretically and empirically. During the course of these studies, it has become more apparent that the role emotions play in the consumption of creative products mirrors what happens in the production of these goods. This thesis, however, has only explored publishing as its empirical setting and work in other industries may be beneficial to identify more practical implications and, more importantly theoretical underpinnings.

That said, there are still aspects of the role emotions play in the publishing industry' selection practices that still need to be explored and clarified. As publishing is a low-technology and low growth sector, during the course of the interviews, there have been many comments regarding unpaid digital publishing, distribution and self-publishing. This data could have brought the discussion to areas that were not within the scope of this thesis but posed interesting research questions that could be explored further. Digital publishing has interesting effects on the publishing industry when it comes to collaboration agreements. The increasingly important role of digital platforms in the distribution of books has included an additional element into the negotiations between writers, literary agents and publishers, which activates strong shame and power dynamics while attempting to preserve the *status quo*. A closer look into these aspects of the industry could help enhance understand of the influence of technology on social interaction and collaboration agreements, and how publishers balance opportunities and threats.

All in all, the literature on creative industries' entrepreneurship would benefit from more interdisciplinary studies that could shed some light on the unique characteristics of its creative clusters and the socio-emotional dynamics that may challenge individuals joining these industries. The high reliance on individual creativity makes these industries a fruitful ground for the exploration of the interplay between agency and structure and how meso levels factors can enrich our understanding of situated

practices (Goss, 2008). Moreover, the inclusion of emotions in the study of the recognition and materialisation of opportunities is relatively new (Carson et al., 2012) and a promising area of research in the context of industries reliant on high levels of collaborative interaction, beyond the creative industries.

Finally, this thesis offers a conceptual model of selection that could benefit from further research and refinement. The data collected for the empirical studies has initially corroborated some of the propositions included in the conceptual model. Publishers tend to select projects that are aligned with their own personal values and balance their choices to achieve both commercial success and fulfil their literary aspirations (i.e. Propositions 4 and 5). The data also points to contextual factors that play a significant role in the ability of entrepreneurs to identify cultural experiences that reflect new realities, which is indicative of the need to reframe Proposition 3, which links the identification of these experiences to the emergence of new values.

Overall, the conceptual model would benefit from further research, narrower scope at the meso level of analysis, and the availability of more empirical data in different creative industries to capture more accurately the role emotions play in the selection of creative goals. As there are no theoretical frameworks that can explain what makes creative goods symbolically valuable or emotionally relevant, this topic is a promising area for future research.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Interview guide

Block 1: Entrepreneurial Culture

Identity. How do you define yourself as a publisher? What do you personally bring to your work in terms of personality, abilities…? If your company was a person, how would you describe it?

Creative Goals. What type of books do you publish? What values do you try to share and spread with the works you publish?

Values. How would you define the values and mission of your company?

Experiences. How long have you been publishing books? Would you say that you are very different now from the publisher you were at the beginning of your career?

Emotions: Attraction. What brought you to start publishing books?

Emotions: Retention. What would you say are the things that motivates you the most to continue being a publisher? Money, lifestyle, etc.

Structure. Who is the main decision-maker?

Collaboration. What characteristics define the writers you usually chose to collaborate with? Think of the last writers you've been working with as an example. Which of their values attract you from them the most? What characteristics makes you want to retain them as collaborators?

Selection. What writers' personal characteristic do you value the most? What type of values you think make the perfect writer for your company? Which are the characteristics that writers that publish with your firm in long-term basis share?

Block 2: Networks

Arts versus Finance. How do you balance your contribution to culture and creativity and the imperative need to success commercially to assure you make a living out of publishing?

Abilities/Resources. What effects do Edinburgh institutions have on your network in terms of selection of projects and possible partnerships?

Identity. What means being a publisher in the first UNESCO Creative City of Literature?

Abilities/Resources. How does it impact your identity, image and reputation as a publisher?

Creativity and Innovativeness. How do you come about the potential writers that might work with you? To what extent would you say encounters with potentially successful writers is due to serendipity or chance? What influence being based in Edinburgh has on the chances to select innovative projects and/or writers with more success potential? To what extent does being based in Edinburgh foster your collaboration with individuals and/or companies belonging to other creative fields?

Risk-taking. Does belonging to Edinburgh's publishing industry influence the way you try to innovate in terms of the writers you hire or the books you publish? How do these circumstances affect the way you take risks?

Proactiveness. Would you say being based in Edinburgh affects the way you take control over future situations? For instance, does strategic information sharing within the network influence your levels of performance or your proactivity to market conditions or trends? How would you say you contribute to the enhancement of Edinburgh's publishing industry?

Block 3. Selection Practices.

Values. Which values do you consider to indicate individual creativity? Which values you aim to achieve by the selection of new writers and books? And what about the values your firm display when retaining valuable writers? In your opinion, which values are displayed by writers which feel attracted by your firm? What values have those writers which wish to continue working with you for a long period of time?

Motivation. How do you balance your artistic and financial needs when it comes to select a writer or project? Would you select a creative writer over a profitable one? Do you follow any strategy to combine economic gains and cultural contributions? To what extent would you say that your strategy has changed due to the professional experience? Was it different when you started publishing? In what way do you think your firm's size is helping or impeding the implementation of this strategy? What about your firm's age? When it comes to select creative individuals, in your experience, how do firm's age and size affect the chances to attract and retain them?

Creativity and Innovativeness. Assessment of writers' creativity or books' innovativeness. Anticipation of demand and creation of new trends.
Qualitative and quantitative considerations for selection. Means to select writers (literary agents, book fairs, social media, gatekeepers, agents, word of mouth). Percentage of writers that are newcomers to the firm/ industry. Ways to select books (market trends, user-led ideas). How the potential audience for a book is determined. Collaboration with other creative fields.

Risk-taking. How do you reduce your risks? Usage of information-sharing, new technologies. Diversification of production, different genres. How do you cope with your competitors' new initiatives? How do you disseminate and promote new books and writers? Encouragement of writers to try new things, do things differently. Selection of author popular in other creative domains (collaboration with other creative fields) Methodology used to research for new ideas for books and projects.

Proactiveness. Are you usually a first mover? How do you size the potential of new candidates? (communication with writers, blogs, previous work, social media followers). How do you size the potential of new projects? (identification of trends,

popularity of genres in other formats such as TV, cinema, etc.). Where do you find new ideas for books and/or authors to write them? What's your attitude at initial stages of the project? How actively do you collaborate with the writer, what type of support do you offer if any?

Block 4: Usage of marketing and technology.

Open Access and Print-on-demand

Social media and online distribution

Marketing and events. Funding, main partners, selection for participation, collaboration, main challenges.

Literary festivals. Global and local perspectives, institutional collaborators, impact in the city, relationship with quangos, relationship with non-profit organisations, communities and outreach, local writers, creativity and innovativeness, access to resources.