Performing Public Policy - An Institutional Ethnography of the Relationship Between Nova Scotia's Provincial Government and the Professional Theatre Sector

by

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Abstract

The Government of Nova Scotia invests in the province's professional theatre sector through the provision of public support. The administrative processes which implement this public support organise how theatre professionals understand and engage in their work. This thesis explores how the provision and administration of Government of Nova Scotia public support coordinates and structures the work of theatre professionals within the province.

This institutional ethnography opens the field of public administration to investigate the relationship between Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and the provincial government. It introduces a critical analysis of public policy administration and the consequences of this organization for how theatre professionals know and do their work. The data was collected through narrative interviews with Nova Scotian theatre professionals and public servants, observations of theatre sector activities, and review of public policy and administration, theatre companies, and public documents.

This study found the institutional relationship suffers from an insufficiency (limitation) of language which hinders theatre professionals from communicating their lived experiences including how they engage and understand their work. This finding is important, because the study also uncovered the administrative processes which organize Nova Scotia's provincial public support attribute as recognizing value in certain professional theatre work areas while making other work invisible. This organization of value contributes tensions between theatre professionals and the governing bodies. Theatre professionals experience an institutionalized distrust of and reliance on government support. Policy processes reward recognizable-company structures while taking for granted

administrative work. Nonetheless, such work is essential to the sector's activities. The result is that Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector increasingly relies on invisible but necessary and unpaid work to sustain itself. This work is the consequence of participating in, seeking, receiving, and accounting for public funding. This work and the associated tensions between Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and the provincial government remain unaddressed due, in part, to the administrative practices which keep them outside of and therefore blind to the governing discourse.

Glossary

Cross-sector relationship: Relationship engage by two or more sectors with inherent differences existing between the sectors. They are marked by points of juncture where the interests of the multiple sectors connect before again diverging. This contrasts with an inter-sector relationship, where multiple sectors align for a single purpose.

Experiential ways of knowing: These are contextually developed ways of knowing based on lived experiences, often invisible or misrepresented within ideological accounts of knowing.

Extra-local domain: The abstract domain of social networks and governing discourse shaping the documentary practices within one's locale.

Governing Role: A position of authority over institutional activities, responsible for coordinating the adherence of all participants and processes to the governing discourse and ideological ways of knowing.

Ideological ways of knowing: These are institutionally prescribed ways of knowing, supported by the governing discourse.

Locale domain: The immediate social environment in which one engages, from which their standpoint for ways of knowing is shaped.

Problematic: Experiential ways of knowing are often invisible or misrepresented within the ideological discourse. The problematic is situated at the points of tension and coordination between experiential and ideological ways of knowing.

Subsidiary Roles: A financially motivated position of dependence upon, and coordinated by, those in governing roles.

Translocal processes: Standardized practices, expectations, and rules consistent across time and location, which communicate ideological ways of taking part in the cross-sector relationship by connecting the lived experience at the locale domain to the extra-local governing discourse through empirical text-action-text institutional exchanges.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

In 2015, Nova Scotia's provincial government allocated $70 million to the province's arts and cultural sector; $1.2 million of that public funding was awarded to the professional theatre sector (Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council, 2014, 2015; Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2014a, 2014b, 2015; Nova Scotia Finance, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2016; Office of the Deputy Minister, Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2016).[1] This financial investment signalled political recognition that investment in the professional theatre sector contributes to the public good. The provincial government administered this money through policy and administrative processes designed to assure the public good. These processes are routine text-based translocal administrative practices that communicate and implement institutional requirements to access funding support. These include responding to calls for proposals for projects and programs, serving on adjudication panels, and reporting on funding grants. Theatre professionals rely on this support to supplement often limited commercial and philanthropic revenue. Therefore, theatre professionals routinely interact with the public policy processes in their everyday work through administrative work, which includes preparing grant applications, negotiating funding decisions, and program reporting. These administrative practices required by public policy become part of the structure and work of professional theatre organizations. The public policy and administrative requirements for public funds

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[1] Updated funding levels for 2020 are not available because of limitations on current government activities and time constraints. Though these funding amounts are from 2015, the timeframe of this data does not make a fundamental difference to the argument as funding levels were not the subject of this research. Rather, these funding levels illustrate and order the context of the research, which was looking at the organization of the relationship inside such public policy activity.

institutionalize expectations - these form codes of conduct for engaging in the relationship which extend beyond funding levels and public benefit. These institutional processes mediate many dimensions of relationships, including how theatre professionals know and do their work. However, such policy coordination over theatre sector work is taken for granted and invisible within the governing discourse, under-researched within academic discourse, and waiting for identification and definition within the realm of public policy.

This research provides a critical analysis of the policy and administrative practices and associated consequences of Nova Scotia's public support on the province's professional theatre sector. The study discovered that these processes attribute institutional value to some areas of Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector work while overlooking others. As a consequence of this attribution of value, the relationship involves an institutional tension which is characterized by Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector distrust toward those in provincial administrative and governing roles, an insufficiency of language for describing the cross-sector activity, and a reliance on invisible but necessary and unpaid work to support the province's professional theatre work.

1.1   Framework for Investigation

Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and the provincial government are engaged in an institutional relationship. The availability of public support to the theatre sector implements this relationship. Theatre professionals access this support through textually-mediated administrative processes. Examples of these processes include adhering to public funding qualifications, structuring program applications, and deciding resource allocation. The processes communicate institutional standards, interests, and expectations as rules for engaging in the relationship. The regular activation of these institutional codes for

participation normalizes them and their coordinating power over theatre sector activity.

To access public support, theatre sector applicants need to align their work with the institutional codes. However, there is a disconnect between Nova Scotia's public policy as a governing discourse and theatre professionals' experiences as policy and program users. The repetitive nature of these institutional processes makes them and their consequences invisible. However, the implications of this coordination on theatre professionals' everyday work are understudied within prevalent policy discourse.

This research is an inquiry into the administration of routine processes within Nova Scotia's public policy framework and its implications on Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector. This study departs from the standard themes of artistic merit, public benefit, and funding levels, which are the focus of current policy research paradigms. The research uses institutional ethnography as a theoretical and methodological framework. In doing so, this study focuses attention on the theatre professions' lived experiences that are otherwise invisible in the governing discourse. Central in the investigation is the operation of the provincial arts policy, including policy intentions, programs, application, and outcomes. This governing discourse upholds the institutionalized interest of investing public support into the theatre sector to link to ideas about socio-economic gains.[2]

This research is grounded in a materialist theory and practice of state governing. Dorothy Smith (1987, 2005, 2006) refers to this governing process as relations of ruling.

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[2] Academic and policy discourse on these benefits is examined in chapter 2. Studies published by Hasan Bakhshi, Nancy Duxbury, Sharon Jeannotte, and Charles Landry provide additional information on public support to the arts sector and the sector's reliance on such support (Bakhshi, 2012; Bakhshi et al., 2010; Bakhshi et al., 2013; Bakhshi & McVittie, 2009; Bakhshi et al., 2008; Bakhshi & Throsby, 2010; Duxbury, 2004; Duxbury & Campbell, 2010; Duxbury & Jeannote, 2012; Duxbury & Murray, 2010; Jeannotte, n.d., 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2010; Jeannotte & Williams, 2003; Landry, 2000, 2006, 2009, 2011).

She developed institutional ethnography as a sociological framework to investigate these processes (Campbell, 1995, 2000; Campbell & Gregor, 2002; McCoy, 2006; D. Smith, 1987, 2004, 2005, 2006; D. Smith & Griffith, 2014; Widerberg, 2004.). This framework assumes the everyday world as problematic, textually meditated, and ruled by those in governing positions (Campbell, 1995; DeVault & McCoy, 2006; Grahame, 1998; D. Smith, 1987, 2002, 2006). Policy activation normalizes this governing coordination, making its consequences on sector activities invisible.

Within this institutional ethnography, research participants are recognized as experts in their own experience. Theatre professional's ways of knowing were central to this study. The artists' standpoint was adopted as the research lens to keep these everyday lived narratives central within the research. The data was traced from this standpoint outward into institutional activities. Linkages across the experiences and associated governing processes within public policy were uncovered within the data. During data analysis, these translocal domains were mined to discover how the institutional relationship shapes theatre professionals' work and the associated consequences of this coordination. In doing so, this thesis investigated the processes of authorizing, activating, and accounting for public support and associated implications on Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector.

1.2   Research Design

This institutional ethnography investigated the organization and implications of Nova Scotia's public policy coordination on how theatre professionals in the region understood and engaged in their work. It adopted D. Smith's (2005, 2006) people's standpoint as the position of inquiry to respond to the question, "If Nova Scotia's provincial government offers public support to the professional theatre sector, how does the

availability of this support organize ways of knowing within the province's professional theatre sector work?" However, this study the adapted the methodology's terminology to "artists' standpoint," anchoring the theatre sector narrative as central to explicating the research problematic.

The institutional relationship was examined from theatre professionals' lived perspective by entering the research from the artists' standpoint. The study moved outward into the institutional processes to discern coordinating policy processes organizing the relationship. This inside-outward approach diverted from conventional policy research. Instead, the approach reduced the prevalence of the governing discourse within the study design and activation. In doing so, this research exposed how ways of knowing are socially organized and the implications of this organization on theatre professionals' work.

Data were collected through three mediums: text, observations, and interviews. These data sources included government reports, academic publications, public media releases, live theatre-related activities, and 34 semi-structured interviews between May and September 2015 with theatre professionals and public servants across Nova Scotia. Data collection and analysis were concurrent, where one activity instructed the other. Institutional processes embedded in public policy activities to the point of being invisible emerged within the data as text-action-text activation patterns. These processes held coordinating power in shaping the work of theatre professionals.

1.3 Key Findings

This original contribution to knowledge within this research defines how public support shapes the institutional value attributed to theatre professionals' work. Though such arts support is targeted to contribute public benefit, their administrative processes

engender certain activities as having institutional value while discounting others. Further, Nova Scotia's provincial policy is a gatekeeper to this support, shaping these ways of knowing. Figure 1 summarizes the consequences of these processes, while chapter 5 delves into the discussion in detail. This allocation of value reinforces a dichotomy of institutional distrust yet reliance toward those in governing roles, an insufficiency of language when portraying cross-sector interactions, and prevalence of invisible work for sustaining the region's professional theatre sector.

Figure 1
Research findings structured in institutional value
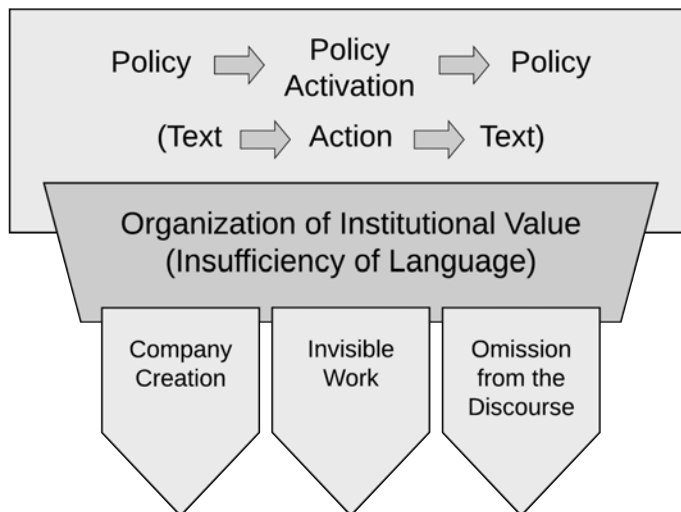
Purposefully, this research does not include arts advocacy, critical analysis of public funding levels, nor the evaluation of resulting socio-economic benefits. This study intends not to prove a hypothesis, assess policy investment levels, or confirm causality. There are plentiful models of theatre and arts activities that contribute to the public good in regions across Canada and internationally. Examples of such activities are highlighted included in Appendix A for reference, though not central to this study. Such exclusions within this research are not to undermine socio-economic benefits. Instead, this research purposefully shifts away from conventional policy discourse to include Nova Scotia's theatre professionals' lived experiences interacting with provincial public support.

1.4 Organization of Chapters

This research's presentation moves from defining the problematic Nova Scotia's arts policy framework to expose the consequences of such policy activities on how theatre professionals work and understand the value of such work within the province. The first half of the document situates the study's grounds through this problematic, theoretical framework, and research methods, including inductive data collection and institutional processes analysis. The final chapters present the research data, findings, and discussion for policy consideration.

The opening chapters of this research follow a recognizable report organization. Chapter 1 provides a general overview of the study. Chapter 2 introduces the research problematic, offering a longitudinal scan of the relationship between Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and the provincial government. This chapter chronicles this relationship's development to uncover a knowledge gap. It begins with the theatre's application during colonization and moves through to the 21st-century public funding introduction. While there is prominent research discussing the application and outcomes of public support and professional arts activities, the literature is limited around the institutional implications of such events.

Chapter 3 discusses institutional ethnography's application as a theoretical and methodological framework for investigating these institutional processes and how they shape the policy users' work. This chapter defines these assumptions and delves into the theoretical underpinnings of institutional relations, textually-mediated exchanges, and governing discourse which direct the inquiry process. The study design is then presented in chapter 4, including terminology, scope, methods, and analysis. The research embraces

the theoretical assumptions and methodology of institutional ethnography to deliver a critical analysis of the relationship between Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and the provincial government.

Chapters 5 through 8 discuss the research findings. First, the artists' standpoint is defined as to "make theatre" and tensions occurring at this standpoint are suggested. Chapter 6 builds from the artists' standpoint to considers the provincial bodies governing the institutional relationship to illustrate how each body brings its own set of assumptions and governing relations to the mix. From this range of governing structures, tensions in how theatre professionals understand their work and their relationship to the state are uncovered. Chapter 7 expands the analysis to investigate the policy processes structuring the institutional framework and associated tensions experienced by theatre professionals when navigating this framework. The chapter argues the administration of public funding is hierarchal and linear textually-mediated process. However, this linear structure is in conflict to the circular experience of theatre professionals when navigating public funding opportunities. Theatre professionals consciously and unconsciously tailor their work to fit within the governing discourse in order to access public support, to the omission of their lived experience. Chapter 8 draws from the earlier analysis chapters to argue an insufficiency of language shapes the institutional understanding of value in theatre professionals work and defines the consequences of this shaping on the theatre sector work.

The institutional processes upheld by Nova Scotia's public arts funding models incur consequences experienced the artists' standpoint. By unpacking the processes involved, the data reveals policy consequences as institutional distrust, the prevalence of invisible work for sector sustainability, and government mediated control in understood value of

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theatre work. Chapter 9 closes the research by summarizing and situating the findings within the broader discourse of Nova Scotia's cultural policy and associated sector activities. It recognizes limitations of this research and, by association, offers suggestions for future research investigation and policy application.

1.5   Chapter Summary

This institutional ethnography is a critical analysis of Nova Scotia's public policy coordination and its associated implications on professional theatre work in the province. The relationship between Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and the provincial government is messy. It includes ongoing developments in public management processes, social policy approaches, tracking and measuring policy outcomes, insecurities around arts funding, and concerns about political interest in arts funding. Through these, the governing focus stays consistent on policy outcomes for the public good.

This governing discourse overlooks the social organization of knowledge embedded in institutionally coordinated experiences. Conventional analysis overlooks those experiences which do not align with outcome markers or desired policy actions. By default, the governing discourse makes these lived experiences policy outliers rather than recognizing them as implications of policy organization. The qualifier of 'how it is occurring' in policy analysis must include policy users' lived experience when engaging in their work. Such experiential descriptors contribute to a rounded picture of the relationship and institutional practices for policy development. That is what this research provides, addressing the gap in policy analysis. It provides an institutional framework for investigating and then navigating the institutional relationship with Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and potentially other sectors.

Chapter 2 Reviewing the Cross-Sector Relationship

Nova Scotia's provincial government and professional theatre are engaged in a long-standing, reciprocal relationship. It is generally accepted within academic and policy literature that the relationship between the state and the arts provides social and economic value to a region. For example, theatre historians Alex Boutiller, Gaetan Charlebois, Anne Nothof, and Kathleen Lynch record theatre activity with an aligning community morale-building focus in the area as early as 1606 (Boutiller, 2005, 2015; Charlebois, 2013; Charlebois & Nothof, 2010, 2016; Lynch, 2008). It is this understanding which authorizes government investment in the arts through public funding. For the 2015-2016 fiscal year, the province of Nova Scotia budgeted $70 million toward the region's cultural sector, including funding professional theatre activities (Nova Scotia Finance, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2015d). The literature also explains the professional theatre sector's economic dependence on this support to sustain its everyday operations, confirming provincial support. Theatre operations experience constraints around box office and corporate funding, limiting commercial viability and needing support. However, discourse discussing the institutional nature of the relationship between the professional theatre sector and the state is meagre. There is a gap in the literature when considering policy as a stabilizing tool in administering public funding and how such institutional processes shape theatre professionals' work as policy users.

This chapter reviews the dominant discourse on Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and its provincial government. Literature was collected from academic and government reports within published journals, government policy documents, including legislative acts, program guidelines, departmental directives, theses, conference

proceedings, and book chapters. Journals, magazines, newspapers, press releases, and internet posts related to the subject matter provided additional review materials. The following search terms were used to find these materials: Nova Scotia theatre, Canadian theatre, political theatre, social theatre, government and theatre relations, institutional relations, cultural policy (including practices and strategies), creative industries/economy, and (public) arts funding. Within this list, the parenthesis identifies contextual descriptors added to the terms, and the forward slash separates derivatives of the search term used.

The chapter opens by examining the concept of public benefit related to the larger arts communities' theatre activity. This section includes a brief chronicle of this early theatre application before deeper into literature discussing the recognition, promotion, and measurement of social and economic public value. The chapter then discusses the commercial viability of the professional theatre sector and developments in funding. Professional artists, arts administrators, and public servants such as Jonathan Paquette, Eleonaora Redaelli, and the associated arts advisory and leadership committees with terms appointments from the Province of Nova Scotia reference fiscal limitations of theatre production concerning box office revenue and private funding streams, necessitating public intervention (Arts Nova Scotia Transition Committee, 2011; Burleson et al., 1999; Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council, 2014, 2015, 2019; Paquette, 2012; Paquette & Redaelli, 2015; *The Nova Scotia Culture Sector Strategy*, 1999; University of Southampton Students Union Theatre Group, 2016). These revenue constraints, paired with the generally accepted contribution of the public good, led to standardized funding for the arts from the federal and provincial governments. The actions of Vincent Massey and the Commission for Arts and Letters (Canada, 1951; Druick, 2007; Litt, 1992; Massey, 1921/1996; Rubin,

1951/1996b) are an example of this relationship becoming formalized through policy. In the following decades, this relationship continued to develop at the federal and provincial levels. Through departmental authority over arts funding was shifting, there was an increasing prevalence of formal application processes to access the public resources and fund arts activity. The chapter closes by discussing the use of policy to standardize and control funding. Institutional relationships support an ideological way of knowing which mediates the behaviours of those participating. Governmental policies authorize support to the professional theatre sector (as with other arts disciplines) for the associated public benefits. However, such processes also textually-mediate the allocation of this support. These policy processes are demonstrations of institutional controls, standardizing the decision-making process for public funding accountability.

Across this literature was a thematic prevalence of research articulating the arts' social and economic contributions, challenges in funding and accountability reporting for public benefit, and limitations around the professional theatre sector commercial viability. Emerging from this literature review is the presence of a well-established outcome-driven interest in this relationship. Further, through this chapter, the theme of institutional control for the public good is drawn from the literature, linking policy to standardize and control government funding allocation. Institutional relationships support an ideological way of knowing which mediates the behaviours of those participating. However, there remains a gap in the discourse on the institutional coordination and associated implications on how theatre professionals know and engage in their work as policy users. Governmental policies authorize public support to the professional theatre sector (as with other arts disciplines) for the associated public benefits. However, such processes also textually-mediate the

allocation of this support. These policy processes are demonstrations of institutional controls, standardizing the decision-making process for public funding accountability.

2.1   Chronicling an Institutionalized Relationship

Three subsections chronologically organize this section of the literature review, categorized as informal relations, formalizing relations, and institutional ties. Each subsection examines features of the narrative between Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and the provincial government. These sections assert state coordination in the work of Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector from pre-Confederation to today. Issues such as public good, government control, funding allocation, and artistic value characterized this narrative. These issues point to the dynamic nature of the institutionalized relationship between the theatre and government sectors.

2.1.1 Informal Relations

Nova Scotia's contemporary theatre activity traces back to the region's shoreline and Marc Lescarbot 1606 play Le Théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle France. This theatre piece is the earliest recorded theatre production for the area (Boutiller, 2005, p. 2; Bowers, 1991; Charlebois & Nothof, 2016; Wasserman, 2006). Soldiers at Port Royal, New France (present-day Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia) performed the play to celebrate returning colony founders following a recent exhibition, positioning the region as a prime location for settlement. Lescarbot's work is the first recorded colonial application of a performance for which a script survived within the region and nation (Dean et al., 2014, p. 69; Wysote

& Morton, 2019).[3] Though rot with colonial intentions, the piece incorporated theatrical performance to entertain and unify the region's early settlers.[4]

Lescarbot's use of performance as a tool for colonial cohesion was not an isolated event. The application of theatre as a social tool for community cohesion next surfaced in Canadian history through Garrison theatre. Theatre historians Alex Boutiller (2005; 2015), Gaetan Charlebois (2013), and Anne Nothof (2015) found British Garrison theatre groups were producing plays in the region during the late 1700s. In particular, Boutiller (Boutiller, 2005, 2015) cites a 1773 announcement in the Nova-Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle, where the theatre performance was an opportunity for entertainment, humour, and distraction from the mundane. This announcement promoted the local theatre performances as a benefit for the poor. Boutiller also explained that audiences also attended because of camaraderie to the actors who were friends and military colleagues, an argument supported by fellow academics Coulter, Gardner, and Middleton. (Boutiller, 2005; Coulter, 1938/1996; Gardner, 2006; Middleton, 1914/1996). Such performances also reinforced the power of the governing body (England) through the subject, venue, and use of soldiers as actors (Boutiller, 2005, 2015; Charlebois & Nothof, 2016). In response, the governing body enjoyed strengthened collective unity and cohesion among the military communities, which maintained civil behaviours (Boutiller, 2005, 2015; Charlebois & Nothof, 2016; Coulter, 1938/1996; Gardner, 2006). Though potentially amateur in contrast to contemporary professional theatre standards, Garrison theatre activity upheld a historical

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[3] Though Mi'kmaq communities had long used dramatic ritual and ceremony across Mi'kma'ki and academics such as Dean, Meerzon, and Prince argued the piece to be propaganda and not theatrical (Dean et al., 2014, p. 69; Wysote & Morton, 2019).

[4] Within this context, "region" refers to the provincial jurisdiction, being Nova Scotia, while "nation" refers to all of Canada.

role by establishing Western theatre activity in the region.

During this Garrison theatre activity, American touring theatre companies were attracted to the Nova Scotia region. Boutiller (2005) suggests the 1768 arrival of the American Company of Comedians to the Pontac Inn in Halifax, Nova Scotia was the first professional company to perform in Canada. Through Garrison theatre activity, audiences had developed an interest in theatre for entertainment purposes (Charlebois & Nothof, 2016; Gardner, 2006). However, in contrast to Garrison theatre, these companies performed topically light plays designed to entertain the masses. Nevertheless, Nova Scotia was host to the first recorded colonial theatre performance, early Garrison theatre performances, and the assumed first professional theatre company in Canada.

As the decade rolled on, theatre activity continued to increase within the province. This growth triggered the development of formal theatre houses to accommodate American and event British touring companies (Charlebois & Nothof, 2016; Gardner, 2006; Middleton, 1914/1996). Theatre activity moved from ship decks, waterfront shores, personal homes, inns, and coffeehouses commonly used by Garrison theatre, to purpose-built performance venues (Boutiller, 2005). In their research, theatre historians Gaetan Charlebois, Anne Nothof, and Joan Mattie illustrate this with the New Grand in Halifax, Nova Scotia (Charlebois, 2013; Charlebois & Nothof, 2010, 2016; Nothof, 2015; Mattie, n.d.). The British military garrison erected the theatre house in 1789 for a production of Merchant of Venice. Even with the venue shift and increasing popularity, the governing body stayed involved in the region's theatre activities.

With this growing prevalence of theatre activity in the region, the religious clergy recognized an opportunity to access theatre performances as an instructional tool.

Alongside the governing bodies, the church could and did activate theatre for religious instruction. The new theatre houses were prime avenues to root both British colonial values and a moral compass (Boutiller, 2005). These early theatre houses also became physical constructs to instruct governing interests and behaviours through theatre performance.

Around the turn-of-the-century, the popularity of Garrison theatre had faded (Middleton, 1914/1996). Historians and researchers, including Boutiller, Charlebois, Nothof, and Middleton, attribute this disappearance to numerous factors (Boutiller, 2005, 2015; Charlebois, 2013; Charlebois & Nothof, 2016; Middleton, 1914/1996). American theatre productions presented lighter entertainment over the perceived oppressive moral driving nature of the English works. Further, there was an observed difference between the calibre of foreign performing companies and amateur Garrison performances. These qualities positioned American touring theatres in higher demand over Garrison pieces for audience viewing. Changes in the Canadian Army structure and the clergy's use of heavy moral-driven scripts contrasted the touring theatres' light, entertaining material. Further, with the late 19th-century construction of national rail services, American touring companies were then able to move across the nation, increasing their prominence and popularity now at a national level (Charlebois & Nothof, 2016). As a result, American touring theatres became the driving force for theatre development within Nova Scotia and across Canada.

2.1.2 Formalizing Relations

As American theatre spread across Canada, the dominant literature shifted to national public policy development. At the turn of the 20th-century, Canada's theatre activity did not have a self-sufficient national identity. In 1911, Canadian newspaper editor

Bernard Sandwell complained about the degree of foreign presence on Canadian stages, describing Canada's theatre activity as "entirely controlled by aliens" (Sandwell, 1912/1996, p. 18). Sandwell (1996) suggested the heavy presence of American performances on the nation's stages did little for the Canadian spirit. Instead, he urged for a shift from the prevalence of elite American and British dramatics to one increasingly representative of the Canadian experience (Sandwell, 1912/1996). He argued emphasizing Canadian content would contribute to national cohesion following World War I. Vincent Massey, an amateur actor and later the Governor General of Canada, had a similar argument. The prevalence of American actors on Canadian stages was not one of preference but necessary public acceptance. In his 1912 writings, Massey articulated the need for a local voice which was reflective of the Canadian experience:

> No arbitrary set of rules can be applied to a play to make it Canadian, and no standard set of virtues can be made to personify Canada. Local colour cannot be applied externally like paint or whitewash. The colour must have been woven unconsciously into the very warp and groove of the piece. Our native drama will express the spirit of the country when our playwrights set themselves honestly to interpret the life about them. Its Canadianism will then be automatic and inherent. (Massey, 1921/1996, p. 59)

With no alternative available, American theatre's widespread presence had fostered a preference for the foreign element within theatre production (Massey, 1921/1996, p. 53). English playwrights routinely sold their performing rights to wealthy American producers, who then toured the country with the pieces. American touring groups and English scripts monopolized Canadian stages (Denison, 1996b; Sandwell, 1912/1996). With limited

Canadian content, Canadian audiences did not hold the Canadian experience at the same high standing.

Cultural lobbyists such as Massey and Sandwell were not alone in their opinions. Canadian playwrights Merrill Denison and Jack Gray also raised concerns that Canada had no discernable identifying culture (Denison, 1996b; Rubin, 1996a). They, too, stipulated that Canadians needed a uniquely Canadian cultural identity: one separate from the English colonized identity and American culture (Denison, 1996b; Rubin, 1996a). Moreover, besides not having space on Canadian stages, theatre artists had to leave for training abroad before achieving recognition within Canada (Denison, 1996b; Middleton, 1914/1996; Sandwell, 1912/1996). However, such Canadian born actors who left for training and work abroad experienced denationalization when returning to Canada with foreign touring productions (Middleton, 1914/1996; Sandwell, 1912/1996). Canadian audiences no longer viewed these actors as Canadian. Having achieved international training, they inadvertently achieved a similar international identity (Denison, 1923/1996a). Sandwell, Massey, Denison, and Grey argued the connected need to build a Canadian cultural centre to support such arts development. Canadian theatre needed a defined space and dedicated political interest to foster its growth. Such cultural lobbyists were encouraging the use of theatre to build a national voice and cohesion. These lobbyists belonged to the cultural elite and had praxis knowledge of theatre's value and potential for political application, rooting the conversation between state and theatre first within the realm of the artists' lived experience.[5] theatre professionals themselves were driving for the application of theatre as

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[5] In Chapter 3, the artists' standpoint is introduced, addressing the value of approaching the research from the artists' lived experience in place of the dominant discourse.

a tool for socio-economic outcomes.

The importance of Canadian culture and cultural expression also surfaced during data collection and analysis of this research study. In the below interview narrative, Michael, a public servant for the Province of Nova Scotia, spoke both to cultural value and the relevance of the public good:

> How do I define culture? I don't know. But why is culture important? That I can elaborate on. That is the key issue. So, in my world, we don't, in good theory, we don't spend any money on anything, we won't spend the taxpayer's money on anything that isn't for the public good. So, we would argue that cultural expression is for the public good and in a major, serious way. I think the most important thing about cultural expression in a given society is that it is the preeminent marker or indicator of freedom of speech. Cultural expression is equivalent to freedom of speech. If you oppress cultural expression, you are affecting freedom of speech. It is the number one mark for democracy, I think. So, if you have a society that's free to speak, where you get to create art, freedom to express yourself in any kind of controversial way, arts do that. And if they can even look to the public for some investment to help that occur, that's the ultimate measure of freedom of speech. So, that's the height of the pyramid. But the other thing is that when you remove the oppression and you let an artist create, and it could be an old white guy, or it could be young African Nova Scotian women, it doesn't matter. When you take a group of artists and you encourage them to express themselves, they become empowered. (Michael, personal communication, 16 September 2015)

Jennifer, another public servant, also visited the significance of the public good in her

interview narrative, captured below:

> And I think to do that, you know, Government work does have a bad rap. I mean, we do. For a lot of people. Like, I've seen people do it, "so what do you do?" "I work for the Provincial Government," and they're like, "Oh..." You know, I'm not the elected official, don't blame me for what the elected official does. You know, and it's fine. Like I'm okay with that, but I like to get some positive feedback too. Right? So, for me, the positive is knowing that the effort that I put in every day in my job has a positive impact in the community. Right? So, when I went to that film screening on Friday night and I looked around the room, and there were all these people there, seeing these movies that they wouldn't have seen. They were all Nova Scotian filmmakers who had contributed to that screening with the competition. And there were ten films, I think. And, you know, one was awarded the Shelby Award at the end of the night, and there were filmmakers in the room who had been there. And you know, I was "yes, this is it. Like, this is why I go to work every day, and this is why I will deal with the, oh, because I know that what I do is for the public good. It is for the betterment of Nova Scotia." (Jennifer, Personal communication, 15 September 2015)

The concept of 'public good' held institutional meaning within both the literature and the narratives collected through this research.

In the 1940s, cultural lobbyists were actively crusading for the Canadian government to support the public good and invest in building a national identity through arts activity. Theatre had shown an innate ability to make connections across small communities, exemplified by the writings of Massey, Sandwell, and Denis. However, to

carry out such a goal at the national level, governing bodies needed to understand culture's significance in contributing to the public good.

In 1945, artists set up the Canadian Arts Council as a formal lobbying group seeking government funding for the arts (Litt, 1992). However, the Canadian Arts Council's lobbying was unsuccessful (Litt, 1992). Upon reviewing the actions of these lobbyists,' the shortcoming was in their approach. While supporting the Canadian experience was a priority issue for the lobbyists, they did not strategically display the topic as institutionally aligning with the public good. Therein, it was not understood by those in governing roles as a political priority.

A push for formalizing the culture-state relationship for the public good also came from those in more predominant political roles during this period. National theatre presence could be the "capstone for the nation-building process" (Litt, 1992, p. 17). Honourable Brooke Claxton, then Minister of National Defence, sat on a committee that presented a proposal of refined resolutions for increased arts and cultural support to the 1948 National Liberal Convention (Litt, 1992). However, as historians Brown and Filewod argued, the term 'culture' was viewed by the Canadian masses as highbrow and elitist, considering it neither accessible nor relevant (Brown, 1995; Filewod, 1998). As a result, the convention review panel removed government aid to the arts. Then, on the eve of the convention, the proposal was dissolved entirely (Litt, 1992). The issue received no political advancement.

Meanwhile, public interest in such topics as insufficient university funding and media broadcast licensing was growing. Recognizing this, Caxton revised his proposal to align with the increasing interests. National investment in culture was now in the public interest, therein a public good. Specifically, Caxton recommended appointing a royal

commission to look at the broader scope of broadcasting, education, and Canada's national and international image. Though the public good associated with cultural activities was not yet articulated at the level of governing bodies, the concept of culture piggy-backed on existing public interest topics and pass the previous gatekeeping challenges (Litt, 1992). Claxton had buried designated cultural funding under the trending hot topics, circumventing concerns around elitism and the arts. He also recommended Vincent Massey to chair the Commission; confident Massey would incorporate and address the buried issues of arts funding (Litt, 1992). Subsequently, the federal government[6] revisited and accepted Claxton's proposal for a Royal Commission designated to investigate public funding to the arts and cultural sector (Litt, 1992; Massey, 1921/1996).

Caxton's proposal was conceptualized into political and policy discussions at the national level through the 1951 Massey Commission report, officially titled the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences. This report paired cultural accessibility and consumption with the political outcomes of national pride, cohesion, identity, and civil democracy. Through this, the governing roles were gaining an awareness of the arts' social utility as a public good, giving traction to the argument for public arts support.

Of course, such a governing interest in the arts was not without heated worry and debate. The relationship between government and theatre was already close in fostering cohesion and development. The concern voiced by artists was that if the government formalized funding for the arts, how much control would the government have to use

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[6] The federal government at this time was Liberal.

artistic practices such as theatre production as a vehicle for political propaganda therein removing the freedom of creative expression[7] (Massey, 1921/1996). Eventually, the government and arts sector arrived at a reciprocal solution: creating a national arms-length funding body. Such an agency would achieve the political interests of national identity and democracy-building while allowing for artistic independence. This agreement was recognized in the 1957 Act of Parliament, which formed the Canada Council for the Arts (Canada Council) with Claxton as the first Chair of the agency's Board of Directors.

As a federally funded agency, the Canada Council was structured to operate at arm's length from the government and offer financial support to cultural activities across the country.[8] Beyond federal funding, the Canada Council structure also benefited from private funding sources. The Council secured its initial investment of $100 million through an endowment fund following the deaths of Nova Scotian industrialists, Sir James Dunn and Izaak Walton Killam. Further, the Molson Foundation endowed the Council with $600,000 in the early 1960s to award the namesake Molson Prize to Canadians outstanding in the arts (Canada Council for the Arts, 1958; *Canada Council for the Arts 43rd Annual Report, 1999 – 2000*, 2015; *Canada Council for the Arts Annual Report 2009 – 10*, 2010; Filewod, 1998). Organizational affiliation with Dunn, Killam, and Molson, in compliment to the ongoing parliamentary support, reinforced the government and arts sector relationship as one of public, political, and national interest.

Through federal funding and private investments, the Canada Council could and continues to engage peer review panels to evaluate artists' applications and award funding

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[7] Such as highlighted in Michael's earlier interview narrative.

[8] The Council was responsible for the Canadian Commission for United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

into the Canadian arts sector. Kate, a theatre professional, describing her knowledge of the peer review process during her interview for this study:

It's the formal evaluation part. When you're with the other jurors is just one day. You get a binder full of the applications several weeks in advance. And you are asked to review everything and rate it. You do an initial rating for each one before you get to the meeting so that we can discuss them. We do submit that when we get there. It's given to one of the administrators to compile before, and he does an initial ranking of the compiles as well. So, you can kind of get a sense of where it is. Then you'd go through and discuss everything. People share their personal opinions, and you can re-rank. That's another thing. And then once that goes, you have a list of who is priority.

Who gets the top-ranking all the way down to the bottom, and a lot of people might fall into - everybody got 11s in this. It is possible to get 11 out of ten. Yes, so, you know, it goes 11, ten, nine and then within that it can be based on, I don't even know. It's like if you had to decide between this one and this one, which one would you pick. So, it's a bit of, like, "Ah, well, you know, these people are through in this, and they're bringing in this artist, which is also benefitting the community through this workshop, but they already have this amount of funding." So, there are a lot of factors that get discussed. To say, you know, who's got the stronger charisma right now or who has the most potential. And then the money comes out, and we see how far it goes. And then we think, "Okay, who can go away with what?" and then you revise. It's a little heartbreaking. I almost cried the first time.

Up to now there haven't been, there's not been any kind of, there's been

debates but not in a contentious way, or there hasn't been, and there's been differences of opinion, but I think there's been a complete respect to the fact that we've all been there, and we all understand that we don't necessarily agree on things.

And there have only ever been three when I was on. The programme officer is the person who is ultimately responsible for the administration and the communication of this program decision. They are the person who is making notes, the person who is compiling figures and doing productions and all that kind of stuff. And they make notes of things that are said. So, if the programme officer needs to get feedback after your results come in, if you don't get it or if you do, you can call and say, "So, like, is there anything I should know for the next time I apply?" and take back some feedback from what was said. (Kate, personal communications, 11 June 2015)

Peer review panels distant decisions on artistic findings from governing controls, keeping the arm's length relationship. As Kate described, the process is not perfect. However, there is a collective understanding across the peers engaged that it is better than the alternative of full institutional control governing arts funding decisions.[9]

While peer review reinforces an arm's length nature between the granting and governing bodies, a program office is still present to ensure policy processes are followed. In his interview, Michael spoke to the comprehensive nature of such policy texts:

I think that we have a lot of transparency; it's one of the things we pride ourselves

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[9] Nova Scotia's arts sector did experience "the alternative" with the dismantling of the Nova Scotia Arts Council, a topic explored from the artist's standpoint in chapter 5.

on. You asked me about grants and where we started. We have a lot of transparency; we like the idea that people can, we can see a file, you photocopy a file, you'll get parts of it, you'll only get the parts that are for the public good.

You won't get the parts that are of private interest, anything like that. So, but if the Auditor General came in on behalf of the tax-paying Nova Scotians asking for a file, I would welcome it because I think what they would find in the end is big, thick files with lots of content in it, lots of letters back and forth, lots of exchanges of information, lots of financial logbooks, you know, substantiating information, that type of thing. And then subsequent follow-up to the file. How does that actually happen? Signature file reports, signature receipts, or, you know, those types of mechanisms. (Michael, personal communication, 16 September 2015)

Though Michael referred to the contemporary Nova Scotian policy processes, his experience connects to Kate's standpoint when sitting on a peer jurying at the national level. These policy controls are essential within the institutional relationship as the government may only provide public funding to activities which are in the public good. These processes ensure controls to account for this governing restraint.

2.1.3 Institutional Relations

The Massey Commission's engagement and the Canada Council's creation formalized the relationship between the federal government and theatre in Canada. This relationship was further institutionalized with a hierarchy of reporting and funding protocols embedded in public policy. These processes represented rules for theatre professionals to access the associated support and engage in the relationship. Similarly, for

those in governing roles, the associated policy texts (of which Michael had referred) were accountability measures ensuring transparency and codes of conduct for engaging in the relationship. George Woodcock, a recipient of the Governor General's Award, described "the control of a nation's cultural life, and especially of its arts, is essential for the consolidation of political power, and cultural policies should be directed towards supporting a government's principal aims" (Woodcock, 1985, p. 107). This comment was referencing governing control over the arts, ensuring ongoing alignment to the and contribution of public value if funded with the public purse.

During his term, Prime Minister Trudeau also applied policy directives and leveraged arts support, which were in the public interest of national unity. These included department, cabinet, and portfolio shifts and staff restructuring (Woodcock, 1985). He established such culture driven committees and departments as the 1969 Cabinet Committee on Culture and Information and the 1972 Department of Communications (Behiels, n.d.; CBC, 2012). The Department of the Secretary of the State initially housed the culture portfolio. However, Trudeau had transferred all arts-related responsibilities to the Department of Communications by the 1980s (Woodcock, 1985). A single federal department now administered all matters of arts and cultural practice in Canada along with political communications. This department portfolio included the federal budgetary allocation to the Canada Council (Woodcock, 1985). This restructuring of governing relations emphasized the institutional controls for accountability and transparency around arts and culture to account for public funding as aligning to the public good. There was a clear growing emphasis on political outcomes associated with arts sector activity.

Prime Minister Trudeau also introduced such federal departmental public policy

granting streams as the Secretary of State's Opportunities for Youth Program and Local Initiatives Project (Bollini, 1965). Unlike the Canada Council funding streams, these Departmental-run granting projects were not explicitly designed for the professional arts sector. However, Filewod (2011) described theatre companies as successfully accessing such grants by highlighting the social contribution and downplaying their work's arts focus within funding applications. Janice, a research participant, referred to this skill as "grantsmanship:"

> It's difficult to take a script that has already been done and make the argument that now is the time to do it again. Now is the place to do it. Those arguments I'm learning. I'm learning grantsmanship. So, I'm learning to make those arguments. (Janie, personal communications, 11 June 2015)

In learning grantsmanship, Janice and other theatre professionals were able to apply for designated funding streams from arts councils and alternative departmental based funding streams. Theatre professionals tailored the presentation of their work to the institutional interested, expectations, and language of government policy, be it in the description or actual operation.

As the Canadian government began investing in the public good through legislated arts funding, provincial governments began to follow suit. The formation of the Saskatchewan Arts Board (now SKArts) even predated the Canada Council formation by nine years. The Ontario Arts Council was the next province to form an arm's length arts funding agency in 1963. Nova Scotia was the last province to act, legislating the formation

of the Nova Scotia Arts Council in 1995.[10] Table 1 lists the years of the national and provincial arts council formations. The Massey Commission sought to proliferate cultural practices (Druick, 2007) – to raise them to regular experiences in everyday life – and did so.

Table 1
Dates of National and Provincial Arts Council formations

Date – Funding Agency
1948 – Saskatchewan Arts Board (now SKArts)
1957 – Canada Council for the Arts
1963 – Ontario Arts Council
1965 – Manitoba Arts Council
1974 – Prince Edward Island Council of the Arts
1980 – Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council
1991 – Alberta Foundation for the Arts
1991 – New Brunswick Arts Board (ArtsNB)
1994 – Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec
1995 – British Columbia Arts Council
1995 – Nova Scotia Arts Council (2011- Arts Nova Scotia, following 2002 dissolvement and 2010 new legislation)

2.2   Public Value of The Arts Sector

A reoccurring institutional focus of the literature was accounting for the public good associated with professional theatre sector activities and arts sector activities. For the government to invest public funding into the professional theatre sector, the sector must be benefiting the public good. However, Patricia, a public servant interviewed for this research, reflected on the challenge of measuring, and communicating arts sector value during her narrative:

We had done - the division as part of [the Department of] Tourism, Culture and Heritage[11] - had done an economic impact study for culture for Nova Scotia and other provinces in 2003, based on 2001 numbers. We used those figures for way

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[10] Chapter 5 examines how this arts council was later disseminated and the institutional fall-out which followed.

[11] The provincial department housing the arts and culture portfolio at the time.

too long because economic impact studies, you know, are valuable for a few months. Maybe a year. Probably squeeze a couple of years. But you know. We used them for - oh, my God - 10, 12 years.

Well, any time we did business plans, any time we did anything that talked about the sector, we would refer to these numbers, but they were direct, indirect, and induced impact so - And, you know, we talked about workers as well. I was in tourism at the time when the 2003 study was done, and I moved to Culture at the end of 2004, and successive ministers and deputies kept asking why, because every industry makes account statements about what their worth is. And Culture didn't. And Culture didn't, not only in Nova Scotia. Culture didn't all across the country. […]

But we were not only trying to make people understand our economic worth. But we have a huge social impact and even more so than the economic so, you know - and if economic is hard, you know, socially is even harder. You know, you can say we're cool, just - you know, we'll just tell you how cool we are. We - and you can give an example, well, that's one story or ten stories or whatever, right? But it's hard to make people understand the importance of culture. (Patricia, personal communications, 16 September 2015)

To Patricia's point, measuring the public good associated with theatre activity was an ongoing challenge within public policy activity. [12] Institutional controls were embedded in public policy processes to ensure transparency and accountability to the public good. Public

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[12] Later in her interview, Patricia spoke of additional studies that were conducted more recently. However, they too experienced limitations around data relevance and specificity.

officials were constrained to demonstrate the value of public sector investment in the arts sector.

This section of the literature review examines literature around the public value of arts sector activities. First, the theoretic concept of use and non-use value, as applied by Hasan Bakhsh and David Throsby (2010), is introduced. This concept provides a framework when discussing the tangible and intangible benefits of arts and cultural activities in a region.[13] This section's remaining content explores the discourse held by such voices as Andres, Bakhshi, Loflin, and Markusen. These economists, public servants, arts managers were active voices in the literature around arts and the public good, including emphasizing placemaking and attraction, economic growth models, and economic dependence of the theatre sector, traits that encourage an institutional relationship (Andres & Chapain, 2013; Bakhshi, 2012; Loflin, 2012; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010; Markusen & Schrock, 2006). Bakhshi and Markusen make such economic arguments as seeking measurable outputs, particularly for gains within the international marketplace(Bakhshi et al., 2008; Bakhshi & McVittie, 2009; Bakhshi & Throsby, 2010; Markusen & Schrock, 2006). As national and international marketplace competition increases, so does the government's emphasis on import and export activities, population attraction, and population retention. Therefore, the policy focus on defining and measuring outcomes is unsurprising. However, the confirmation of the governing discourse interest also affirms the discourse oversight toward the policy users lived everyday experiences.

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[13] Though this study's scope does not include measuring public benefit from the arts, this is a relevant ongoing limitation within public policy and the institutional relation between the State and the theatre sector.

2.2.1 Use and Non-Use Value

The concepts of use and non-use value, as defined by economists Hasan Bakhshi and David Throsby (2010), are beneficial when discussing the public good attributed to arts activities. Use value considers direct, often immediate, economic gains as recognized in the market consumption of a product or service. Examples of use-value include ticket sales, job creation, and neighbouring commercial business activities such as pre-show dinners or post-show cocktails. In contrast, non-use value is often slower to present, situated at the community and social level. Non-use benefits include building social capital through a sense of place, community pride, and regional reinvestment. In their work on economic cultural-analysis, Bakhshi and Throsby suggest a considerable proportion of economic value associated with cultural activities is within these later non-use value outcomes. However, these benefits may be less noticeable (Bakhshi & Throsby, 2010). This challenge returns to Patricia's comment on measuring contribution to the public good. Non-use value, being less overt, presents a policy challenge to define and measure public investment outcomes, ensuring institutional accountability around public spending.

In application, the discourse surrounding the creative economy and creative capital situates use-value within discussions such as production and consumption patterns. For example, theatre professionals present performance, patrons buy tickets, and audiences attend. These are illustrations of measurable job creation, market consumption. Such secondary impacts as neighbouring businesses enjoying associated audience purchases during pre- and post-event meals or shopping are further examples of use-value. In the words of Nova Scotia arts administrators, Leah Hamilton, Andrea Arbic, and Greg Baeker (2009, p. 4), such events drive innovation in the "core creativity and cultural industry

activities." These events, therefore, provide fiscal gains to the region. However, the non-use value is harder to define. Bakhshi and Throsby (2010) situate this value within community membership building associated with the arts sector activities. Examples include civic pride in regional activities and infrastructure, opportunities for combinatory play, gains in innovation, and the development of the next generation of patrons, workers, and creative thinkers. These community and social capital qualities are non-use value, nontangible and elusive to quantify. Bakhshi and Throsby's concept of use and non-use value offers context to discuss and categorize the institutional outcome-driven focus embraced within public policy and arts funding discourse.

The concepts of use and non-use value can be applied to determine the public benefit of the arts. The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization defines culture as "the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs… It is through culture that we discern values and make choices" (United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1982, p. 1). The External Advisory Committee on Cities and Communities describes the breadth of culture and its link to development:

> Culture is both a set of objects (art, music, theatre, buildings) and a set of processes. Culture is not just the pictures and books produced by regions or communities or nations; it is also their beliefs, their behaviour and how they develop and express them. It is this latter sense of culture that is most important for creativity and sustainability in the long term. (External Advisory Committee on Cities and Communities, 2006, p. xvi)

Within these definitions, both United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural

Organization and the External Advisory Committee on Cities and Communities are referring to the creative thought and innovation associated with culture and cultural expression. Where culture is the broader scope of community interaction, art is the product which such drive and connection to culture. It is not the artistic product but the development and interaction which root the cultural value. Innovation is rooted in creative thought, which then drives economic development (Anheier & Isar, 2010; Bakhshi & Throsby, 2010; Chavez, 2013; Demott, 2009; Eger, 2010; Franke & Verhagen, 2005; Hamilton et al., 2009; Howkins, 2001, 2007, 2010; Michalko, 2010; Throsby, 2010; United Nations, 2004, 2008). Einstein describes this as a combinatory play, which produces opportunities for innovation. An active theatre sector creates opportunities for combinatory play, creativity, innovative thought, and eventual development.

Policy is a top-down institutional structure. It is developed by those in governing roles to uphold the governing interest as a means of institutional control. The public funder develops policy programs to foster predefined economic and social outcomes. As stated, these outcomes are akin to Bakhshi and Throsby's use and non-use values and are supported by economic, urban planning, and arts management reports (Anheier, 2004; Anheier & Isar, 2010; Capriotti & Hill, 2008a, 2008b; Eger, 2010; Florida, 2002a, 2002c; Florida et al., 2008; Hamilton et al., 2009; Hawkes, 2001; Jeannotte, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2010). Further, the United Nations emphasizes the connection between economic and social activity:

> The interface among creativity, culture, economics, and technology, as expressed in the ability to create and circulate intellectual capital, has the potential to generate income, jobs, and export earnings while at the same time promoting social

inclusion, cultural diversity, and human development. (United Nations, 2008, p. 5)

The literature does not open debate if there is public value associated with cultural activity, but instead circles how to recognize such benefits within the institutional discourse.

2.2.2 *Placemaking And Population Attraction*

Prevalent within the literature reviewed for this study was an economic emphasis on governments' investment in innovation for regional competitive advantage, where innovation is an outcome of artistic creativity. Economists, public servants, and arts managers alike are shifting the discourse around art activity from the traditional economic-based inputs of land, capital, and labour, to the intellectual inputs of human and creative capital (Florida, 2006; Florida et al., 2008; Hamilton et al., 2009; Howkins, 2001, 2007, 2010; Hoyman & Faricy, 2009; United Nations, 2004). In the report on Nova scotia's art sector activities, Hamilton, Arbic, and Baeker describe this by saying, "ideas and information have become major commodities" (Hamilton et al., 2009, p. 10). As businesses are looking for highly educated and diverse employees, governments seek to attract and keep these workers to their region. Such an outcome would be to bolster the business sector.

Regional planners, economists, and arts managers such as Jason Azmier, Sherri Brown, Richard Florida, Nancy Duxbury, Sharon Jeannotte, and Leah Hamilton argue consumers, including residents as consumers of government services, are increasingly interested in an experience both enriching and stimulating for their everyday lives (Andres & Chapain, 2013; Azmier & Brown, 2002; Duxbury & Jeannotte, 2012; Florida, 2006; Hamilton et al., 2009; Jeannotte, 2010). The associated economic benefit of an innovative workforce associated with cultural activity aligns culture as the fourth pillar of regional development. The United Nations recognizes the growing impact of creativity and

knowledge on trade relations, stating, "Creativity is increasingly being recognized as a key strategic asset driving economic growth and determining successful integration into a rapidly changing global economy" (United Nations, 2004, p. 3). Gregg, a theatre professional who participated in this research study, stressed the importance of cultural investment from the public sector over other federal budget allocations:

> That's what theatre is, the heart and soul. It's who we are, it's a beacon we send into the wilderness, "This is what it's like to be alive in Nova Scotia in 2015," and a hundred years from now, people would look and go, "Oh look at this horrible place that Gregg wrote about a hundred years ago. That's what people were like back then" or whatever you know. We're here living, you know. In theatre, you can read and capture a bit of who we are, and it tells us who we are, and makes us feel not so alone, and that is so important. And it's just as important - it's more important - than those MPs having a really great pension plan. It's more important than, you know, when you look at the defence budget, the helicopters, and aeroplanes. I believe what we do is more important. But I've been saying that for a long time. (Gregg, personal communications, 11 June 2015)

Beyond providing a historical chronicle, the seeking and inclusion of creativity within marketplace competition can set an area apart from other jurisdictions. Regions need to remain ahead of the competitive curve in promoting creativity and recognizing its potential to transform knowledge into innovation and economic gain. One such tool within the public administrative tool kit is adopting comprehensive art policies for economic development. These arts-based experiences then offer the everyday stimulation looked for by residents.

Placemaking is a concept increasingly adopted into regional plans to foster engaged

communities for strong population attraction. Katherine Loflin, a specialist in the field, refers to placemaking as supporting "what attaches people to place," developing and instilling an attractive sense of place for a region (Loflin, 2012). These placemaking initiatives contribute to a region's competitive advantage, with potential use and non-use value spinoffs as increases in employment rates where people want to stay in the region. As technology and e-commerce continue to advance, jobs become increasingly migrant (Blakely, 2001; Loflin, 2012).[14] Loflin (2012) and Blakely (2001) argue that when there is little cost difference between the geographic location of a large company headquarters, it is the sense of place which attracts the employees. A sense of place roots the workforce population.

Loflin was a keynote speaker at the 2012 Federation of Canadian Municipalities plenary conference. During her presentation, she recalled an example of the value in placemaking. From her experience, a mayor told her the extent to which he learnt potential business owners were going when deciding where to locate their business headquarters. Besides the regular "number crunching" and tax break considerations, he described:

Unbeknownst to me, they showed up in our community. And do you know what they did? They sat at green lights, and they waited to see how long it took the car behind them to start honking at them. They went to the little league games to see how the parents acted towards each other. Then they went to the grocery store, and they saw when you walk down an aisle, does someone say "hi" to you if they know you or not. Then they run their grocery carts into people and see what would

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[14] With current economic realities, jobs are also becoming increasingly virtual.

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happen. Then they looked at our parks, and they looked at our waterways, and they looked at this, and they looked at that. (Loflin, 2012)

This mayor went on to tell Loflin that he had spoken with other mayors as well. They, too, were noting a similar trend in how companies were deciding where to locate their offices. In these cases, business owners were seeking a sense of place and community connection. Returning to Bakhshi and Throsby, these were non-use values showing cultural investment.

2.2.3 Economics of Creativity

Beyond social outputs, arts activity has also shown direct use value through economic spinoffs. These benefits further reinforce a contribution to the public good, authorizing public support to the arts and cultural sector. Within Canada, governments are investing in arts policy at provincial and federal levels. In 2016 the Federal government committed to investing $1.9 billion into the arts sector over five years (Abma, 2016; CAPACOA, 2016; Government of Canada, 2016). Similarly, the Nova Scotia provincial government launched its Culture Action Plan in 2017 to guide the use and application of public support to the arts and cultural sector (Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2017). The importance of such an action plan links back to Patricia's interview comments on outcome measuring for public funding. The earlier Canadian Heritage Minister James Moore explained:

Arts and culture is 46 billion dollars in the Canadian economy [and] accounts for over 640,000 Canadian jobs. The arts sector in Canada is three times the size of Canada's insurance industry, twice the size of Canada's forest industry. Any government who says they want to build the economy without building a strong arts sector doesn't have a plan for a strong economy. (Moore, 2012)

Business and government discourses recognize the cultural sector as vital for long-term economic development and sustainability planning in a region. This governing awareness is recognized when such bodies then engage in structured institutional relations such as public support provision.

As stated, much of contemporary literature on institutional relationships between the state and theatre sector focus on the associated economic benefits.[15] For example, John Howkins first published his book *The Creative Economy* in 2001. In the book, he argued for a developing relationship between creativity and the economy (Howkins, 2001, 2007, 2010). In his work, he highlights the increasing interest in and a growing frequency to capitalize on ideas, linking "creativity, intellectual property, management, capital and wealth" (Howkins, 2007, p. ix). He argues creativity has an economic presence in e-commerce, sciences, business management and more.

Fundamental to Howkins' definition of the creative economy is the creative product. Within his definition, this product is a good or service which holds economic value using the equation $CE = CP \times T$ to determine the economic value of an activity. Within this equation, CE is the creative economic value, CP is the creative product in the market, and T is the total transactions accessing that product. For example, the creative economic value (CE) of a theatre production is equal to the ticket price (CP) times the number of tickets bought (T). According to Howkins, one cannot quantify creativity in isolation: an economic transaction must occur (Howkins, 2001, 2007, 2010). While using a mathematical equation may be valuable in quantifying public benefit, the need for an occurring economic

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[15] Though this study did not dig heavily into other disciplines, the literature reviewed was suggestive that such a focus was prevalent across intersectoral relations at any arts sector and government level.

transaction is limiting to the reality of theatre production and creative capital.

David is an artistic director who was interviewed as part of this research. During his interview, he recalled a conversation explaining to a corporate sponsor about the economic constraints around revenue and product within the professional theatre sector. He described the following:

People, even theatregoers, are surprisingly ignorant about how a theatre operation functions. You know and I know. Over time I've come up with some quick answers. So, people say to me, "Well, why do you need donations, why do you need sponsors?" You know? And the very simple answer is that if we didn't have that, and usually I'm talking to a customer, you know, a patron or a theatregoer, "If we didn't have those other sources your ticket would be at least double what you paid for it." You know. So, there aren't any hidden costs, really. There are unforeseen circumstances, but that's not because we're a theatre; that's life. Any business is going to be hit by those. But there are certain aspects of what we do that are often lost on people.

I mean, for instance, another one of our great sponsors is Jim,[16] who is the owner and Chief Executive Officer of [business name redacted]. And he is not a theatre person. He's not really an arts person, in fact. But he's a fantastic community philanthropist. He's one of our major sponsors, and he's a loyal sponsor. Even in hard times, and there were times that have been pretty hard in recent years, he stuck by us. Sponsors kind of come and go. However devoted or

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[16] Pseudonym, the actual name has been changed for anonymity.

dedicated they are, when a business runs into turbulence, often the first thing that's jettisoned is their marketing budget or their public relations budget, and that includes sponsorship.

But anyway. So, he is a long-time supporter - a great guy. Very down to earth. We were having a conversation one time, and he was asking me about why we always seem to be on the back foot. We're always trying desperately not to go into deficit and so on. And, so, I said to him one time, "You know, Jim, we open on, whatever, July 9th, and we do a performance that night. I've got 250 seats at my theatre, and if on that night I've got ten seats empty, or 20 seats empty, I can't sell those seats again on the Friday night." I said, "You know, in your business, if you've got a warehouse full of doors and windows and things, if you don't sell them on Thursday, you're hoping to sell them on Friday." "But," I said, "you know, we're like an aircraft. When that performance takes off, if it's half full or half empty, that's it. We've lost that night, and that's our inventory. It's gone, and we can't go back." And I remember, he had a light-bulb moment. He looked at me, and he said, "My God," he said, "I'd never thought of it like that." And I said, "Well, that's the problem, you know." (David, personal communications, 11 June 2015)

While a theatre production may have a total potential value for ticket sales across all shows, as each show passes, that potential value decreases. Tickets are associated with individual performances. Unsold tickets for one performance cannot be sold for another. For this reason, a mass potential transaction number is not an accurate form of measuring potential

economic impact.[17] It has no economic impact until a transaction has occurred. He positions creativity as a purely economic argument without considering innovation, creative thought, and social capital building.

Contrasting Howkins' creative industries and product-based approach, economist Richard Florida (2002b) was also an early economist to the culture and economic conversations. He defines occupations as the focal point of creativity with culture and creative class central to building a creative economy. The creative class' value is its ability to "create meaningful new forms" easily transferable in production and application. The connection between creativity and innovation is an economic driver. Such a thought is reminiscent of Albert Einstein's concept of combinatory play and fostering creative thought. This concept is also akin to Bakhshi and Throsby's non-use value.

While Florida did recognize some degree of social capital and contributing to the long-term economic benefit of the cultural sector, his argument also has its faults. One such limitation is the sheer range of occupations he includes in the creative class. Florida (2002b, 2002c, 2006) divides his definition of the creative class into two sections: the super-creative core as the inner circle and the surrounding ring of creative professionals. The super-creative core is engaged in creative production and innovation of transferable ideas. As an example, within the super-creative core, Florida includes:

Scientists and engineers, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers, and architects, as well as the "thought leadership" of modern society: nonfiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers,

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[17] Nor is it beneficial for budgeting numbers.

analysts, and other opinion-makers. (Florida, 2002a, p. 34)

This innermost ring drives innovation. However, this is a broad range of occupations rather than only to the cultural sector. Further, creative professionals in the outermost ring are engaged in creative problem-solving. Florida defines the creative professional as those "who work in a wide range of knowledge-intensive industries such as high-tech sectors, financial services, the legal and healthcare professions, and business management" (Florida, 2002a, p. 34). His definition includes too broad a range, anyone in the creative classes. Moreover, it also encourages the comparison of professions in vastly different tax brackets, such as an independent theatre artist and a surgeon. The work and the associated impact of the two professions are distinct.

Another flaw in Florida's class model is the economic positioning of creative workers. Florida cites the average salary across the creative class as approaching $50,000 US at the turn of the 21st century (Florida, 2002a). However, this salary figure did not account for secondary income or the use of secondary work as a primary source of income to finance living costs. For example, theatre professionals are engaged in contract work, which is not necessarily consecutive full-time employment. Based on union salary rates for 2012 Equity theatre performers working on average in a D-House and assuming 52 consecutive full weeks of work, a professional theatre actor's average annual income would be $42,500. However, this sum is conditional on 52 consecutive weeks of work, which would require every work contract to line up perfectly to schedule with no time unemployed or between contracts.

Further, this value does not reflect self-producing with limited revenue, vacation or health benefits, employment insurance, or RRSP contributions. For example, Janice, a

theatre professional interviewed, recalled her early experiences self-producing theatre: "We started out - because we didn't know financially how things would go, what kind of box office we'd get - we used ourselves as actors and producers" (Janice, personal communications, 1 June 2015). In her experience, she and her colleagues hired themselves. If the theatre project did not generate enough revenue to pay everyone, they would go without a paycheck while paying the others involved. Another theatre professional, Meredith, explained a similar experience in fuller detail during her interview:

> Producing is the donated line. A couple of times we've been able -after everything is wrapped up - to pay ourselves. I don't know if I ever did with my previous company. But you know a couple of times we've been able to pay ourselves between $400 and $1000 as a producer's fee. But when you consider that it should be 10% of your budget or at least match the director should make $4800 – (laughing) - what should happen and what does happen, eeee. And most of the plays we have been done under Indie or other agreements[18] that allow us to actually pay ourselves less because of the box office return. (Meredith, personal communications, 3 June 2015)

The pay rate for theatre professionals is different from the other sectors that Florida clumps into the creative class. Florida lumps such higher-paying occupations as scientists, engineers, university professors, and architects, with poets, novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, and designers. In doing so, he has elevated the average annual salary of his proposed creative class. Meredith's theatre company rehearses for four weeks and performed the

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[18] These agreements are union agreements under the Canadian Actors Equity Association.

theatre piece for one to two weeks; her average company work terms are five to six weeks. Based on this timeline for comparison, one can assume a surgeon within Canada is paid more than $400 for six weeks-plus of work. Such a comparison, as made by Florida combining distinctly different professions within a single category, risks swaying an institutional lens to misunderstand the theatre sector's financial security as larger than is accurate.

Further, the motivation of arts workers differs from other sectors. Personal motivation drives theatre professionals in their work. It demands a different business model for the attraction and retention of workers. Florida uses the venture capital model to lead into his discussion on creative workers and their desired relationship to place, which leads to innovation and economic growth. Venture capital does not inherently create innovation. Instead, it does so within a broader social structure of creativity. As venture successes grow, those companies reinvest in the region and association attract others with venture interests (De Mille, 1991; Florida, 2002a). This theory mirrors the social theory of placemaking. Regional qualities attract people to a region. They then reinvest in the region and, by doing so, attract further residents. Public investment in and relationship to the arts has held various incarnations to drive such social and economic development over the decades.

While Howkins and Florida have limitations to their arguments, such limitations show the ongoing need for public support to the arts. Further, they indicate the need for a firmer understanding of the institutional relationships between the arts sector and the state. The social and economic benefits (as use and non-use value) authorize public funding for the public good. However, it is the sector's economic position which necessitates public

investment for sector sustainability. The professional theatre sector is not commercially viable without public funding. Therein without such public investment, the associated public good would not be achieved.

2.3   Limited Revenue Streams

While governments have their reasons to invest in the professional theatre sector, theatre companies also have driving motivations to engage with government support. Within Canada, non-profit professional theatre companies do not rely entirely on any single support for their full revenue stream. Such a monopoly over funding risked issues around artistic integrity, public access, and operational restrictions. Instead, three revenue streams predominately finance non-profit theatre activity within Nova Scotia and Canada. These sources include box office activity, philanthropic giving (including private donation, foundation returns, and fundraising), and public support. The limitations and funding caveats associated with each revenue stream motivated theatre professionals to seek public funding.

2.3.1   Box Office

A theatre company's sole reliance on commercial activity to fund their productions risked imposing artistic and operational limitations. With extra pressure on high ticket sales, theatre companies may be swayed to select market-ready mainstream productions over new or less famous works. Pieces would not be chosen based on artistic merit but instead, pop culture standing. The associated pop culture aesthetic is reminiscent of Vincent Massey's concerns about Canadian stages being "entirely controlled by aliens" (Sandwell, 1912/1996, p. 18). Further, heavy pressure on box office revenue risks

alienating regions with smaller populations where audience engagement may be low.

Additionally, for costs to be fully recouped during ticket sales alone, ticket prices would need to be high, creating financial barriers to audience participation.[19] The reliance solely on box office revenues also creates challenges around cash flow. Many production expenses occur before or during the production rehearsal period. These expenses include salaries, insurance, physical materials, venue rental, script royalties, and marketing. However, neither the final gross revenue nor cash flow is available until post-production.

2.3.2   *Philanthropic Giving*

A company's primary reliance on fundraising and sponsorship revenue is also subject to theatre production constraints. Canadian theatre historian Alan Filewod (2011) warned for every dollar increase of funding to a theatre; its funders' representation also increased (p. 219-220). For example, Canadian sponsorship and fundraising best practices emphasize foundations and companies donate to activities align with their organizational and personal interests (Business for the Arts, 2015; Wagman, n.d.; Shivji & Rose, 2014; *Social Impact Giving*, 2018; *The Invested Philanthropist*, 2018). Therefore, successful fundraising campaigns need to include value-matches across theater, production, and private funders. Maintaining a driving need to match artistic intent to funder values risks tailoring work to funding partner interests and therefore limiting creative plans and audience reach for a theater piece.

In addition to potential funder topical interests, private funders usually expect public visibility. Urban demographics have a higher population for art consumption over

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[19] Chapter 5 includes interviewee data and a snapshot of a fiction theatre production budget, including select expenses and box office revenue, which further demonstrates this limitation.

less populated areas. Therefore, like the limitation of urban vs. rural ticket sales, private funder reliance risks playing to the masses to meet funder interests. There is also the danger of asking a limited funder pool for support. While potential funders may increase in urban areas, so does the number of theatre companies. In contrast, while rural areas may have fewer theater companies, the potential for local big corporate sponsors and access to arts philanthropists also diminishes. Thus, the risk of funder saturation presents additional challenges to securing private funders.

2.3.3 *Public support*

To mitigate the shortcomings of box office revenue and philanthropic giving, theatre professionals needed a third revenue stream. Sustaining professional theatre activity at a high level of output required ongoing government support (Kavolis, 1966, p. 217).[20] When a theatre was not reliant solely on box office sales nor pleasing corporate funders, they were better able to take a creative risk for innovative discoveries (Kavolis, 1966). The desire to create theatre compounded with realistic financial limitations influenced theatre professionals to seek the government's financial investment. The literature supports state investment in professional theatre sector activity to invest in the public good. In turn, such support provided financial security to the professional theatre sector, which encouraged affordable ticket costs, creative risk and exploration in production, and geographically diverse performance venues. This economic need, paired with an institutional interest in the public good, framed a hierarchical institutional relationship between the state and

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[20] For additional discussion on theatre operating costs and public support, see CAPACOA, 2016; Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council, 2019; Feder & Katz-Gerro, 2012; Gibson, n.d.; Godard, 2002; Goff & Jenkins, 2006; Griffin Theatre, n.d.; Hamilton et al., 2009; Hawkes, 2001; Jenkins, 2009; Kavolis, 1964, 1966; Kenrick, 2003; Morgan et al., 2006.

professional theatre sectors.

2.4   Chapter Summary

Within Western culture, the government and theatre sector have a long-existing relationship. This relationship is rooted in the institutional understanding an active professional theatre sector contributes to a region's social and economic value. Within this discourse, contributing academics and public servants are increasingly placing culture as the fourth pillar of economic sustainability for a region (External Advisory Committee on Cities and Communities, 2006; Hawkes, 2001; Hume, 2009; Hume & Tremain, 2012; Nurse, 2006; United Cities and Local Governments Committee on Culture, 2010, 2013). This public value authorizes government investment. Within the Canadian system, governments cannot invest public funding in activities without such factors.

The connection between community resilience, government support, and regional development concerning culture and creativity is not a new phenomenon. This relationship connection is illustrated through the ongoing relationship between government and theatre activities, as defined in this chapter's first half. There is an institutional relationship across the theatre and government sectors. This relationship is chronicled with shaping development, ruling expectations, and dependent subordinate roles. Governments are increasingly investing in cultural plans to harness and foster social benefits such as competitive regional development.

Moreover, present policy discourse is increasingly developing and defining economic and social markers. For example, Canadian Heritage has adopted the use of the phrase "creative economy" in its literature. Similarly, the Government of Nova Scotia regularly refers to "creative industries" and "innovation" within arts and culture policy

activity (Canada. Canadian Heritage, 2003; Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2014b, 2014a; Nova Scotia Finance, 2015c, 2015b). It is for these outcomes why the government support the arts. In his 1966 paper, sociologist and historian Vytautas Kavolis summarized the connection:

> The manner in which artistic creativity appears to be influenced by the community integration cycle may be briefly described as follows:
>
> (1) The social utility of art is increased in periods of high salience of the integrative problem in the community system;
>
> (2) High-quality art can be created only when adequate social resources are allocated to artistic action. (Kavolis, 1966, p. 217)

His second point is very much reminiscent of Michael's comments on arts standing and freedom of speech, though pre-dating the comments by decades. Kavolis goes on to caution: "neither artistic creativity, nor community integration are susceptible to precise definition or exact measurement" (Kavolis, 1966, p. 217). This heavy institutional focus on outcomes risks overlooking of other institutional processes structuring the theatre-state relationship.

Kavolis' 1966 comment draws attention to the present-day public administration challenges of spending accountability and measurable development outputs. Policy discourse accepts standard economic outputs as markers for development. However, it is the public funder who governs the institutional relationship and focuses on these arts policy outcomes. Institutional relations have rules for engagement; these rules shape behaviours and expectations of these involved as ways of knowing and participating in the relationship. Nevertheless, the literature considering this institutional relationship and how it shapes

theatre professionals' work outside of funding amounts is limited.

Nova Scotia's arts policy framework shapes Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and the provincial government's relationship and associated activities. Policy analysis conventionally focuses on program evaluation and input-output recording. This approach is problematic because it omits the lived experience of the policy user. It is the theatre professional as a policy user who is triggering the associated outcomes. The governing policy discourse does not consider such questions as:

- How is policy governing the actions of those working with its institutional confines?

- What are the implications of this ideological act of governing on theatre professionals' everyday work?

- How do these experiences and the attributing act of governing influence theatre professionals' empirical understanding of their work?

- What are the policy consequences then attributed to and embedded in this relationship?

Theatre professionals depend on public support. Therefore, they must work within the institutional relationship as coordinated by Nova Scotia's provincial arts policy. However, conventional public administrative discourse does not consider how those work activities are engaged, coordinated, and understood under these governing practices. Chapter 4 discusses the concept of institutions and the associated use of governing practices in greater detail. Policy processes within these practices are instructing learnt behaviours to the policy user. These experiences are inadvertently invisible within the governing discourse as they do not fit within the conventional discourse of public good, as identified within this

literature review. Therefore, this institutional ethnographic study recognizes the research

problematic to be around points of juncture between the governing discourse of policy and

theatre professionals' lived experiences.

Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework

Institutional ethnography offers an alternative mode of inquiry into how everyday social experiences organize how people understand and do their work. Within this institutional context, Policies and processes textually mediate this organization. Individuals activate such texts within their everyday setting, shaping their work to the associated institutional expectations. This shaping is a translocal force, constant across time and space. All participants in the institutional relationship are expected to uphold the same rules for participation. Sociologist Dorothy Smith refers to these coordinating forces as relations of ruling (D. Smith, 1987, 1999, 2002, 2005, 2006). These ruling relations are focused on upholding institutional expectations, processes, and interests. Therefore, those experiences which do not fit within the institutional discourse are, by default, omitted.

Institutional ethnographic research requires an epistemological and ontological shift away from contemporary academic and public administrative discourse. Institutional ethnography provides a framework that opens into institutional processes. It makes visible such experiences and institutional implications that are otherwise invisible to and therefore omitted from the governing discourse. Within their foreword to D. Smith's (2005) book, institutional ethnographers Judith Howard, Barbara Reisman, and Joey Sprague position institutional ethnography as a theoretical research method which focuses on the social organization of knowledge within their foreword to D. Smith's book:

> Institutional ethnography builds knowledge of how the relations of ruling operate from the standpoints of the people participating in them and creates maps whereby people can see the workings of institutions and their own locations within them. For people to comprehend the institutions that create and enact inequalities; they

must understand the fabric of their own everyday lives. (D. Smith, 2005, pp. xi-xii)

This quote is upfront within this chapter as it describes the value of an institutional ethnographic approach in research. Moreover, it speaks to breaking open institutional processes and patterns for investigation and recognizes how those institutional contexts shape everyday work.

Institutional ethnographers view the everyday world as problematic. However, the problematic is not a research question. Instead, it frames the direction of the study. Ways of knowing are socially organized, with ideological learning upholding institutional interests. Individuals' engagement with and adaptation of their work to such institutional expectations shapes their empirical ways of knowing. Those lived experiences which do not fit the ideological constructs are unconsciously restructured or omitted by the institution or the individual. Within institutional ethnographic research, the researcher looks to untangle these experiences and attribute social relations as they occur within lived everyday activities. The researcher defines this social organization's coordination and consequences on how individuals understand and engage in their work within the institutional framework.[21]

The problematic is the impetus for the research. It is an area of the everyday lived social framed by the institutional context and compiled with latent tensions. From this translocal domain, the researcher uncovers implicit questions and points of disjuncture between the ideological and experiential ways of knowing; areas that are otherwise omitted from the governing discourse. Through this process, the problematic crystalizes in greater

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[21] This contrasts such prevalent research interests, including testing a hypothesis, measuring outcomes, or disproving associated argumentative positions within the literature.

detail, and further implications of the institutional relationship emerge for investigation (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 89). In this way, both material and empirical explication roots the study results.

This chapter highlights the theoretical and methodological application of institutional ethnography to this research. Dorothy Smith developed institutional ethnography as an alternative process of inquiry into everyday social relations and the institutional processes shaping such experiences. This chapter opens by defining the concept of institutions, the relevance of an alternative method of inquiry, and the fundamental characteristics of the framework. This chapter then moves to identify three assumptions which ground this research in chronological order Anne with the presentation this chapter, these assumptions are:

1. The everyday world is problematic, making the experiences of some invisible.[22]
2. Institutional processes are coordinated through text.
3. People are experts in their own experience, and their lived experience is data.

Through these assumptions, the researcher approaches the study from the position of those in dependant roles, the artists' standpoint. As a policy user, theatre professionals hold this subsidiary role. Their everyday experiences of working within the Nova Scotia's professional arts sector and associated public funding framework shapes their locale domain. Through data collection and analysis, the researcher moves from the standpoint outward into the governing processes, mapping the socially coordinated activities. This

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[22] Generally, those dependent on or those outside of the governing discourse.

inquiry process grounds the research in the lived experiences at the locale domain, otherwise overlooked by the governing discourse. The governing coordination and oversight of locale experiences affect individuals' experiential ways of knowing their work.

This research is an institutional ethnographic study to map the social organization of the relationship between Nova Scotia's government and the province's professional theatre sector. The investigation aims to uncover experiential processes omitted from the governing discourse and show how such events mediate theatre professionals' work. The state is in a position of governing through its provision of public support. The theatre professional is the policy user, a dependent role, thus labelled artists' standpoint. This chapter distinguishes the relationship's hierarchical and institutional nature, establishing the relevance of an alternative process for an inquiry into this cross-sector relationship, introducing the concepts of institutions, problematic, and standpoint. Institutional ethnography offered this research a novel and effective inquiry process for recognizing state coordination, governing oversight, and the consequences thereof on the work of Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector.

3.1   Background

Sociologist Dorothy Smith (2005) introduced institutional ethnography as a research ontology in response to latent recognized points of conflict between the governing discourse and "actualities of the experienced world" (D. Smith, 1987, p. 91). Building on Dorothy Smith's concept, institutional ethnographer George W. Smith maintained such latent conflicts were occurring within "the everyday events in people's lives, and their problems of knowing - being told one thing, but in fact knowing otherwise based on

personal experience" (G. Smith, 1995, p. 21). The personal lived experience did not match the expectations of the governing discourse. In her everyday work, D. Smith experienced tensions navigating the university's institutional expectations in which she was employed and the expectations and responsibilities of her as a single mother.[23] She recognized activities such as picking up a sick child from school in the middle of the workday were critical to her acts of mothering, both in how she understood and engaged in the work. However, these activities did not fit within the institutional expectations of her university work. Instead, she understood that if she needed to leave work to retrieve and care for her child, it would be detrimental to her university standing. She risked falling behind in projects or communications. However, if she did not care for her child, she would not fulfill her role as a single parent.

Upon examining her lived experience, Dorothy Smith (2005) recognized the latent conflicts between the institutional expectations and her lived actualities. Further, she found she was tailoring her actions to meet the institutional expectations and her role as a single parent. For example, when leaving work early to care for her child, she navigated the differing expectations by bringing university work home. However, she also identified that this coordination shaping her everyday work was unaccounted within the governing discourse (D. Smith, 2005). This omission of everyday social experiences was problematic. Institutional ethnography is an alternative process of inquiry to investigate how social relations are structured and the associated social organization of knowledge within the institutional domain.

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[23] D. Smith's lived experience was as a researcher, professor, and single parent working within the realm of higher education. Though important to her, D. Smith's experiences as a single parent did not fit within the institutional discourse.

When situating institutional ethnography research, the researcher approaches the existing literature to frame the research problematic. While informing on the research topic, such discourse is also governing text. It shapes ideological ways of knowing the subject matter. Therefore, an institutional ethnographer approaches the research by reviewing existing literature to analyze the conventional approach, indicating the governing discourse, and identifying an existing knowledge gap. For example, D. Smith (2005) recognized a tension between the university's institutional expectations and how she tailored their work to meet those expectations within her everyday life.

Further, D. Smith (2005) noticed she was not alone in experiencing such tensions between ideological and experiential ways of knowing. Other single moms had similar constraints. D. Smith recognized the gap in the scholarly arguments around this problematic (D. Smith, 1987) "Scholarship had alienated and oppressed" the experiences of the women (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 51). In naming this problematic, D. Smith could then open her lived experience to show coordinating institutional processes, instructing ideological ways of knowing, and the consequences of these expectations on her experiential ways of knowing. Campbell & Gregor (2002, p. 51) explain the role as "what is known and what needs to be discovered about the topic to explicate social organization" where "the issue of knowing emerges as a contested aspect of research - that, in institutional ethnography, is made explicit" (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 51). These latent tensions in the everyday domain suggest the research problematic, loosely shown at the research onset and flushed out as the study progresses.

While investigating social experiences, the institutional ethnographer does not apply a strict theory to the research. Within institutional ethnography, D. Smith (1987,

1990, 1999, 2002, 2005, 2006) introduced the people's[24] standpoint as a methodological approach to data collection. The experience of theatre professionals in a dependent role is positioned at the centre of this research. In taking up the people's standpoint, the researcher recognizes lived everyday occurrences as problematic. From here, the researcher looks outward into the institutional relations. In doing so, the researcher integrates themselves into the experience to uncover translocal processes. Research analysis then emphasizes explicating the surrounding experiences as consequences of policy or shaping ways of knowing within the institutional relationship.

3.2   Institutions

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines the noun institution as "an established organization or corporation;" "a significant practice, relationship, or organization in a society or culture;" and "something firmly associated with a place or thing" (Marriam-Webster, 2020).[25] They are authorized entities that maintain codes of conduct for engagement. Nova Scotia's government is an institution, as is the province's theatre practice. The relationship between the two sectors is also institutionalized through formal policy processes that maintain rules for engagement. This act of gatekeeping emphasizes the hierarchal and coordinating nature of institutional relationships. Textually-mediated processes govern participant behaviours by authorizing those activities which align with the institutional expectations. The access, administration, and recording of Nova Scotia's public support to the province's professional theatre sector are examples of such processes.

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[24] This term was initially the women's standpoint though D. Smith later expanded the concept to people's standpoint for greater applicability (D. Smith, 1987, 1999, 2002, 2005).

[25] This is an abbreviated collection of definitions. For the unabbreviated list, see Marriam-Webster, 2020.

Individuals take up the governing expectations as codes of conduct for engaging in the institution relationship (Bonet & Schargorodsky, 2018; Grahame, 1998; McCoy, 2006; D. Smith, 1999, 2005, 2006; D. Smith & Griffith, 2014). Like D. Smith's experience, these ruling relations shape the individuals' work to the institutional processes. This institutional coordination is normalized through regular policy activation, making any associated implications invisible to the governing discourse.

People routinely engage in institutional relations, whether consciously or not. Even a simple act such as buying a coffee includes an unspoken social order with associated expectations. For example, the customer must have enough money available, use the correct language, understand where to stand to place their order, where to go to receive it, and successfully activate these processes through their act of ordering. However, these social expectations change depending on the coffee shop. If the customer is privy to the institutional knowledge, then the experience of ordering a triple-grand-no-whip-low-fat-caramel latte becomes commonplace. However, suppose a customer is unfamiliar with the unspoken codes organizing the relationship and instead are looking for a double-double coffee. In that case, they may find their engagement within this institutional environment confusing and even overwhelming. Their lived experience of securing a coffee does not align with and, therefore, does not exist within this coffee shop's governing discourse. To successfully engage in this institutional exchange, the customer must adjust their language and expectations to align with those of the institution. While the example of ordering coffee is a small-scale interaction with governing relations, the concept translates to broader institutional processes.

Institutional relationships have an authoritative and textually-mediated structure.

Ideological ways of knowing surface through the "particular use of words, language and text [to] build organizational versions of what people say, do or know for organizational activity" (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 24). For example, Nova Scotia's arts funding program guidelines, application forms, and final report templates are mediating texts that communicate institutional expectations as authorized actions within the relationship. D. Smith characterizes such text as translocal mediums that coordinate "a locale and particular discourse of action with social relations extending both temporally and spatially beyond the moment of the text's occurrence" (D. Smith, 2005, p. 103). The text is activated within a more extensive text-action-text sequence, which emboldens the text to authorize institutional expectations and behaviours across various locales.

This research framework applies the concepts of locale, extra-local, and translocal domains to contextualize authoritative processes for coordination. Figure 2 depicts these concepts concerning one another. The locale refers to one's immediate surroundings as lived experiences, social ties, and the environment in which an individual engages. Activities within the locale domain shape the experiential ways of knowing within an individual's everyday work (Campbell & Gregor, 2002; D. Smith & Griffith, 2014; Stern & Fullerton, 2009; Walby, 2005, 2007). Campbell and Gregor describe that people "enact the world they inhabit and know about, in concert with other people and, of course, with the technologies that people operate" (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 23). The "other people" and "technologies" are then occurring in the extra-local domain, one which is outside an individual's locale yet still having implications on the lived experience by authorizing ideological ways of knowing within institutional relations. Translocal processes communicate these expectations and rules across time and location as rules or

codes of conduct to participating in the cross-sector relationship (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 61). These processes connect the locale and extra-local domains and are supported by the governing relations through text-action-text institutional exchanges.

Figure 2
Hierarchal illustration of local domains
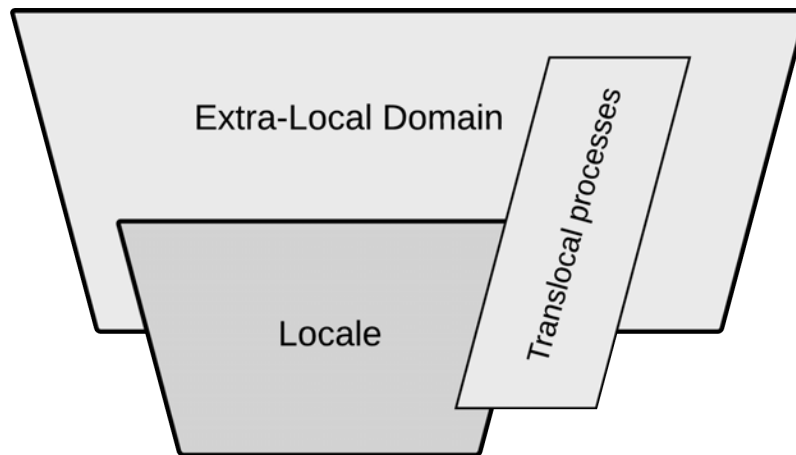
Note: adapted from D. Smith, 1987.

Though taken for granted as a regular everyday activity, D. Smith's experience reading internal university mail connected to a more extensive network of institutional text-action-text processes. This connection is recognized by tracing the act of reading the mail outward into the institutional realm. For the mail to arrive at her office, someone would have had to pick it up from circulation and delivered it to her mailbox. Before this circulation, a different university employee would have received the letter and prepared it for dissemination. Before this, the original author would have had to draft, enclose, and address all the letters before they went to circulation for delivery. The mail process is a translocal linkage. The text would be delivered and activated across other staff as they engaged in their usual morning process of reading the internal mail. The reading of the internal mail was a translocal event across all staff as recipients. D. Smith's experience was only one within a more extensive institutional process. The experience then contributed to

the social organization of knowing for each of those involved.

However, ideological, and experiential ways of knowing are institutionally in conflict. D. Smith's experience of checking her mail was an institutionally coordinated and extra-local expectation. Its activation and repetition normalized the practice, shaping how she experientially understood her work within her locale domain. However, these ideological expectations conflicted with her lived experiential ways of knowing and doing work. She experienced tensions managing the institutional expectation of checking her mail and her home-life responsibilities of parenting (D. Smith, 1987, 1999, 2002). Experiential ways of knowing are often invisible to or misrepresented within the didactic discourse (Grahame, 1998; Rankin, 2017b; D. Smith, 1990; G. Smith, 1995). For D. Smith, these points of conflict were invisible within the broader governing discourse of the university.

While coordinating ways of knowing, institutional processes are also coercive. The daily action of reading the mail held institutional power. The text could hold information relevant to D. Smith's work activities. Therefore, not reading the mail each morning could trigger ramifications on her career, such as missing a critical meeting or administrative information. The processes of reading the mail and the institutional value attributed coordinated how D. Smith organized her work and her social understanding of that work. Should an event outside the institution interrupt this activity, such as a sick child, D. Smith had to renegotiate how to continue satisfying the institutional expectations while addressing her other responsibilities. This act of reading the mail demanded institutional priority, making her other work processes invisible to the governing discourse.

D. Smith refers to the organization of everyday institutional processes as relations

of ruling, applying a dichotomous description to the hierarchal roles: those who are ruling and those who are dependent (DeVault & McCoy, 2002, 2006; D. Smith, 1987, p. 19, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006; D. Smith & Turner, 2014).[26] Those in positions of ruling administer textually-mediated processes that communicate the codes of conduct for engagement. Dependent roles must show they satisfy these institutional expectations to gain access to the relation. However, those in governing positions inadvertently yet commonly overlook the lived experiences of those in the dependant roles as an institutional oversight (Campbell, 2000; Gallant, 2008; Griffith, 1995b; D. Smith & Griffith, 2014; Teghtsoonian, 2015). Instead, experiences are reviewed from a governing lens, triggering this omission.

3.3 Problematic

Institutional ethnography triggers an epistemological and ontological shift. It assumes ways of knowing are socially organized processes coordinated through everyday textually-mediated experiences (Bisaillon, 2012; Deveau, 2009). Institutional ethnographers view the everyday world as problematic. It experiences conflict and tension between ideological and experiential ways of knowing (Campbell, 1995, 2000, 2000; Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 47; Foucault, 1982; Grahame, 1998; Holstein, 2006, p. 293; D. Smith, 1987). Lived experiences hold implicit questions and tensions arising from their everyday organization. An example of this is D. Smith's challenge of managing a sick child and her morning work routine (D. Smith, 1990, 2005). Recognizing experience as data, the

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[26] D. Smith draws from the work of Marx and Foucault to ground her concept of ruling and power relations. She expands on their concepts to view the everyday world as problematic. Inequalities exist within such contemporary social practices as institutional management and public policy. The ways of interacting with those processes are determining and coercive forms of engagement. For additional reading on Marx and Foucault's work concerning institutional ethnography, reference Campbell & Gregor, 2002; DeVault & McCoy, 2002; Eaton, 1966; D. Smith, 2005.

institutional ethnographer seeks points of conflict as junctures in ways of knowing. The problematic is situated at these points to enter the research (Rankin, 2017a, 2017b). Having situated the problematic, the researcher then finds and names the various relations existing in the research environment.

Institutional processes socially organize relationships and associated experiences. They are systematically, though intangibly and even inconspicuously, ordered to uphold the overall governing relation. Campbell and Gregor note that this non-apparent social organization can create tension between the locale experience and the ways of knowing instructed within institutional processes (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 18). These tensions are because the governing discourse makes experiences invisible if they fall outside its mandate. By default, this exclusion includes the work of those not in the position of power. Understanding the various relations and their associated hierarchy within the research environment becomes fundamental to situating the problematic within institutional ethnographic research.

Purposefully, the problematic is not fully detailed at the start of the study. Nor is a defined research question engaged. As a sociological approach, the research focus is on discovering how people live and work within their everyday lives while recognizing coordinating institutional frameworks (Bisaillon, 2012; Campbell, 1995; DeVault & McCoy, 2006; Diamond, 1995, 2006; Griffith, 1995a, 1995b; D. Smith, 2006; D. Smith & Griffith, 2014; Turner, 2003; Williams, 2007). Conventional hypothesis-driven research is detrimental to institutional ethnographic research. It challenges participant experiences against a presupposed hypothesis and one another. Data that does not link to this hypothesis would suggest outliers or anomalies, which could then be excluded from data analysis

within such conventional research designs. Therefore, institutional ethnographers enter the research through an early concept of the problematic instead of a defined research question. The institutional researcher does not look to name the points of tension at the research onset. Data uncovers these tensions organically during research, surfacing narratives on how individuals come to know and do their work within the institutional context.

Institutional ethnography is a process of inquiry to uncover and untangle everyday social relations as they are occurring. Through this approach, institutional ethnographers do not look to solve or answer a problem. Instead, they look to define power structures and ways of knowing within the relationship exchanges. The problematic frames the research, situating data collection and analysis from a standpoint within institutional processes (Bisaillon, 2012). It is not until the study is well underway that the scope of the problematic appears fully for definition and investigation. This technique grounds the research in the everyday lived experience.

Within D. Smith's lived example, the university's governing expectations framed both her career trajectory and her day-to-day work. Her morning activity of opening the internal mail was textually-mediated. It was coordinated and normalized through a reoccurring text-action-text process (D. Smith, 2005, p. 12). Upon arriving at her university office in the morning, Smith would pick up her internal mail (text).[27] She would then open and read its contents (action). The activity of reading the mail held institutional power. It textually communicated information and prompted the following action through its contents (text). Smith would then engage in the prompt as other textually-mediated

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[27] This experience was before the common use of email for business communication.

processes. The text held governing power over her lived experience: they communicated institutional expectations, coordinated Smith's actions at that moment, and had implications on how she engaged in her other work activities.

Smith also recognized this governing coordination of her everyday lived experience as problematic. For example, when her child fell sick at school, she faced conflicting expectations. First was the ideological expectation of being a good employee by reading her mail right away when arriving at the office. However, she also faced a time-sensitive need to pick up her unwell child (D. Smith, 2005). Ignoring either responsibility would have implications on the experiential way she understood and approached her work. By not reading the mail at the designated time, she would be a poor employee. If she did not take care of her child, she would be a bad mother (D. Smith, 2005). Her experience of parenting did not 'fit' within the institutional discourse. Instead, its omission reinforced tensions between the institutional expectations and her lived experience.

D. Smith's assumption of the everyday world as problematic applied to this research. Nova Scotia's public support has formal processes for engagement. Theatre professionals are expected to work within these policy processes to access the support. The policy text then coordinates their work. However, as with Smith's experience, elements of theatre professionals' work are invisible to the broader governing discourse. By overlooking theatre professionals' lived experiences, the implications of this coordination are also absent from governing discourse. The research problematic is situated at these points of omission of theatre professionals' everyday experience.

3.4 Standpoint

Standpoint refers to the perspective of an individual's lived experience. The

interpretation of these experiences is a socially organized construct that maintains consequences on knowing and doing within everyday exchanges (Bisaillon, 2012). Here, social refers to experiences as they are lived and understood by those engaging with them (Campbell & Gregor, 2002; McCoy, 2006; Rankin, 2017a, 2017b; Rankin & Campbell, 2009; D. Smith, 1987, 1999, 2004, 2006). Their lived experience creates a framework within their locale domain from which individuals shape their understanding of their activities and the institutional relations around those events. Within these exchanges, institutional ethnography assumes that individuals are experts in their own experience. People hold different frameworks for knowing, based on their locale. Therefore, the standpoint is not a perspective but an expert account of the experience from which the researcher enters the investigation for analysis.

Within institutional ethnographic research, the people's standpoint is accessed as the point of entry into and from which to view the data.[28] From this perspective, a researcher enters the problematic and moves through institutional processes to illustrate the coordination. The research then uncovers the consequences of such coordination on the everyday lives of those working within the institutional framework. This term was revised to be the "artists' standpoint," emphasizing the research focus on the theatre professional's lived experience within this study's context. Data collection and discursive analysis open outward from the artists' standpoint into the governing relations. This process derives an analytic description of the social processes that coordinate theatre professionals' everyday work as ways of knowing (Bisaillon, 2012). This adoption of a standpoint to investigate

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[28] D. Smith (2005) originally termed this concept the women's standpoint, later expanding it under the more inclusive terminology of people's standpoint.

the social organization of knowing distinguishes this research approach from conventional frameworks and amplifies its suitability to this topic.

The power of text is present in coordinating the relationships and in the language surrounding those relationships that the institutional ethnography is investigating. Campbell and Gregor caution against the tendency during research to adopt what they refer to as "the oppressor's language" (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, . They are referring to the governing discourse. Public policy preloads institutional language with meaning as a form of coordination. Institutional ethnography is a framework to unpack this coordination. Adopting the governing textual language without awareness of its weight would be detrimental to the research itself. Therefore, the researcher must also be conscious of their position and interaction with the text.

While traditional scholars approach the governing discourse as the central text, Campbell and Gregor warn this should not occur within an institutional ethnography (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 52). The researcher is at risk of subordinating their position within the research by taking up the governing discourse. It is counterintuitive to the institutional ethnographic process and intention. Instead, the researcher recognizes the research participant as an expert in their own experience.

Recognizing experience as data, the institutional ethnographer seeks points of conflict as junctures in ways of knowing. They then situate the problematic within these points of tension. For this reason, institutional ethnographers enter the research through a loose concept of the problematic as opposed to a defined research question. The institutional researcher does not look to name the points of tension at the onset of the research. Instead, data uncovers these points organically, as they surface in sector

narratives to show how individuals come to know and do their work within the institutional context. This process and emergent tensions respond to the latent question: How is the everyday world [of theatre professionals] organized?

3.5   Chapter Summary

Institutional ethnographers view the everyday world as problematic, being textually and socially mediated. Texts reinforce the relations of power and governing within social exchanges. To successfully engage within the institutional domain, participants must subscribe to the expectations put forth from the governing discourse. This governing discourse frames the way of knowing and understanding one's experiences. However, the governing discourse may not reflect the actual lived experience. Institutional ethnographers assess the everyday world "as both [the] point of departure and [the] problematic" (Holstein, 2006, p. 293). The coordination of social experiences by the governing roles and associated rendering of subordinate experiences as invisible is problematic. The researcher enters this problematic to name the coordinating process and define their implications on ways of knowing within the everyday context.

The people's standpoint is a starting position for institutional ethnographic research and critical to understanding the lived experience. Within institutional relationships, text-action-text processes can make dependent experiences invisible. An institutional ethnographer takes up this experiential standpoint to make visible these experiences. The researcher moves outward into institutional processes to illustrate the relationship, define the experiences of those who are engaging, and draw attention to the governing discourse's coordination of those experiences.   This chapter contextualizes the assumptions and application of institutional ethnography as related to this research. As a process of inquiry,

institutional ethnography offers a discourse that reframes the concept of social relations and reveals unseen consequences arising from the institutionally prescribed social organization of knowledge. Uncovering these invisible yet translocal experiences is essential. Even the most well-intended policies and programs can still enforce oppressive and dependent relations. Institutional relations do not conventionally recognize those experiences or practices which fall outside the discourse. The recurring activation of public policy text normalizes the omission of such experiences. However, this results in associated policy consequences on the relationship between Nova Scotia's government and the professional theatre sector and associated practices being made invisible - excluded from the institutional relationship. This study applies institutional ethnography as a theoretical and methodological framework to investigate the institution of public policy and its consequences on Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector's everyday work.

Chapter 4 Research Design

This research was designed and implemented using institutional ethnography as a reflexive research process to illustrate how the institutional relationship with the provincial government shapes ways of working within the professional theatre sector. This paradigm shift from standard research methodologies moves the focus of investigation from *what* is occurring[29] to *how* it is happening. Institutional ethnographers DeVault and McCoy describe the process as "rather like grabbing a ball of string, finding a thread, and pulling it out; that is why it is difficult to specify in advance exactly what the research will consist of" when investigating coordinating processes embedded within institutional relationships (DeVault & McCoy, 2002, p. 755). Building from that argument, the process of discovery is central to this study's research design.

Institutional ethnography assumes that the everyday world is problematic, and daily social experiences shape our ways of knowing. Therefore, a researcher brings their lived experiences to the study. Often the researcher holds a pre-existing connection or interest, initially drawing them to the topic. Within institutional ethnographic research, Smith (1987, 1999, 2006) directs the researcher to identify their position to the investigation early in the study. The aim is to reduce researcher bias within data collection and analysis, contributing to or otherwise influencing the data.

Therefore, to reduce bias, the following paragraphs define the researcher's position. Within this study, I bring a lived experience working in the arts, government, and public policy fields. I worked with professional theatre companies across Ontario and Atlantic

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[29] This being the measurement of policy outcomes and deliverables.

Canada in roles as stage manager, technical director, production manager, administrator, arts management consultant, and board member. Additionally, I am a member of the national theatre union, Canadian Actors Equity Association. Further within the public and academic sectors, I have worked as a civic events coordinator, community planner, strategic officer, policy analyst, economic research associate, and instructor on public policy topics. The impetus for this study grew from my lived experiences and connection to the subject matter.

My background directed me toward the research subject. Nova Scotia's theatre and provincial government do share an interest in supporting artistic practice. However, I had experienced an ongoing breakdown in communication between these sectors in terms of intention, process, and priorities. These observations were not isolated to my lived experience. During informal conversations with colleagues, they expressed feeling similar tensions. Theatre professionals were constrained in their work and reported feeling burnt out, particularly when navigating public policy resources. A seeming ethereal limitation also restricted provincial program officers tasked with supporting artistic initiatives. It was these observations, though informal, which led me to this research.

This thesis aimed to investigate how theatre professionals' work within the province is mediated by Nova Scotia's public policy and the consequences of such shaping on the sector activities. Nova Scotia's public policy has formal processes around available support for professional theatre activity.

This study's research design emphasized a discovery process rooted in an institutional ethnographic theoretical and methodological framework. This design offered tools to uncover policy processes shaping institutional ways of knowing. These included

adopting the institutional concepts of governing relations and artists' standpoint.[30] In-depth field research provided primary data through interviews with theatre professionals, administrators, civil servants, and informal observations at theatre sector events. Secondary data was acquired from policy, academic, and public texts.

The artists' standpoint is a theoretical tool to enter this data from an alternative viewpoint to those governing positions. The study then moved outward from this standpoint into the institutional domain to show translocal processes across data narratives. These linkages connected lived experiences to the governing relations, coordinating the lived everyday experiences of theatre professionals. The result is an analytical analysis mapping how provincial public policy coordinated theatre professionals' work in Nova Scotia and the consequences of that coordination on how these professionals know and value their work.

This chapter describes the research design used for this study, moving through designated terminology, research scope, data collection and analysis methods, and challenges to the research. The data responds to the findings rather than being prescribed or influenced by the governing discourse. With a general research structure in place, interview questions, participants, and text were adapted in reflection to the data as it appeared. Institutional ethnographers D. Smith, Campbell, Gregor, DeVault, and McCoy attribute the success of institutional ethnographic research to this responsive nature (Campbell, 1995, 2000; Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 45; DeVault & McCoy, 2002, p. 755, 2006; Duxbury & Campbell, 2010; D. Smith, 1999, 2005, 2006). This study maps the

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[30] D. Smith (2005) refers to these concepts within institutional ethnography as ruling relations and the people's standpoint.

coordination of Nova Scotia's public policy over professional theatre activity within the province. It exposes the consequences of such coordination on the work and associated ways of knowing for the sector.

4.1 Terminology

Within institutional ethnography, texts shape ways of knowing. They are a conduit for the governing relations, communicating ideological interests. Institutional ethnographers Campbell and Gregor state, "Where the knower stands determines what can be seen" (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 53). The example of ordering a coffee at different cafes was used in chapter 3 to illustrate how text holds different meanings depending on the institutional context and the user. Building on that, a government official reading a document would interpret it differently from an arts administrator or an actor. Recognizing this power of text, the terminology used in this thesis has been developed to reinforce elements unique to the research's theoretical framework, subject matter, and audience. This amending included shifting D. Smith's (2005) concept of "ruling relations" to "governing relations" and rebranding the term "people's standpoint"[31] as the "artists' standpoint." The following paragraphs define the use of these terms within this research context.

4.1.1 Governing Relations

Institutional relations are hierarchal entities, where formal processes uphold expectations for engagement. Institutional ethnographers D. Smith, Devault, Diamond, Griffith, McCoy, and Diamond refer to these authorizing processes as ruling relations,

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[31] In D. Smith's (1987, 2005, 2006) early work, she used the term "women's standpoint," later shifting to "people's standpoint" for inclusivity.

though this study titles them as governing relations (DeVault & McCoy, 2006; Diamond, 2006; McCoy, 2006; D. Smith, 1987, 2005, 2006; D. Smith & Griffith, 2014). This shift in language recognizes a distinction between the act of ruling versus governing, as defined in chapter 3. Within this research, the Province of Nova Scotia holds an institutional position of power. It is in a governing role over the institutional domain through its provision of financial support. As policy users accessing public support, theatre professionals are in a subordinate position within the institutional relationship.

Policy text and associated institutional processes communicate institutional expectations for accessing public resources as extra-local ideological expectations. Examples of these texts include legislation, provincial budget, strategic action plans, and program guidelines. These texts are administered from the extra-local domain as translocal processes instructing ideological ways of engaging in the relationship (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 61). Individuals access the texts within their locale, therein activating them. An individual's experiential way of knowing is then framed by these texts, the locale in which they live, and the translocal processes the individuals enact.

4.1.2 Artists' Standpoint

Fundamental to this research design is the concept of the standpoint. Emphasis was placed on the everyday locale in which individuals live and from which they understand that lived experience (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 53). Provincial staff interpret policy from their position of governing. Therefore, both staff and the text uphold governing ideological interests. These are inherently biased as institutional interests. Further, this bias omits lived experiences that do not match the governing ideological interests. Therefore, as the researcher, the standpoint of those in the dependent institutional roles was adopted

during data collection and analysis (Basurto et al., 2010; Blomquist & deLeon, 2011; Campbell & Gregor, 2002; Coffé & Geys, 2006; DeVault & McCoy, 2002, 2006; Diamond, 1995, 2006, 2006; Öztan, 2013; D. Smith, 1987, 2005; D. Smith & Griffith, 2014). This dependent role was assumed to be that of the theatre professional as the policy user accessing the public support.

Additionally, the terms "people" and "public" are overly similar, thus risking confusion when discussing the concepts of the people's standpoint, the public realm, and public policy. Therefore, D. Smith's (2005) people's standpoint is referred to as the artist's standpoint within this investigation, mitigating such risk. This shift in language reinforces the study's focus on the lived everyday experience of theatre professionals' working within provincial public policy processes.

4.2 Scope

The study's emphasis was on discovering the consequences of everyday arts sector work experiences, as impacted by the relationship between Nova Scotia's provincial government and the region's professional theatre sector. This topic could readily expand without clear boundaries for the research. The research scope needed to be defined upfront, including the study population, public policy activity, and arts discipline. The following paragraphs describe this scope.

This research population was bound to theatre professionals within Nova Scotia who were accessing or looking to access funding from the region's provincial government, those administrators and managers supporting these theatre professionals, and the public officials advising on and mediating such policy activities. The concept of professional within this study followed the definition set forward in the Nova Scotia's Status of the

Artist Act. The Provincial legislation outlined criteria to be recognized as a professional artist, as used by the provincial government. These criteria included receiving financial compensation for one's artistic work, which "may reasonably be considered to be income" (Status of the Artist Act, 2012, sec. 6). The Act is also a governing text within Nova Scotia's arts policy framework. Therefore, while this study defines theatre professionals under the Status of the Artists Act, this definition also opens the description of work to include paid and unpaid activities. Therefore, work within this research context referred to any activity requiring mental or physical effort. This definition included such areas of theatre activity as performance, directing, and administrative work. Finally, theatre professionals' inclusion is limited to those working within Nova Scotia during 2015 and interacting with the province's arts policy framework during that time.

The Government of Nova Scotia offers support to professional theatre activities through a range of policies and programs. This research scope was limited to those policy activities funded through Nova Scotia's Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage, collectively referred to within this report as Nova Scotia's arts policy framework. This framework included plans, programs, strategies, support, legislation, agencies, awards, other administrative events, and the expected communications around such governing materials. Though other provincial policy areas connect to theatre sector activities, institutional processes risked expanding the study to an unmanageable size across various departments without defined scope parameters.

Nova Scotia's government provided public support for a range of professional arts disciplines. This study focused on a single discipline, professional theatre, to maintain an achievable research scope. The decision to focus on this discipline did not indicate its value

compared to other artistic fields. The intent of arts policy was not to raise one arts domain above another, nor was it the purpose within this research. Instead, it reflected the researcher's position and the existing familiarity with the disciplinary topic.

As an ontology, institutional ethnography focuses on the experience and not the individual. At the level of theatre professionals, artist experiences differed across disciplines. For example, how a theatre's artistic director works in the rehearsal hall was different from that of a painter or a sculptor in their private studio. Producing a theatre piece does entail other tasks and activities than a gallery exhibit. However, the need for, interaction with, and use of public support is constant across art disciplines.

This research embraced the theoretical and methodological concepts of institutional ethnography. It was designed to provide an empirical map of theatre professionals' experiences occurring under Nova Scotia's public support. D. Smith (1993) described, "No map tells people how to move, but only how here and there are related on the ground should they want to get from one to the other" (p. 188). This investigation did not strive to claim cause and effect within the cross-sector relationship. It is not an evaluative analysis, nor do the findings offer a solution to tensions existing in the cross-sector relationship. This research purposefully did not include evaluative tools. Policy benchmarks and outcomes were not the focus during data collections and analysis. This research intent was to determine a theoretical understanding from which public policy coordination on theatre activity was mapped within the overarching institutional governing framework of arts policy in Nova Scotia.

4.3   Methods

Data collection and analysis were approached as phased research to grapple with

the responsive nature of institutional ethnography.[32] These three phases were found within the locales of 1) artistic creation, 2) arts administration, and 3) public policy administration, as illustrated in Figure 3. The first phase of this research design was situated at the locale of artistic creation. This phase accessed the artists' standpoint. This standpoint was then kept throughout the research. The first phase included a review of public texts, interviews with theatre professionals, interview transcription, and the start of data analysis. Phase two included interviews with institutional functionaries as theatre administrators and managers and theatre work observations. The third phase included interviewing policy officials and reviewing associated public policy texts. A guiding research focus through the full study was on flushing out translocal processes within each phase as points of coordination in ways of knowing.

Figure 3
Chart moving through three research phases
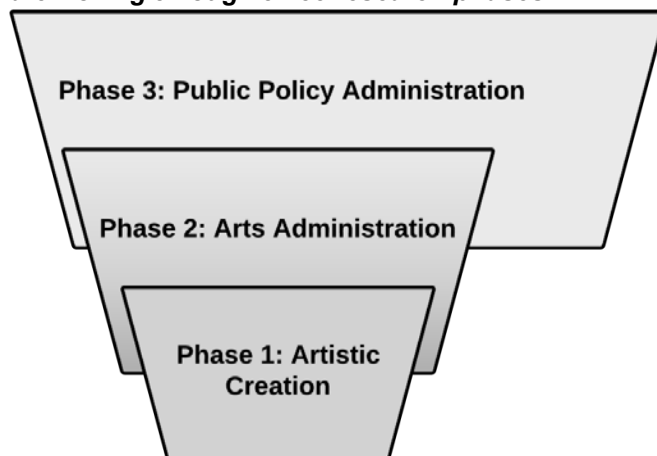
Data collection and analysis were concurrent activities with a forward trajectory. However, the research phases themselves did not have firm boundaries. Data directed the

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[32] This process was adapted from McCoy's (2006) two-stage model of moving from one locale to another. The terms "phases" and "locale" were used instead of McCoy's "stages" to suggest increased fluidity across the processes.

phase progression: the need for inquiry into documentary practices and the domain of experiences advanced the research progress across and between the phases. This reflexive approach of moving between the research phases and locales continued until data saturation. The increasing presence of redundant data, with limited new data emerging, showed data saturation.

4.3.1 Data Collection

Three types of data were collected and analyzed for this study. According to institutional ethnographer Mary Campbell (1995), these data sources are aligned to the main types of data used within the research style. These sources were textual data, observational data, and interview data. In the following subsections, the methods used for collecting each form of data within this study are defined.

Textual Data. Within this research, the definition of text is adopted from institutional ethnographic frameworks. A text is any reproducible writing, imagery, or audio recording. Such documents were relevant to the research because they were governing relations which communicated ideological interest. This data was sourced from scans of government policies, programming documents, media stories, academic studies, and government reports on associated policy and sector activities. Press releases, newspaper articles, reviews, and public social media correspondence supplied further data.

Though most of the textual data sources were available online, detailed provincial funding allocation into the professional arts sector was not at the time of data collection. A list of the 2015 provincial funding awarded to professional theatre companies and affiliate support organizations in the region was accessed through a request to Nova Scotia's Department of Internal Services under the Freedom of Information and Protection of

Privacy Act. Affiliate organizations were defined as support organizations that engaged the provincial theatre sector as members or clients. This document included the names of recipient organizations, funding amounts, and company operating budgets.

For text not in the public domain, the document was requested directly from the source. For example, if a research participant referred to their company bylaws during an interview, they were asked if a copy of the document was available to be shared. Additionally, data were considered against what had already been collected, emergent gaps, and areas needing more support for analysis when deciding which text next to pursue. In this way, the textual data contributed to directing the research design.

Observations. For this study, everyday activities were assumed to be forms of work. Following this assumption, informal observational data was collected from public events and activities between April 2015 to April 2016, where Nova Scotia's professional theatre and provincial government work intersected. Examples of these intersecting occurrences included theatre productions, workshops, discussions, conferences, sector award ceremonies, and networking events. Theatre productions included those put on by the regional theatre, summer theatres, indie companies, festivals, and co-operative shows. Each event was reflected in consideration of the overall research, and this reflected recorded in a field journal. However, the intention was not for direct comprehensive data collection. Instead, participation in these activities kept a connection to the professional theatre sector and their lived experiences, contributing to the researcher's position. Therefore, observations from these events were used only for reflection during data collection and analysis and not cited directly within the research.

Participation in private theatre activities, which coincided with this study's

timeline, also contributed to the researcher's position. These activities included company board meetings, annual general meetings, project and operational grant application preparation, theatre administration tasks, the rehearsal process, the show runs, and opening-closing night theatre parties. However, data was not formally recorded from these events. Nonetheless, participation in these events contributed to the researcher's position and the framework for knowing which was brought to this research.

Interviews. This study's primary data source was interviews with members of the professional theatre sector and the provincial government. A range of +/-30 interviews was found as the ideal cumulative interview target in this research design. This value was determined based on sector size, expected speed of data saturation, data collection period, and data management capacity. Between June 2015 and October 2015, 34 interviews were conducted. Participants in these interviews included theatre professionals, arts administrators and managers, and provincial government officials. The study population was contained to those within Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and those within regional government departments who worked closely with Nova Scotia's arts policy framework, aligning with the research scope.

Interviewee Identification. Textual data and sector observations were referenced when identifying individuals to interview. Where possible, narratives were sought from those emergent and established in their carriers and interaction with Nova Scotia's arts policy framework. Interview participants included the staff of touring companies with an international presence, recurring summer theatre festivals, indie theatre companies receiving professional recognition through theatre sector awards, the regional theatre, arts management organizations, and provincial funding agencies, advisory councils, and

departmental divisions. Additionally, suggestions made by research participants and as emerging within the data were pursued. The associated individuals were then invited into the study. Alternative names for participants were randomly generated and used for record-keeping and analysis to maintain participants' anonymity. A list of interviewees under their pseudonyms is included in Appendix A.

Each phase of the research included loose parameters for participant inclusion within that locale. Figure 4 is a visual representation of the three locales identified for data collection. The associated locale descriptive applied to each research phase were:

Phase 1: Artistic Creators: This phase situated the artists' standpoint and included those leading the creation of theatre pieces such as artistic directors and artistic producers.

Phase 2: Arts Administrators and Managers: The second phase housed those whose work directly connects theatre creation and policy, including arts administrators, general managers, and consultants. This locale also recognized managers and staff at support organizations, where the organization provided arts management services to theatres in the region and venues regularly rented for performance or rehearsal.

Phase 3: Provincial Governing Personnel: The third phase encompassed those working directly within a government organization structure. Public servants such as program officers, managers, directors, and elected officials interacting with Nova Scotia's arts policy activities were included in this phase. Within this phase, volunteer appointments (present and past) on regional arts committees and board of directors were also recognized. The roles of

provincial civil servants and volunteer appointments were combined into the same phase based on their proximity to Nova Scotia's arts policy. Both groups provided recommendations, design, and evaluation toward provincial arts policy activities, taking up governing roles. Supplementing this category with these volunteer appointments also increased autonomy within the data.

Figure 4
Visual representation of interviewee locales
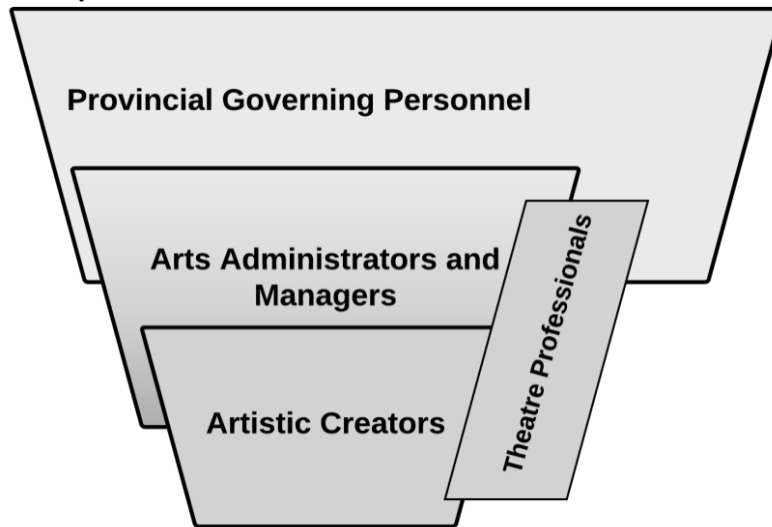
While the locales provided a method to organize experiences when mapping, these definitions were porous to reflect participants' fluid experiences. Within the theatre sector, theatre professionals are fluid in their work and may hold multiple organizational roles. A participant's experiences could position them in one or more of the above locales. For example, an artistic producer for a festival may also be an administrative assistant for a different theatre company. Similarly, a stage manager may also be a consultant. Even within the public servants interviewed, many of them also had some level of professional artistic experience. The following is a narrative from Caroline, an arts administration interviewed during phase 2:

The reason that I was on the [Creative Nova Scotia] Leadership Council was I was

vice-chair of Arts Nova Scotia for the first three years. And the vice-chair- There's a position reserved on Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council for somebody from Arts Nova Scotia.

And Arts Nova Scotia could decide who that person would be, and the way that we decided at the time of the board was that because the chair was going to be busy with a lot of things, chair-like things, the vice-chair, one of their key responsibilities would be to attend the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council as the Arts Nova Scotia representative. And the vice-chair also then became the- At Arts Nova Scotia, I became chair of the external relations committee. (Caroline, personal correspondence, 27 June 2015)

Though Caroline was invited to an interview through her role as an executive staff member at a support organization, her lived experiences transitioned across the second and third research phases. Her interview illustrates how the conversation could flow between research phases and local domains, as was organic to the participants' experience. When interviewees shifted locales, this shift was noted on a spreadsheet and within the field journal without interrupting the narrative.

Additionally, as the research progressed, the separation between locales in phases one and two blurred to omission. As one theatre interviewee said:

Out of necessity of needing to earn money and therefore pay for my existence in this city and in this province and country, I have decided that I will make my living from the performing arts in whatever form they come up in. So, I made a vow 15 years ago that I would only work in anything to do with the entertainment industry. So, I decided I would not get a "proper job" - Said with a large dose of sarcasm in

that comment, proper job - that I decided I would not wait tables, I would not work in an office to supplement my income because I believe that if I give myself wholeheartedly to the entertainment industry than it would by necessity give back to me. Now the challenge is making that work, trying to pay on a day to day, month to month basis. When the rent check was due for the bills were due to be paid. So, what I have done is started producing theatre, accepting work in the entertainment industry, saying yes to many different various kinds of that work. But as long as it falls under the criteria of being in some way entertaining or link to the entertainment industry, then I will accept it. Or I will entertain it as long as it's financially – as long and someone's offering to pay me for It. I then also have in my mind a set number of things I will do for free or for a reduced rate, like directing a one-woman show with an actor that can't afford to pay me. […] But then what I ended up doing is becoming a businessman and running a limited company, running a not-for-profit, and running my own personal business as a product. So, developing the idea that there's basically two different versions of [participant's name]. (Steve, personal communications, 4 June 2015)

Therefore, the term "theatre professional" was introduced during the research process to include artistic creators, administrators, and managers working in the professional theatre sector.

During data analysis, interviewee locales distinguished the narratives as expert accounts of their lived experience. This approach can be seen in the presentation of data throughout this report. Research quotes are introduced by referring to such locales as "theatre professional" or "public servant" and limited organizational identifiers. Specific

titles such as "artistic producer" or "arts administrator" were only used when they added to the data being presented. This tool for data tracking and presentation supported anonymity and unbiased analysis.

Sampling was concluded inductively to support the research method. The number of interview participants varied across locale, geographic region, and practice. As this research focused on investigating how institutional processes in the translocal domain shaped theatre professionals' experiences, weight was not placed on participants' predominance in any one locale. Nor was a balanced representation sought. Instead, the final sample size was determined when little to no new data was emerging during interviews.

Interview Invitation. After identifying potential interviewees, they were invited through a standard email template to participate in the research. This template included an invitation within the email body and an attached invitation and researcher biography on university letterhead. These later documents are included in Appendix C and Appendix D respectively. For those invitees who did not initially reply, a follow-up email was sent a week later, inquiring about their interest. Of the 36 invitations distributed, 34 participants accepted. Of the two who declined, one declined without reason, and one directed to a different individual within their institution whom they thought would be better suited based on the research subject. This alternative person accepted the invitation.

Within this research design, interviews were first scheduled as 60-minute sessions. However, interviewees were eager to speak about their experiences. These initial interviews pushed the time constraint to run beyond the intended 60-minute timeframe. Therefore, the proposed interviewed duration was expanded to be within a range of 60 to

90 minutes. This change in time was beneficial because it contributed to a more relaxed interview environment, without feeling pressure on timing.

In taking up the artists' standpoint, interviewees were considered experts in their own lived experience. It was essential that research participants felt comfortable and respected in these expert roles for the authenticity of their narrative being collected. Theatre professionals spoke from the subordinate role within the institutional relationship, and public officials were in a governing position that upheld the institution's ideological interests. Therefore, this comfort included being able to speak openly about one's experience without fear of retaliation.

Research related communications, the session's physical environment, and the interview schedule contributed to setting a comfortable tone. Correspondence with participants highlighted the study's inductive nature to investigate the theatre and government cross-sector relations and not contest activities or degrees of support. Additionally, when inviting a participant to an interview, they were provided with a range of interview times and encouraged them to choose their interview location. This choice fostered a familiar environment for the session and relaxed dialogue. As a result, interviews occurred in coffee shops, tea houses, participant's offices, and teleconferencing. Though Dalhousie University was included as a venue choice, no one requested an interview on campus.

Further, the interviews were structured as open-ended sessions, excluding three predetermined questions. This interview structure was communicated during the interview invitation and again at the start of the interview. Additionally, the researcher's position background and pre-existing connection to both the arts and public sectors were shared

before the interview to contribute a sense of familiarity with participants during the interviews. These methods appeared successful as participants had favourable comments post-interview, such as "that was refreshing," "thank you, that was like a therapy session for me but far less expensive," and "we should do this again."

Interview Process. When a research participant accepted the interview invitation, they were emailed the study information package, including the consent form. This package is included in Appendix E. Participants were encouraged to review the documents before their interview and brought a paper copy of these documents with two signature pages to each interview. At the start of each interview session, participants were given time to go over the package and ask questions. The interviewee and researcher signed the interview consent forms, with the interviewee keeping one form and the printed information package. The audio recording was then turned on, and the interview began. After the interview, the data tracking spreadsheet was updated to include details from the interviewee's paperwork, including any requests for transcripts, quote attribution,[33] and interest in receiving a final copy.

Interviews were open-ended, with emphasis on an organic conversation style. Once the microphone was live and the interview began, the following three guiding points for the session were explained to each participant:

1. **Inside out** – "Often during policy analysis, we tend to look top-down: looking for outcomes and benchmarks. A top-down process asks, 'Is the policy doing what we want it to do?' For this research, I am looking instead from the inside

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[33] All participants were given pseudonyms in the final report to improve anonymity across the results.

out. I am asking, 'How are theatre professionals accessing the policy and using the policy in their everyday work?' I'm then following those experiences outward to policy creation, administration, and coordination."

2. **Rants and rambles** – "This is more of a conversation rather than a formal interview. I am interested in your experience: how you do what you do. So, rants, rambles, and tangents are wonderful."

3. **My experience** – "Sometimes, I may ask you a question where you may think, 'Don't you already know that?' In these cases, I am trying to get at your experience rather than applying my experience and interpretation."

Following these interview guidelines, participants were given time to ask any questions they had. There were no added questions from participants.

Interviews focused on collecting data on participants' experiences when interacting with Nova Scotia's public policy and how that interaction connected to their work. Three predetermined questions were used during the interviews, designed to start the conversation on topic and then conclude naturally. These questions were:

1. "How do you describe what you do?" (used to start the conversation)

2. "Can you tell me about an experience in your work when you thought, 'Yes, this is why I do it!'?" (used to begin wrapping up the conversation)

3. "Are there any last thoughts you would like to share about theatre, arts, or government in Nova Scotia?" (used to invite interviewees to make any final comments)

These questions bookended the interview process while gently guiding the conversation to collect data authentic to the participants' experience.

This interview format allowed periodic check-ins with the research participant to confirm that the data recorded was correct and probe for more information around text and institutional language without disrupting the interview flow. Campbell and Gregor explain, "For members of organizations trained in institutional and professional discourses, talking about jobs will be done through the template of those discourses" (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 70). During interviews, points in the interviewee's narrative, which needed further investigation, were noted during the session. The conversation was then directed toward those points through inquiries, including, "Can you tell me more about…" and "When you say 'X,' what do you mean?" For example, during their interview, one participant noted, "We applied for a grant but did not get it." In this interview, the participant spoke about applying for funding and learning; they did not receive the funding. This process also included listening to the narrative for references to texts and institutional language. For example, one theatre professional described:

> I think at this point; we're not looking toward more creation grants. It's difficult to
> take a script that has already been done and make the argument that now is the time
> to do it again. Now it the place to do it. Those arguments, I'm learning. I'm learning
> grantsmanship. (Janice, personal communications, 1 June 2015)

Within this interview, the terms "creation grant," "argument," and "grantsmanship" were noted. When she had finished her thought, she was then asked what she meant by these words. The resulting data was more in-depth descriptions of her experience.[34]

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[34] Within her quote, "creation grants" were a textually-mediated funding program from the provincial government. Simultaneously, "argument" and "grantsmanship" referred to providing ample description within funding applications that met the funding program's context.

4.3.2 Data Management

Spreadsheets were created to track and manage data accumulated during this research. These electronic files were kept in a single workbook and saved to a password-protected drive. Included in the workbook were an interviewee sheet and a list of data sources. The interviewee spreadsheet included potential interviewees, those contacted, a schedule of interviews, and follow-up activities such as reviewing a granting program or organizational text. Alternative names for participant narratives were randomly generated to increase anonymity and included on the spreadsheet. Research data was collected in a physical field journal, audio recordings of interviews, and electronic word-processed files and spreadsheets. Within the field journal, notes were categorized by date and interviewee pseudonym. Paper copies of the participant consent forms were filed in a locked cabinet in a locked office on the university campus. Following each interview, interviews were transcribed verbatim. Both the transcription and original audio files were saved to a password protected computer drive under the interviewees' pseudonym. All word-processed files and spreadsheets were also kept on this drive. Finally, electronic files were also backed up to an external hard drive.

4.3.3 Data Analysis

Within this research design, data collection and analysis were innately and purposefully entangled, occurring in unison. The research interest was to illustrate how Nova Scotia's arts policy framework coordinates the way theatre professionals in the region understand and engage in their work in the arts. To support this, the process of analysis began early in the research, occurring alongside data collection. This investigation included considering how theatre professionals described their lived narrative and the

implications of these experiences on their work. This process involved questioning the data for translocal linkages and mapping these processes through flow charts and textual descriptions. It was an iterative process until a complete map was present as a navigational tool for understanding the relationship across Nova Scotia's provincial government and the professional theatre sector.

A field journal was essential for the reflexive analysis of this study. Following each interview, 15 to 30 minutes was spent writing thoughts, observations, and reflections that surfaced from the interview and overall full investigation. This activity was a way to reflect on the data while also distinguishing between the artists' standpoint and the researcher's position.

Questioning the Data. Ethnographer Wendy Luttrell's concept of 'good enough' ethnographic research was followed to keep a separation between the researcher and the research objects during analysis. As institutional ethnography is a reflexive process, this separation risks becoming blurred during the investigation. Recognizing data analysis could be influenced by research interest, researcher position, or other outside influences, Luttrell developed the 'good enough' method to maintain a level of objectivity during the research (Luttrell, 2000, p. 515). She described ethnographic research as "a series of ongoing realizations that lead to complex choices and decision making" (Luttrell, 2000, p. 500). Rather than examining the data for ideal responses, what contributes to and detracts from the other data is considered. Data points were kept depending on what they contributed to the analysis as a whole and not because they contributed to a particular ideal.

This research design also adopted ethnographers Campbell and Gregor's recommendation for framing the analytic query of the data in response to the question,

"What does it tell me about how this setting or event happens as it does?" (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 85). In doing so, thematic coding was avoided. Such coding would undervalue and dilute the "meaning as situated in activity" of the data (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 69). Instead, the data was mined for recursive events and recognized them as indicators of larger institutional structures coordinating the experience (DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p. 33). Campbell and Gregor describe recursion within an institutional ethnography as recognizing "how things happen here, in the same way, they happen over there" (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 69). This data mining involved showing activities that connect professional theatre work and public policy, including what triggers those activities and what occurs following those activities. Such recursive events are indicators of linkages structuring Nova Scotia's professional theatre and government sectors' institutional relationship.

In addition to experiences being described, the language used within the data was considered. The choice of wording, or lack thereof, played a crucial role in showing processes and actions within the institutional relationship. Interviewees' comments such as, "I applied for a grant" or "We produced a show" are examples of institutional language standing for complex processes which are normalized and made invisible under the governing discourse. Again, the data was questioned to draw out the institutional steps as translocal processes embedded within the governing language.

Mapping Processes. Upon identifying a translocal event, the data were then mined to uncover the associated series of text-action-text events and map the institutional experiences. A free-flowing narrative was visually drafted from the artists' standpoint into the institutional relationship and connecting outward to public policy. The focus was on

the collective lived experience and translocal processes within these experiences rather than the participants themselves. The story's clarity was regularly reviewed in reflection to the cumulative data, including returning to the original transcripts to revise and empirically ground the analysis. In doing so, the risk of individualizing the data and analytic presences of the governing discourse was mitigated (DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p. 41; Longhofer et al., 2012, p. 108). This mapping process showed coordinating points within Nova Scotia's arts policy framework, including how those points mediated activities through the provincial government and professional theatre sector relationship.

Presentation. Within an institutional ethnography, the strategy of investigating the data is to use the artists' experience as the everyday problematic and examine the associated process of organization and governance (D. Smith, 2005). In keeping with the standpoint of the 'problematic' of everyday life (D. Smith, 2005), exploring this research's data began by asking questions that located and contextualized the artists' standpoint and directed the analysis. These questions included:

1. What are theatre professionals trying to do? How do they describe and understand practicing their occupation(s)?
2. What is the institutional framework shaping these experiences?
3. How are the governing roles within this relationship sustained?
4. How do the lived experiences of theatre professionals within this institutional framework shape their work?

As an understanding of the data was developed, institutional processes were organized into discussion streams, which were used to define the theatre-government sector relationship. This organization included tracing sequential and hierarchal social structures

as governing relations organizing those experiences. The recursive and divergent narratives were noted, as they are reflective of how theatre professionals know and do their work. Through this process, a comprehensive map was developed conceptualizing Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and provincial government relationship as coordinated under the region's arts policy framework and implications on the general understanding of the roles, processes, and attributed value of the institutionalized relationship.

4.4   Risks and Challenges

Potential risks and challenges with conducting an institutional ethnography were addressed at the onset of this research. While this study had no inherent physical threat, there was a potential professional and personal risk to participants. The act of naming tensions within an institutional relationship risks unhinging the normative rule of the relationship. Further, there was the risk of developing or contributing to distrust within the cross-sector relationship, depending on the findings. Finally, there was also the challenge of narrative data management and mitigating the governing discourse's presence. During data collection, analysis, and presentation of results, these risks were mediated by being sensitive and accountable to the lived experiences.

When delving into institutional relations, the potential was present to uncover issues leadership may find uncomfortable or unprepared to address. Campbell and Gregor explain:

Institutional ethnography seeks answers to everyday issues of how things work, it is likely to expand its inquiry into organizational action and move into uncharted territory as the natural course of the inquiry is followed. (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 64)

Such an action could upset the status quo, even if it were previously institutionally problematic. This study expands Campbell and Gregor's warning to recognize the risk of uncovering tensions that may not have a solution. This risk was mitigated by clearly communicating research goals and intentions at the forefront of interviews. During data transcription, distinguishing markers were also removed from participant files and narratives to minimize this risk.

Transcribing the interviews was an unexpected challenge in the research process. Over 3000 hours of audio data were collected. However, these audio recordings and transcriptions were critical to the authenticity of the artists' standpoint during data collection and data analysis. The alternative of summarizing the interview risked inadvertent thematic coding of the data, the unintentional adoption of the governing discourse, and the accidental omission of institutional syntax. While time-consuming to create, transcripts in their original narrative kept the analysis accountable to the artists' standpoint. Transcription was integrated into the analysis process, which contributed to an overall familiarity with the data.

Additionally, during this transcription process, the field journal was a vital research tool. Current cultural events and government activities, such as those circulating in the media and social media, were recorded within the journal. Review of such grey literature as funding policies, strategic plans, and reports also continued. These activities supported the reflective analysis process during transcription.

4.5   Chapter Summary

Institutional ethnography is a sociology purposefully designed for explicating institutional relations and the coordination of such relations. It recognizes the everyday

world as problematic and positions the participant at the centre of the study. Conventional policy research methods would approach Nova Scotia's professional theatre and government sectors' institutional relationship from the governing policy analysis perspectives. However, this approach would otherwise continue to yield the same outcomes-based results. The professional theatre experience would remain invisible and removed from the conversation. Instead, through this research, the artists' standpoint was adopted. The investigation moved outward into the policy domain to show translocal activities across individuals' experiences. In doing so, how the experience of working within Nova Scotia's arts policy framework was explicated.

This research focused on Nova Scotia's theatre sector and provincial government cross-sector relationship connected to the regional arts policy framework. While textual data was collected on policy activities and observational data on sector events, the wealth of data came from interviews with theatre professionals, arts managers, and government appointments. During analysis, theatre professionals' narratives were positioned as expert accounts in knowing and doing the work. From this data, linkages across policy activities were uncovered, coordinating texts were mapped, and the implications of these lived experiences were defined within the broader institutional relationship framework. In applying these methods, an empirical study was conducted determining how the institutionalized relationship between Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and the provincial government was socially organized under the provincial arts policy framework. Further, associated policy consequences were exposed and how they have become normalized within everyday practices was explicated.

Chapter 5 Situating the Artists' Standpoint

By drawing on interview transcripts, the chapter shows the artists' standpoint as a drive to "make theatre." This standpoint is the motivating lens from which theatre professionals do and understand their everyday work. It is also from this standpoint that theatre professionals enter and understand their relationship with the provincial government. The artists' standpoint is the entrance into the data and untangling the research problematic.

The chapter opens by introducing the theatre professionals' narrative responding to the interview question, "What do you do" as the artists' standpoint. It then follows by examining the lived experience of entering the professional theatre sector in Nova Scotia. The analysis in this chapter articulates the costs associated with producing theatre and the artists' introduction to public funding. The chapter concludes with narratives showing the tension between theatre professionals' initial idea of producing theatre and their actual experience.

At the start of each interview, the participant was asked, "What do you do?" This question invited research participants to describe their work. Artists responded to this invitation to characterize their work in diverse ways. The following narratives are answers given by four theatre professionals interviewed during this study. Janice, Anton, Steve, and Glenn, respectively.

When posed with the question, "what do you do," Janice gives with the following description:

> Okay, um. I have been an actor for - coming up to forty years—Twenty-five of
> them in Nova Scotia. I'm trying to think how long I've been a director. I started

directing. (Laughing) I usually try to do this by my daughter's age. So - I think

about eleven years ago; I started directing. And I've been doing more and more

directing - And I co-founded a women's theatre company - I am a co-artistic

producer for that company - and their financial officer. (Janice, personal

communication, 1 June 2015)

Janice describes her work with four separate roles/titles. She introduces herself first as an

actor. Then, she calls herself a director. Next, she refers to herself as a co-artistic producer.

Her last descriptor is as a financial officer. The first two roles she provides are artistic

occupations, commonly engaged as freelance contract workers on a show. The second two

roles are jobs specific to a theatre company and the businesses everyday operations.

In contrast to Janice's response, Anton uses a different approach when describing

his work:

Okay. Well, not exactly an easy question. I pretty much-Well, okay, let's see. Sort

of, what I do- I simply do a mixture of, I guess, performance and art-based projects.

I work very much as a- in sort of a realm that you'd call- artist-led. Sort of a DIY –

Sort of inside that artistic milieu. Ultimately, what I'm interested in is, I make

experiences, or engagements, or these types of things. I'm just trying to make

projects essentially that I am interested in – that I think are fun and cool. That gets

you thinking about different stuff. That is a really roundabout way of saying that,

you know, I make theatre. But theatre is such a sort of; I find it a very complicated

term. (Anton, personal communication, 17 June 2015)

Anton does not use titles to describe his work. Instead, he refers to his work processes. His

narrative opens with many pauses and the use of such space-filling words as "well" and

"okay." Anton then begins to explain his work as artist-led and DIY (do-it-yourself). He uses various descriptors until concluding, "I make theatre" and that it is a "very complicated term." In his narrative, Anton focuses on the active dimensions of making theatre art.

The following narrative is the description provided by Steve, another theatre professional, when asked the same question:

> What do I do? I, out of necessity of needing to earn money and therefore pay for my existence in this city and in this province and country, I have decided that I will make my living from the performing arts in whatever form they come up. So, I made a vow 15 years ago that I would only work in anything to do with the entertainment industry. I decided I would not get a "proper job." Said with a large dose of sarcasm in that comment, "proper job." I decided I would not wait tables. I would not work in an office to supplement my income because I believe that if I gave myself wholeheartedly to the entertainment industry, then it would, by necessity, give back to me.
>
> Now the challenge is making that work. Trying to pay on a day-to-day, month-to-month basis: when the rent check is due, for the bills due to be paid.
>
> So, what I have done is started producing theatre, accepting work in the entertainment industry, and saying yes to many different various kinds of that work. As long as it falls under the criteria of being in some way entertaining or linking to the entertainment industry, then I will accept it. Or I will entertain it. As long as it's financially viable and someone is offering to pay me for it. (Steve, personal communication, 4 June 2015)

Steve choses to describe how he makes a living in the theatre. Rather than explaining what he does, Steve's narrative begins by listing what he does not do. He does not work a "proper job," nor does he supplement his income with other paid employment such as working in an office. After explaining the boundaries of what he does not do, Steve then introduces his work as in "the entertainment industry," accepting work "as long as it's financially viable."

Glenn's answer to the question, "what do you do" is the final response included here:

> That's difficult. I think, currently, I usually choose the label theatre artist. That's mostly because I do so many different things, but mostly always in the sphere of theatre. So, what do I do? What am I trained to do? I'm trained to act. I'm trained to sing. I'm trained to write music. One of the things I strive to do is to live up to the label of artistic director. What that means for me is I find people who are willing to work on projects with me—choosing the project so that they are of interest to the artists involved, especially in the beginning. The main currency that I have to offer was an interesting project. People would say, "I never get the chance to do that show. I will do it for little or no money." And as a director, I have to look for money. (Glenn, personal communication, 10 June 2015)

Glenn focuses on his work and skills as an artist and how he puts those into action through his projects. He speaks about his training and how he understands his role as artistic director and director. He uses descriptive and organizational terms for his response, all under the label of "artist."

Each theatre professional responds to the prompt, "what do you do" in a different

manner. They search for language to describe their work, titles, jobs, occupations, activities, values, and limitations. Janice uses multiple tags for herself. Anton focuses on his work activities rather than labels. However, he still lists a range of identifiers and terms to describe his work. Steve and Glenn also use various descriptors in their answers. Empirically, the different descriptions tell of the various relationships held by the artists' standpoint to the institutional organization of theatre. As no cohesive response to the question appears in the data, the lack of a unifying definition shows tension around how theatre professionals describe, understand, and engage in their work.

While there are inconsistencies in how theatre professionals speak of their work, there is also a common dimension. During his interview, Anton says he wants to "make theatre." He is not alone in this standpoint. Theatre professionals want to work in theatre and are actively seeking opportunities to do so. The various titles and actions they use to describe their activities speak to the work and roles of making theatre. Across the narratives collected, theatre professionals expressed an aspiration to actively "make theatre." This desire defines the artists' standpoint.

Looking from this artists' standpoint outward into the institutional domain raises the question, "What can be understood from the inconsistencies and consistencies that characterize the artists' narratives?" The range of responses from interviewees can be interpreted simply as differences in individual consciousness and subjectivity as individuals participate in theatre's common enterprise. Alternatively, the responses can be investigated for what they tell about how theatre is understood, practiced, and organized.

Building from the artists' standpoint the data shows theatre professionals to have a common experience in doing the work. Following are three separate narratives from theatre

professional interviewed describing the evolution of their experience making theatre:

I started as an actress waiting for the phone to ring, doing auditions, getting the odd part. When I got to Nova Scotia, I was able to make a living as an actor. As I got older, I looked at the opportunities out there for actresses in their 40s, 50s, 60s, and up, and how they dwindled. My philosophy had always been, well, if I can just stay in this business, by the time I'm 80, everybody else will have dropped out, and I'll have work. Then I realized that was actually not true because the parts aren't there. Or they're not being produced - It's not necessarily they aren't here; they aren't being produced anywhere.

And I was, um. I got into directing just by an actor I worked with who wanted to do a specific play - didn't know that many people - trusted me, and said, "I want to self-produce. I really want to do this role. You know my process, and I trust you. Will you direct?" And I had just been through a crisis in my life where I came out of it going, "I have to just grab whatever comes my way." So, although I had no idea what I was doing, I said I would direct the show. (Janice, personal communication, 1 June 2015)

I think we first talked about the idea of creating a company in 2007, and basically, I wanted to direct more - and it's very difficult to find freelance directing jobs. Especially here. And so, it seemed to me – like a lot of people here tend to – I was sort of forced to branch out and form a company. (Kelly-Ann, personal communication, 16 June 2015)

The reality is, when I moved here, it was as an actor, but I wasn't busy or anything. I did a little performing, dinner theatres, and teaching singing. So, I

started a theatre company – so I could work. (Glenn, personal communication, 10 June 2015)

These theatre professionals experience challenges finding consecutive work contracts as self-employed contract workers.[35] During their interviews, Janice, Kelly-Ann, and Glenn each describe their experiences when seeking work. A solution for many theatre professionals is to create their own company. A theatre company is an avenue for theatre professionals to produce and engage in ongoing work. In doing so, they are no longer dependent on waiting for another theatre to hire them. From the artists' standpoint, creating a theatre company places the theatre professional in control of their own work.

By default, creating a theatre company means these theatre professionals are also expanding the scope of their work beyond acting and/or directing. Running a theatre company requires they oversee all areas of theatre creation, including the everyday business operations. This addition of administrative work includes financing, securing rehearsal and performance venues, contract negotiations, liability insurance, and marketing, on top of any creative duties (such as acting or directing). In contrast, when an established theatre company hires a theatre professional, the hiring company carries those responsibilities. Therefore, while theatre professionals understand self-producing as a method to actively "make theatre," it also adds administrative responsibilities to their workload.

5.1   Theatre Production is a Costly Venture

While theatre professionals look to self-producing as an avenue to actively work, this

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[35] This work style is frequently and colloquially referred to as the "gig economy,' where "gig workers" move from contract to contract for their livelihood compared to conventional 9-5 full-time employment.

solution requires they find resources to finance that work. Producing theatre involves forming a theatre production company with ongoing operating costs. Theatre production is not viable on commercial activity alone. Additionally, as with any business, individuals need to be paid for their work,[36] supplies and materials bought, insurance secured, and overhead expenses addressed (such as rent, marketing, and utilities).

From the artists' standpoint, theatre professionals experience economic constraints in their everyday work. Table 2 includes the range of annual operating budgets of Theatre Nova Scotia professional theatre companies' members for 2014-2015.[37] These budgets include reoccurring operational costs of running a business and the expenses associated with theatre productions. Though this membership list is not a comprehensive list of theatres across the province, the values illustrate an ongoing cost associated with producing theatre.

Table 2
Theatre operating budget examples for 2014 – 2015

	Nova Scotia Membership Size	Lowest Membership Budget	Highest Membership Budget	Average Annual Operating Budget	Median Annual Operating Budget
Theatre Nova Scotia	24	$4,500	$5,500,000	$412,000	$65,000

Note. Table values are rounded to the nearest thousand. Two theatre companies were data outliers with seven-figure operating budgets. These two companies were well-established organizations running in the province for decades. Most member companies held six-figure operating budgets. Data Source: Theatre Nova Scotia, personal communications, 2015.

Within Theatre Nova Scotia's 2015-16 company membership list, the lowest operating budget is $4,500, and the membership median is $65,000. These numbers show that the work of producing theatre incurs operating costs regardless of company size or age

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[36] While pay for work is ideal, the data illustrated this is not always the case, as discussed through this and the remaining chapters.

[37] Theatre Nova Scotia is a member-driven organization, "serving the interests of Nova Scotia's community and professional theatre sector" (Theatre Nova Scotia, n.d.-b).

and there is no standard operating budget. Costs per show/project, the number of projects annually, administrative fees, and general operating overhead all contribute to theatre operations' ongoing expense. The show/project costs may include venue rental, cast and creative team's salaries, union fees, insurance, royalty costs, marketing initiatives, costuming, set design and construction, lighting, and sound design. Theatre professionals interviewed use fiscal restraint when drafting their operational and production budgets. Yet, areas such as venue rental fees and staffing costs remained unavoidable expenses. These expenses and finding ways to cover them are a focus for theatre professionals when engaging in their work of "making theatre."

Those theatre professionals interviewed report a prevalence of renting rehearsal and performance space rather than acquiring permanent performance buildings. The expense associated with these venues is a variable within theatre production budgets. Janice's narrative below speaks to the subjectivity around venue costs:

> We didn't do poster-ing for that particular production because it was in a private home, and we didn't want just everybody going. So, we set it up as a secret venue, and you had to book your ticket to find out where it was. That cut down on a lot of the publicity that we would normally have done for it. (Janice, personal communications, 1 June 2015)

Janice's narrative shows factors such as the director's creative interests, the producing company's financial ability, and space available factor into venue costs. Using a private home rather than a conventional theatre house lowers the venue costs for her company's production. Her company is also able to limit marketing costs by not printing and hanging posters around the city, due to the private invitation.

Theatre companies do not always tie their productions to a traditional theatre house, as Janice's experience exemplifies. Theatre professionals interviewed use venues which range in capacity from 20 to 500 audience members and have daily rental fees of $30 to over $1,000 before technical staff[38] (*MIPAC Technical Specs*, 2012; Neptune Theatre, 2013, 2015; *Rental Information*, 2017; Theatre Nova Scotia, n.d.-a). These spaces include select company-owned performance venues, rental rehearsal halls and studios, and found spaces.[39] Total venue costs for theatre productions are then in part determined by production needs, creative intent, budget, and pre-existing resources.

The size of cast and crew on a theatre production also affect project budgets and annual operating budgets. For this study, a baseline for these personnel costs is achieved by examining agreements held by the Canadian Actors Equity Association (CAEA), the national union for professional stage artists, around hiring CAEA members. One such agreement, the CAEA Canadian Theatre Agreement, stipulates minimum artist engagement fees determined by the number of public performances, potential audience attendance, ticket prices, and maximum potential gross box office revenue (Canadian Actors' Equity Association, 2012, 2015a, 2015b). While not every theatre professional may be a CAEA member, the association texts provide a context to understand artists fee expenses associated with theatre production.

To demonstrate the artist costs associated with producing theatre, consider the fictional project budgeted in Table 3. This fictional project engages four CAEA members

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[38] Technical staff are generally an additional cost, whose inclusion is dependent on project needs. Venue associated roles may include, and are not limited to, technical director, various technicians, front of house crew, box office attendees, and bar staff.

[39] Found space is a theatre term referring to performance venues where the site is not purpose-built for that usage, such as Janice used for her work.

under the 2015 Canadian Theatre Agreement: a director, a stage manager, and two actors. The contract is four weeks long, which includes three weeks of rehearsal and five performances spread across the fourth week. As per the CAEA Canadian Theatre Agreement, the stage manager is also engaged for the week before rehearsals begin (Canadian Actors' Equity Association, 2012, 2015a). A rehearsal venue and separate theatre venue are rented for this production. Within the theatre house, the maximum audience capacity is 182 people and tickets are $30 before tax.

Table 3
Fictional theatre production under Canadian Theatre Association, 2015 – 2018 Agreement

Expense	People	Weekly Cost	Weeks		Subtotals	Totals
Artists Fees						$14,653.50
Director	1	Flat Fee			$4,636.00	
Stage Manager	1	$857.50	5		$4,287.50	
Actors	2	$716.25	4		$5,730.00	
Rental Costs						$ 925.00
Rehearsal Venue		$ 175.00	3		$525.00	
Performance Venue		$400.00	1		$400.00	
TOTAL EXPENSE						$15,578.50

Revenue	Capacity	Ticket Costs	Performances	100% Sales	50% Sales
Box Office					$13,650.00
(Cat. F House)	182	$30.00	5	$27,300.00	
TOTAL REVENUE					$13,650.00
Balance (Deficit)					*$(1,928.50)*

Data source: Canadian Actors' Equity Association, 2015a, 2015b; Neptune Theatre, 2013.

The values in Table 3 also provide data to calculate the minimum artist fees according to the CAEA Canadian Theatre Agreement. As all four individuals are engaged under CAEA contracts, the minimum cumulative salary for CAEA members is $14,653.50. For the fictional production example, ticket rates would need to be $35 with an average 50% sales rate to cover the artists fees and venues rental costs entirely through box office

activity. Any dollar amount above this ticket price would push the potential gross revenue into a higher CAEA house category which would incur higher associated artist fees. Raising ticket costs could also risk deterring audience attendance as was detailed in chapter 2, decreasing the actual box office revenue. This risk could further drop the associated box office revenue. Therefore, it is common for minimum allowable artist fees, as determined by the CAEA, to be greater than the predicted box office revenue. This commonality necessitates theatre professionals who are self-producing securing additional revenue streams to fund their work. Should ae theatre company not have enough income available in these situations, theatre professionals carry the ongoing production costs themselves. This responsibility includes self-producers paying others before themselves and taking on added duties such as administration, marketing, or design without pay.

Values provided for this fictional project are only a snapshot of a theatre production budget. Excluded are such project-specific costs as design materials, technical equipment, and the creative team fees, including designers, technicians, carpenters, and sewers. The example also omits administrative expenses associated with this project itself and the general overhead of running a company such as marketing, bookkeeping, grant writing, and reporting. These are all further expenses which producers must cover either by sourcing additional revenue or providing the service themselves at no cost to the company. Even with these omissions, the data used to budget for this fictional production illustrates associated costs and financial limitations for producing a theatre production. It also defines a need, from the artists' standpoint, to source revenue streams beyond the box office sales to cover the production expenses.

As box office revenue alone is insufficient to cover professional theatre production

and operating costs, theatre professionals seek additional funding sources for their projects. In the following interview, Amy describes how her company sources its revenue streams:

And we always worked collaboratively, and we researched a million different things. Our work was always very routed in this time and place. In being in Nova Scotia, being – looking at the realities around us and our work. We also worked as a balance between the work we did involving us in the community, which directly affected our mainstage – "mainstage" – work that we were creating.

So, we were simultaneously doing community-based projects and agency work with Victim Services or in schools or working with doctors or families of the victims or CUPE or whomever and doing integrated theatre into their settings, their work, and creating pieces for them. (Amy, personal communications, 3 June 2015)

In Amy's narrative, the theatre company actively seeks community partnerships to develop projects and fund their work. These partnerships include organizations who hire the company to design and run workshops, such as Victim Services. However, while such activities do provide added revenue streams, they are not without additional challenges.

Amy continued her narrative by saying:

That work happened while we were also creating an artistic season that was generally three shows a year. Two theatre pieces and one dance theatre work. And so those two things informed and supported one another. And all of the teaching, all of the community work, it is also a learning. […]

But it would begin with the actors going out on the road. They're doing workshops [such as with Victim Services]. They're going into schools. Then I'm in the office writing the grants. [name redacted] is working on the grants. There's

a meeting with someone about a project down the line. That's maybe six months out from even being realized into anything. But you're putting together those projects. And you're doing - you're creating - promotional materials for the show that's coming up. I'm doing a lot of that design work. Then the actors get back from their gig. And in the afternoon, then we go into rehearsal. So, [name redacted] and I go into rehearsal. […]

And we were in what is now the concert hall at the Maritime Conservatory of Music. At that time, that was a defunct school. - It was a vacant building, so we went in and rented it. - I think from the Department of Ed. But I can't remember now. And the whole building was empty and basically just boarded up.

So, we rented that room - and cleared it - and took out a whole bunch of the ceiling. It had this sort of ugly drop ceiling. And we revealed part of the ceiling that's there now. And then we lit that from the inside. And there was a whole maze you had to go through to get into the space that led you to elements about what was happening in the room. And then the adaptation. And it was a 5-actor production. So, they, people, were doubling roles, doubling in chorus. But it was a lot. We would take something from the top of our head and then bang it up against something that was happening currently and see what comes out.

So that rehearsal was going on the same day that people were having to head in different directions. It was a lot of things. So basically, you'd be putting in somewhere between an eight and a 12-hour day. And it was normally a six-day week. And we were making a living wage, but a barely living wage. But people were being paid for 40 weeks at a time. So, people would be employed September

to June. So pretty tight. But we never had to say, "Okay, well, this is what I'm doing." Like there was no moonlighting, although people did. […]

We thought at certain times, "Yeah, this is going to be good." And we did good work. In the early days, we did work on things like, "Well, once we are established, and they saw the value in what we did, we would be well supported by education and by culture because they were there." But that never happened. We did have the support. But it never became stronger; in fact, it became weaker. And in so many ways, that's true across the board in terms of the way government funds all arts. (Amy, personal communications, 3 June 2015)

While community-based partnerships finance other areas of the theatre company's activities, they involve an intensive schedule. It is essential to recognize these extra activities as activities that require skill and time to complete, accomplished through low/unpaid work. In Amy's experience, the theatre company members engage in intensive days with long working hours during which they move between workshops, school-performances, and rehearsals. She recounts working eight to 12 hours a day, for six days a week, though only receiving pay for 40 hours due to company funding limitations. She also references the company clearing out a room and reconstructing it into "a whole maze" for a production. This task would include additional working hours beyond the regular rehearsal and/or administrative time. Finally, as the company experiences financial constraints limiting what pay was available, the pay rate in that work is constrained. Amy recalls some company members finding "moonlight" employment to make ends meet, where the theatre pay may otherwise be falling short. Continuing to sustain operating at such an intense workload is, however, not practical. In Amy's case, as with many

companies, the theatre company eventually stopped actively producing.

Forming and running a theatre company involves ongoing costs. Some of these costs are associated with production while other areas related to creating continuity in keeping the production company going by addressing administrative needs. It is clear that artists are innovative in seeking ways of controlling the costs and sharing costs with partners. It is also clear that theatre professionals simply absorb some costs to keep their companies open.

5.2 Public Funding and Dissolution

From the artists' standpoint, provincial support is a viable resource to finance theatre work and one often sought by theatre professionals. The following paragraphs discuss how revenue limitations and the actual cost of producing theatre leads theatre professionals to seek public funding. To open, is a reflection provided by Janice on receiving her first grant:

> What did I think producing was? I don't think I had any idea. I mean, for me, the whole granting idea was - I had never received a grant as an actor. I had just worked as an actor for theatres that had already received grants and got a paycheque. So, when we got our very first grants, and we got checks to do art, I was thrilled by that. That was – it was very empowering to have someone say, "We trust you. Take this money. Produce a really good piece of theatre." (Janice, personal communication, 1 June 2015)

Janice is direct in disclosing she has previously not had a strong idea what was involved in producing theatre. She also recalls the feeling of empowerment she experienced when receiving her first grants. The funding enabled and validated her work. From the artists' standpoint, public funding is a solution to address the financial limitations of producing

theatre. The provincial government offers public granting programs to professional arts activities. Successful grant applicants then have provincial support, both figurately and financially, to engage in the work.

While theatre professionals were eager to make theatre, they expressed a disjuncture between their expectation and their lived experience. In her previous quote, Janice referred to her lack of really understanding what producing was when she began her company. In the narrative which follows, Janice further explains her experience with public grants, running a theatre company, and what has changed over time:

> The bloom is off the rose now. You know - now it's just work. Now it's like - "I have to do this now." And now that we have the vision, the things that we want to do - it's much less romantic than the image I originally had when I was late at night looking through to find plays to produce with the idea, "I could produce anything. I can do anything I want to. I don't have to wait for the phone to ring." (Janice, personal communication, 1 June 2015)

Janice's story illustrates the potential understood for the artist's standpoint when seeking initial public funding. It is a financial opportunity to cover some of the costs associated to running a theatre company and producing artistic work. However, the provincial government is a public institution and has institutional requirements. Janice opens this narrative by stating "the bloom is off the rose now." She is referring to the disconnect between the fantasied (ideological) concept of receiving public funding to produce theatre and her actual lived experience. Participants need to complete various and pre-defined administrative processes to enter this relationship and engage successfully. Examples of these processes include definitions around program eligibility, the provision of set base

adjudication criteria within funding applications, standardized scoring during application assessment, and controls around the release of funding to ensure all funding recipients have completed the associated program final reporting. By applying for funding, theatre professionals are entering an institutional relationship with the provincial government.

This relationship with the Provincial Government of Nova Scotia has implications for theatre professionals' work beyond making money available. Theatre professionals' actions are both shaped by and dependent on the institutional processes embedded in and coordinating the relationship. Theatre professionals must align their work to the institutional requirements. Janice's description of "the bloom is off the rose now" indicates tensions between the envisioned exchange with the provincial government from the artists' standpoint and the actual lived experience within the institutional relationship.

5.3   Chapter Summary

This chapter defines the artists' standpoint as one to "make theatre." This position is evident in the data. Also clear is that this activity has an associated monetary cost. Theatre professionals then look to the public sector for financial support when producing their work. Dependent on this support to carry theatre costs, theatre professionals are in a subsidiary position within an economically coerced institutional relationship.

Theatre professionals also experience undefined tensions in the everyday experience of their work. Their everyday world is problematic. They experience a point of disjuncture between their expectations and their lived experience. Yet, they do not have the resources to accurately describe nor express the tension.

One could dismiss such tensions as the regular experience of doing theatre. Running a business is not always what one would expect. Alternatively, these tensions can be

opened for investigation. Why and how are these tensions occurring? What are the

implications of these tensions in theatre professionals' work, and how they understand that

work in relation to themselves and to the provincial government? To respond to these

questions, the analysis next expands to identify the agencies and people with authority for

and responsibility to execute governing roles and how do theatre professionals understand

their relationship to these governing roles.

Chapter 6 Governing Roles and a Difference of Standpoints

This chapter investigates the institutional exchanges between the artists' standpoint and the provincial government to define the governing relations and their associated standpoint. These governing roles are administrative bodies coordinating and implementing public support to the professional theatre sector in Nova Scotia. In doing so, these organizations order the institutional relationship between the professional theatre sector and the provincial government.

While governing practices are generalized across all state organizations, this chapter focuses upon those organizations and practices associated with implementing public support for theatre practice. The operation and work of the organizational bodies responsible for this support are examined. The data explored in this chapter is drawn from interviews with public servants and employees from these organizations, textual analysis of policy and program documents used to operate the organizations, and examination of the grounding principle of the public good. The exploration of these data has resulted in the emergence of the standpoint of governing. This standpoint and the associated work are different from and in contrast to the work and experience theatre professionals reported in their interviews. The analysis shows how governing is a concrete set of administrative practices that are routine (from the standpoint of the state) to implementing public support and, at the same time, consequential for the theatre sector. The discovery and exploration of the governing standpoint open a pathway to articulate the connection to and difference from the artists' standpoint. This difference is an important finding: it confirms the existence of cross-sector tensions and illustrates their impact on sector activities and exchanges.

This discussion is organized by the provincial body's proximity to the overarching discourse of the public service and this activity of serving the public good. By expanding the research inquiry into these governing bodies' activities, this chapter illustrates how each organizational body brings its own set of assumptions and governing relations to the mix, thus contributing to the tensions experienced from the artists' standpoint. These attributing tensions are outside of and therefore not addressed by the governing discourse. the range of institutional structures involved contributes to shaping theatre professionals' understanding of their work and relation to those in governing roles. From the artists' standpoint, these understandings include experience of departmental subjectivity, excessive institutional control, and a lack of transparency around policy activities.

6.1 Governing Bodies

The governing standpoint is embedded in the public good and operational practices of creating objectivity and neutrality across policy activity. These are empirical traits surfacing from the operation of the public service as a democratic state. Within Nova Scotia's public sector, the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage; Arts Nova Scotia; and the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council are involved in the development and administration of policy to provide state-mandated public support for theatre practice. An organizational flow chart showing these bodies' formal relationships with one another is included in Figure 5 . These three organizations administer public policy activities, in alignment with the governing discourse's interest in contributing to the public good. A contextual understanding of these governing organizations and the administrative processes through which they operate provides a grounding to demonstrate how these practices are fed through and into the everyday work of theatre professionals.

Figure 5
Organizational relationship flowchart of the Department of Communities, Culture, and Heritage, Arts Nova Scotia, and Nova Scotia Leadership Council
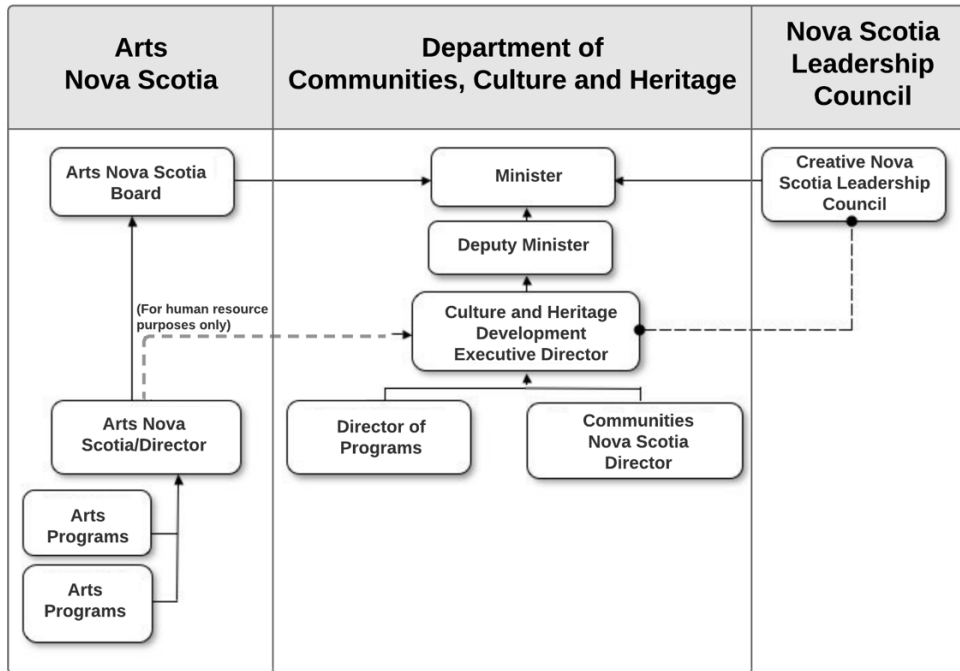
Note. Adapted from Arts Nova Scotia, 2017.

The governing bodies' authority for operations is ordered by the provincial mandate of supporting the public good (Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2015; Province of Nova Scotia, n.d.). This means each organization must meet its own organizational mandates as identified in their policy documents while working within the broader institutional framework[40] to meet the mandated requirement of supporting the public good. Within these governing roles the department is a direct part of the provincial government and Nova Scotia Public Service. The other two agencies are near-government bodies. Of these latter two, Arts Nova Scotia administers public funding to the professional arts sector, and the Nova Scotia Creative Leadership Council advises on policy activities for the broader creative sector.

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[40] As defined in the previous chapter.

The research data shows that theatre professionals do not see each governing body in the same way; they relate to each differently. This distinction is influenced by whether, and how, they interact with the governing administrative staff and applications when accessing public support. Not all theatre professionals interact directly with the public service, such as those actors who are not engaged in self-producing work. However, those theatre professionals whose work does include developing funding applications and organizing productions have opinions about and experiences with the governing role of public funding agencies. While grateful for public funding, theatre professionals also experience the agencies as having unreasonable requirements to access the public support. From the artists' standpoint these added tasks create unnecessary and unpaid work separate from the everyday experiences of doing creative work. It is through these lived experiences that theatre professionals develop an understanding of the governing organizations as bureaucratic entities.

What theatre professionals report as bureaucratic is an important part of the operation of the public service and the near-government organizations. In addition to the principle of the public good, the public service administers programs in a manner that is, and can be shown to be, objective and neutral. This mode of operating extends to the near-government organizations as well. In policy context, the notions of objective and neutral are directed to ensuring that administration is free from political and bureaucratic patronage. Instead, decisions and administration are sanctioned by, embedded in, and through standards agreed by the governing discourse and roles.

The policy, program, and administrative practices of public support are designed to epitomize objective, neutral modes, and principles of artistic merit in contributing to the

public good. Governing roles achieve this by following specific sequences of administrative actions conducted by people (public servants and employees) and stabilized through texts (applications, adjudication, reports). These text-action-text processes coordinate the work of public organizations and contribute to shaping the theatre professionals' experience. They create translocal processes that communicate governing-based ways of knowing to theatre professionals across the administrative processes involved in acquiring the public support. By doing so, text-action-text processes embed prescribed controls within policy and standardize activities across users that create uniformity, accountability, and replicability. These characteristics mark objectivity and neutrality within public service. Policy texts are concrete documents that can be empirically recognized, known, and studied.

> **1.1** Given the authority of those in governing roles over institutional practices, specifying and mapping governing work is essential to defining institutional processes at the agency level and discovering how theatre professionals understand their relationship to these governing bodies. Policy texts standardize and unify the governing roles to the overall institutional mandate of the public good. This forms a governing standpoint. The texts also articulate theater professionals to this need. However, the artist's standpoint of "make theatre" does not share the same ground. Data collected through this study indicate the associated tensions experienced by research participants in their daily work. Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage

While the data shows three bodies governing Nova Scotia's arts policy framework,

only one is a direct branch of Nova Scotia's public service (the administrative arm of government). This is the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage (the Department), which, as previously noted, holds the central governing role within Nova Scotia's arts policy framework. Michael is a public servant within the Department who took part in this research. He described the range of the Department's interest and operations during his interview:

> This Department has three sections, if you will. One is the secretariat and policy. It provides - you know: if there is a flood, they deal with it. (…) They also deal with all the policy for the government, requests to build a departmental business plan, or "we want you to respond to this file." They'll be the ones to coordinate it. The other side is Archives, Museums, and Libraries. They house heritage collections, protect them, catalogue them, and present them for public consumption. So that's what they do. Then you come over to the third section, which is us, and I generally tell people, "We're the bankers in the business."
>
> We have about $15.2 million in resources to spend. Probably about a million of that goes into our operations, salaries, and other kinds of stuff. So, there's about $14 million in this operation here for anything on development and cultural diversity. Around three of that goes to the arts. That gives you a sense of how big the rest of the sector is that we work with. And we don't have anywhere near the resources we need. But what we're responsible for here is to encourage cultural development in the Province of Nova Scotia and our communities. (Michael, personal communication, 16 September 2015)

Michael is describing the Department's role in supporting the public good through policy

activity. Public sector employees within the Department are the designers and administrators of public policies that "encourage cultural development" and are accessed by the professional theatre sector. They administer the overhead provincial budget, policy directives, and select granting streams. These monetary responsibilities instill the ability of the Department to direct policy as mediating-texts.

In his interview, Michael also shows how his Division is part of a larger institutional body when listing the other divisions. Each Division maintains its own guiding organizational statements while also being connected to the broader governing discourse. Therefore, the Department is still accountable to the broader institutional mandate of the public good when directing policy.

The following chapter sub-sections address the organization of the Department's activities structured under governing text, the administration of activities to meet the interests of said texts, and the disjuncture from those authorized actions and the artists' standpoint. The Department's activities are organized and audited to find and act for the public good. At the same time, theatre professionals perceive these administrative processes as obscured by human subjectivity. The artists' standpoint is distanced from the Department's governing mandate of the public good. This belief is derived from theatre professionals' lived experiences, including their interactions with the policy texts and administrative staff. Nonetheless, to meet the ideology of an objective and neutral administrative process, these policy texts organize governing activities as stable, routine, accountable, and replicable.

6.1.1 *Organizational Statements*

While the Department exercises a central governing role, it does not have autonomy

over its activities. It runs within the broader provincial public policy framework. This control includes adopting formal operational expectations that direct the Department's activities. These expectations are expressed in mediating-texts formed which define vision, mission, and mandate, as follows:

> **Mandate:** The Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage is responsible for contributing to the well-being and prosperity of Nova Scotia's diverse and creative communities through the promotion, development, preservation and celebration of our culture, heritage, identity and languages, and by providing leadership, expertise and innovation to our stakeholders.

> **Vision:** A Province which enhances pride in our creative and diverse communities and people, allowing us to embrace our past and influence our future.

> **Mission:** The Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage supports our internal and external stakeholders and communities with best practice services, programs and policies that preserve and provide access to Nova Scotia's life-long learning, culture, heritage, identity and languages. (Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2015, p. 4)

These organizational statements direct which activities the Department pursues and supports. The texts affirm departmental and policy focus supporting the public good through investing in community and cultural activity. Culture's inclusion in these governing statements formalizes the state's recognition that the arts are in the public good. As an artistic discipline, theatre practice is then included under the scope of culture, connecting the Department and Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector. These governing texts then mediate the interactions between the theatre sector and the Department.

The state's mandate asserts the Department contributes to cultural activities across the province by supplying policy support to promote, develop, preserve, and celebrate Nova Scotia's cultural sector (Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2015). To achieve this, the Department houses multiple divisions within its portfolio of institutional responsibilities. Nova Scotia's 2015 Budget Estimates includes eight divisions within the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage. Of these divisions, Michael noted three which connected to cultural policy activities: The Planning Secretariat; Archives, Museums, Libraries Nova Scotia; and Culture and Heritage Development (Culture Division). Like the Department, each division has its own governing text directing its activities. These statements are:

Planning Secretariat: Responsible for corporate policy development, strategic planning, research, evaluation, intergovernmental relations, information and risk management, event coordination, and corporate administration.

Archives, Museums, Libraries Nova Scotia: Provides effective stewardship of the province's natural and cultural heritage and information resources. Ensured heritage and learning resources are accessible to all Nova Scotians through innovative programs and services that meet diverse individual and community needs. These provincial institutions play a key role in helping Nova Scotians and visitors discover, experience, understand and appreciate the past, while making sense of the present, and inspiring us to envision the future.

Culture and Heritage Development: Actively support the development of Nova Scotia's arts, culture and heritage sectors with investment programs, and support for development activities and growth strategies. Proactively works to foster

development within a wide range of community-based cultural interests. The division works in partnership with Nova Scotia's arts, culture and heritage communities and community-based organizations to enhance stewardship, economic and social growth. (Nova Scotia Finance, 2015c)

These three divisions are each institutionally directed to provide policy development and supports that contribute to the public good. According to Nova Scotia's Department of Finance, these three divisions held the most extensive operating budgets to provide programs and services in 2015 (Nova Scotia Finance, 2015c, p. 5.2). As publicly funded government bodies, they are each accountable to the broader governing discourse. The Secretariat maintains an internal corporate focus through, as Michael said, "deal[ing] with all the policy" and Museums "house heritage" activities (Michael, personal communication, 16 September 2015). As the "bankers," the Culture Division provides recognizable and tangible support to the cultural sector through provincial funding. This financial portfolio shows the proximity of the Culture Division and the professional theatre sector, a governing relationship structure achieved and maintained through the Division's administration of formal policy processes in the interests of regional economic and social growth.

6.1.2 Policy Administration

The Department oversees various programs, legislation, plans, and reports in the interest of the public good. Appendix F lists examples of these governing texts, which direct and authorize staff activities supporting the governing ideology. Among these texts, public reports are commissioned to identify regional interests, sector trends, innovations in best practices, and policy action recommendations. A coordinating policy for departmental

activities is then developed or a bill is drafted to be put forward to the Nova Scotia Legislature and passed into law in the form of an Act with further supporting policy text later developed. Staff activities then fulfill the mandates of these policy texts through the administration of provincial funding and their interactions with Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector.

While the Department maintains a governing role over cross-sector relations, program officers are the front-line staff in the domain of public administration. In the following excerpt, Jennifer, a program officer with the Department, described her day-to-day work:

> What I do now on a day-to-day basis is manage [program title redacted]. That involves dealing directly with potential applicants. They'll call or email with questions about eligibility, whether their project is a good fit for the program. Questions about anything related to their application or to the program itself. (Jennifer, personal communication, 15 September 2015)

Jennifer's description shows an example of the program officer's involvement in policy activity. Before applications are scored, program officers review the proposed projects against eligibility criteria publicly available online. These provincial staff are also available to applicants to discuss their application content and its suitability for the funding program. A strong funding application is ideologically understood to articulate cohesive details thoroughly outlining the project and its match with the program goal(s). Following a meeting, applicants can then reframe their application to show a more substantial alignment to policy and improve their opportunity to receive funding. The program officer's role is tasked with ensuring applications meet the guidelines associated with the funding program.

Jennifer's experience also illustrates how the policy texts mediate the provincial staff's work processes. The broader institutional discourse directs the staff role to support activities that contribute to community and cultural development. Jennifer described her work of communicating policy expectations and activities to program applicants. Staff oversee the funding process to fit within these governing texts while the texts direct what is (and therefore, what is not) understood as aligning with the governing institutional interests. This linkage of policy expectations, provincial staff's work, and the artists' standpoint is important. The funding process is textually-mediated by and aligns with the governing standpoint. Provincial staff take up this standpoint as the gatekeepers between theatre professionals and public funding.

Through their close connection to applicants, provincial staff are also gatekeepers to policy literacy. In the following interview excerpt, Jennifer described her work activities when meeting with program applicants:

One of the services that we, that all the program officers offer, and I certainly have done a lot since I came to this role, is overviewing draft applications before they go live. So, people can send me a sort of filler application or scraps as they want. I mean, the fuller it is, the better the information that I get from them. What I do is: in my capacity, I can anticipate what red flag the panel is going to wave. I can go back and say, "This isn't really clear," or "Your budget numbers don't add up properly," or "This component may not be eligible." Like those sorts of questions, just to sort of give people the opportunity to put their best application forward. [...]

I'm like that second set of fresh eyes to say, "Well, you don't have the dates for the event in here," or "I don't really understand what this event is." I get a lot

of that, where I just don't know what the project is. Either because they've not given

enough content, which happens, or just because it's not well explained. Another red

flag that happens in my program a lot is when the applicants don't address how

their project matches the program goal. (Jennifer, personal communication, 15

September 2015)

To access public funding, theatre professionals need to complete a formal application

process. The application process is structured through linkages mediating the experience

as replicable across geographic space and time. These coordinating texts include

standardized forms, set application questions, and specific supplemental materials for

adjudication. By completing these textually-mediate processes, funding submissions show

how the work fits within the policy guidelines. The texts reinforce policy consistency and

accountability, essential traits when managing taxpayer dollars in the spirit of the public

good.

In compliment to being available before an application, program officers can also

review un-funded submissions. Amy, a theatre administrator, spoke about when she met

with a program officer to discuss her unsuccessful funding application:

I went to meet with the program officer, and he is reading through [our application],

"Well, it says here you are doing a piece. A piece of what? You have to be more

specific." I said, "Well, we're a theatre company, so you would understand we're

referring to a piece of theatre." He said, "No, you cannot assume anything." I was

this kind of, you know, like, "What? Well, what do you want?" And so that was the

very first issue, and it didn't really change from there. It was very bureaucratic.

(Amy, personal communication, 3 June 2015)

When asked why the application was unsuccessful, the program officer explained that Amy's application did not include enough detail. This shortcoming aligns with the weaknesses Jennifer sees when reviewing applications before being submitted. It also indicates the formality of the institutional processes engaged. The officer's comment of "you cannot assume anything" references the institutional importance of textually organizing the cross-sector relationship and qualifying publicly funded projects.

While seeming unnecessarily bureaucratic to Amy, the need for policy accountability returns to the institutionally understood reason for providing public funding. A region benefits from a robust theatre sector, a sector that is otherwise not self-sustaining. Therefore, the state provides funding to support this public good. The program officers' role is to review and advance cross-sector relations that align with this principal interest and support the Department's interest. The standardized forms and templates are used to structure and account for these expectations. In Amy's experience, she was seeking funding for a theatre project. However, she did not use the specific words "a piece of theatre" in her application. This omission of institutional language undermined her application, and she did not receive funding. Had she included such language; her project may have been ideologically recognized as aligning with the policy interest.

Within these funding processes, the idiosyncratic variable of human engagement is stabilized by public policy and the ways of knowing and doing work are socially organized. Institutional language and processes textually-mediate the cross-sector interactions between the provincial government and the professional theatre sector through replicable translocal processes accountable to the broader public good. Effective engagement with policy texts includes using the institutional expectations and language to show direct

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cohesion between funding programs and funding applications.

The accountability measures embedded in applying for funding are mirrored by requirements post-production for funding recipients to report on their associated activities' outcomes. Theatre professionals must complete a report that articulates how the work was engaged, if the work achieved the objectives set out in the initial proposal, and the project's final budget breakdown. From the artists' standpoint, completing a final report is a mandatory and bureaucratic activity. However, those in governing roles use these reports as an additional measure within a series of translocal processes that control activities to align with the departmental mandate and government interest empirically.

Policy coordinates cross-sector activities between the Department and the professional theatre sector by ensuring that activities funded align with program guidelines and the overall public good. This example of gatekeeping reinforces the governing discourse's emphasis on what is ideologically understood as acceptable and non-acceptable content and behaviours within the institutional relationship. A funding application's success to receive public support is constrained by the demonstrated alignment of the applicant's activities (past, present, and proposed) to the associated program, guiding policy, and overarching institutional interests. Theatre professionals need to show a cohesive understanding and acceptance of the institutional expectations within their work, as recorded in the application's content. Those who successfully demonstrate how their work aligns with the program's governing criteria may be awarded public funding. At the same time, those who do not effectively establish this connection are ruled ineligible for funding under this program. Their work, and by default their associated experience, does not fit within the governing discourse. Through this translocal process, the application and

associated policy texts are engaged as a contractual agreement between the state and the theatre sector, consciously or not, on the accepted codes of conduct for engaging in the institutional relationship.

6.1.3 *Perceived Subjectivity and Governing Text*

This chapter has established that for an activity to be recognized within Nova Scotia's arts policy framework, it needs to subscribe to the associated governing discourse and associated textually-mediated processes designed to uphold that discourse. However, Michael also referenced a proposed project which fell outside the existing program criteria in his interview:

> We get a lot of one-off projects. But at the heart of the project is something cultural, especially in the rural areas of the province. One, in particular, is [name redacted]. They've been coming to us lately and saying, "We want to make our borough the home of artists. We want to do everything we can to attract artists into this town. We want the town to give them tax breaks. We want to help them identify dilapidated properties and help them make them into studios and restore them. We want to run to summer workshops up here and courses where these artists actually teach on these courses." No program we have would ever do anything for that. So, we're keen that we can look at that from a different perspective. They keep bringing the ideas, and we'll agree to put investment in and support the efforts to do this. So, part of what we're trying to do is something similar and yet different.
>
> What we're agreeing to is the big picture. We feel it's time to renew, and they have enough of a history there. We know they can do it. A lot of the people are creative. [company name redacted] are the same people on this project. Not all,

but some, and they are the key ones. They've got a long history of making success. Now they have a different idea, and we said, "Okay, just bring us your ideas and tell us what kind of resources you need and then we'll go sort of from there."

If we can [fit them into pre-existing programs], we will. If we can't, then we just say we can't, but we recommend to the Minister we invest in it. (Michael, personal communication, 16 September 2015)

In Michael's description, the project does not fall within the scope of any existing support programs offered by the Department. However, Michael's reference to the "big picture" indicates his understanding that the project still aligns with the public good even though it does not fit within the funding programs. By mentioning the leads on the project, he also speaks to the project's potential to be successful. Therefore, he still recommends the project receive public funding. Nonetheless, by not fitting within any existing programs, the project and Michael's recommendation are perceived from outside the governing roles as not fitting within the Division's policy texts.

Michael's experience speaks to the distinction between the Division's governing text and those of the Department. Institutional relations occur through a text-action-text sequence of exchanges. These exchanges authorize the associated activity as having institutional value due to its contribution to the public good. The project in question did not fit within programs offered by the Division, therefore not fitting within the Division's text-action-text processes. However, by describing the project as connected to the "big picture" and the potential for its success, Michael connects the project to the broader institutional mandate of contributing to the public good. As the Department upholds the cross-sector relation's governing position, it controls the overall governing text's context.

It administers the associated institutional understanding of value and trumps the Division's supporting texts on organizational activities. By including project qualities in his narrative, Michael validates them and the associated project as being in the public good, aligning with the Department's interests.

This attributed validation remains outside the Division's governing text, which theatre professionals interact with directly and frames their ways of knowing, suggesting subjectivity and even preferential treatment within Michael's recommendation. This potential perception is the reason for a textually-mediated administrative process. The policy texts affirm public administration activities align with the governing interest. In this case, the broader interest of the public good is mandated by the Department.

Michael's narrative shows his ability to bypass public funding's gatekeeping processes should it be institutionally considered valuable. Michael is granted this authority in response to his emphasis on project characteristics understood to be in the public good. However, this authority is also reminiscent of concerns around perceived subjectivity and political interference in public funding to the arts as raised mid-20th century by arts lobbyists and Massey Commission members. (Canada, 1951; Druick, 2007; Litt, 1992; Massey, 1921/1996; Rubin, 1951/1996b). Michael did not engage in those administrative processes that control for replicability, transparency, and unbiased decision-making around public funding, traits indicative of accountable public administration processes.

The premise that all funding applicants must progress through the same textually-mediated funding model is ideologically correct. However, as Michael's narrative shows, this is not always constant in practice. The experiential way of knowing the governing processes for funding applicants includes perceived subjectivity. It is important to note the

word "perceived" within the prior statement. While Michael may refer to the Culture Division as the bankers, the Division also subscribes to the Department's mandate of contributing to the public good. This subscription governs over the domain of policy activities. It authorizes actions such as Michael's recommendation to occur - an action grounded in its potential for contributing to the public good.

Nova Scotia's Department of Community, Culture and Heritage upholds the governing role within the province's cultural policy domain. The Department also houses smaller divisions that hold their own additional mandates for operation. Included here are the Culture Division and their administration of funding to community and cultural activities. These funding decisions are translocal processes that are textually-mediated for sound public administration. However, while such decisions are grounded in policy texts, the governing bodies' proximity to the funding decisions raises concerns around perceived subjectivity and institutional control of the outcome. This perception directs the inquiry process to investigate the arm's length public granting model used by the province and theatre professionals' relationship with that governing agency.

6.2   Arts Nova Scotia

Arts Nova Scotia is the legislated, arm' s-length, provincial granting agency for the professional arts in Nova Scotia. While funded by the Department, the agency is mandated to operate at a distance from government control. However, the artists' standpoint calls into question the degree of separation held by the agency. This subjectivity arises from Arts Nova Scotia's administrative structure, theatre professionals' lived experience, and the sector's institutional memory. This section follows the research data to map how the agency's activities and legacy contribute to the tensions experienced by theatre

professionals in their work.

Arts Nova Scotia administers a part of the public support and programs funded by the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage for professional theatre work. While the Department's focus is supporting culture and community for the public good, Arts Nova Scotia maintains its own organizational statements. These statements include the following directives:

Mission: Arts Nova Scotia champions the fundamental role of the arts.

Vision: Arts Nova Scotia envisions a thriving and diverse professional arts community celebrated at home and abroad for breaking new ground, ensuring equity and achieving a high level of artistic excellence. (Arts Nova Scotia, n.d.)

The agency's website also includes text describing Arts Nova Scotia as providing "support to professional artists and arts organizations, arts education programs and a number of arts awards and prizes" (Arts Nova Scotia, n.d.). The agency's governing directive is clear through these texts: to support professional arts activities across Nova Scotia (including theatre practices). This standpoint mediates the agency's activities and positions it in a governing role over the province's professional theatre sector.

Arts Nova Scotia activities complement the Department's work to provide provincial funding to the region's professional theatre sector. Appendix F includes a list of associated provincial support programs, while Figure 6 and Figure 7 illustrate the associated provincial granting distribution to professional theatre companies and cultural organizations supporting professional theatre activities during the 2015 fiscal year. Figure 6 shows that Arts Nova Scotia administers just over half of the provincial grants received by Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector. The remaining funding is distributed through

the Department, most noticeably to organizations that offer theatre companies support.[41]

Figure 7 references Arts Nova Scotia activity exclusively. In the 2015 provincial budget, the Nova Scotia Government earmarked $2.6 million for the operations of and programs administered through Arts Nova Scotia (Nova Scotia Finance, 2015b). Arts Nova Scotia distributed just over a quarter of that sum into the professional theatre sector. These numbers position Arts Nova Scotia in a governing role as the administrators of public funding. The professional theatre is in a subordinate position, accessing and dependent upon the public funding resource.

Figure 6
Total of the Department's 2015-2016 budget administered by Culture and Heritage Development to the professional theatre compared to the total administered by Arts Nova Scotia activities
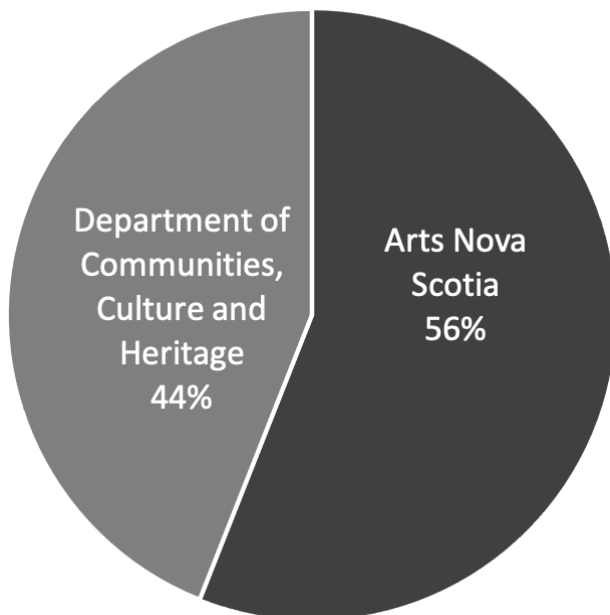
Source: Arts Nova Scotia, 2016; Nova Scotia Finance, 2015b, 2015c, 2015a; Office of the Deputy Minister, Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2016.

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[41] These companies fall outside the Arts Nova Scotia mandate, as support organizations not producing artistic work.

Figure 7
Arts Nova Scotia total budget allocation to the region's professional theatre sector in contrast to other Arts Nova Scotia activities for 2015 - 2016
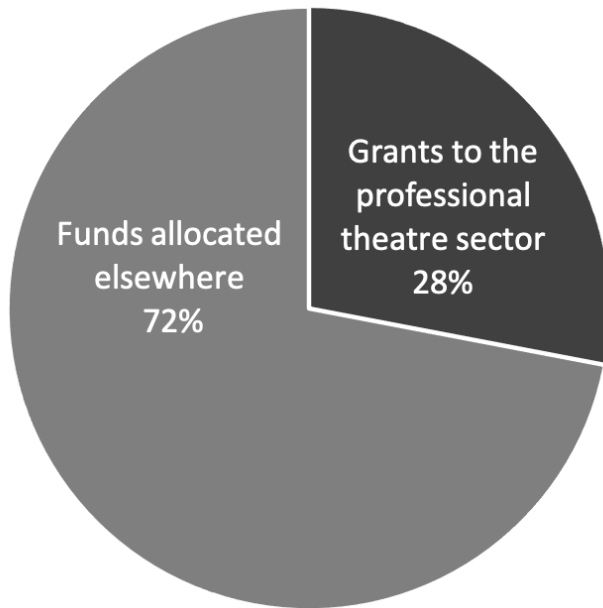
Source. Data from Arts Nova Scotia, 2016; Office of the Deputy Minister, Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2016; Nova Scotia Finance, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c.

6.2.1 Arm's Length Relations

Both the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage and Arts Nova Scotia subscribe to the governing discourse that aligns their activities with the public good. However, while the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage focuses on activities that develop community and culture, Arts Nova Scotia looks to advance Nova Scotia's professional arts sector. The arm's length structure of Arts Nova Scotia is integral to its approach for professional arts funding and distinguishes the agency from other areas of government.

The use of arm's length public funding bodies to provide professional arts support is a widespread practice in jurisdictions across Canada.[42] The arm's length status creates

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[42] As chronicled in Chapter 2.

separation between the agency and ministerial/political control. This distance includes the process in which funding applications are reviewed, adjudicated, and awarded.

Fundamental to the arm's length relationship is the distance between funding decisions and governing controls. Arts Nova Scotia program officers review funding applications to ensure they meet program qualifications. However, they are not authorized to make decisions on artistic merit and funding allocation. Rather, Arts Nova Scotia uses a peer-review panel to adjudicate funding programs. The program officer compiles a peer-review panel of local professional artists. Panel members review all applications independently and then meet to score them collectively. They consider such traits as artistic quality, professional standing, and career impact. The peer-jury then decides funding award levels for the applicants until they have distributed all the program's grant money.

The use of peer-adjudication distinguishes the agency's operations from those of the Department. Outside of this decision-making process, the funding processes for programs administered by the Department and Arts Nova Scotia are similar. Applicants access standardized forms online, the associated program officer is available to respond to applicant questions, and the proposed project must meet the program interests.

While Arts Nova Scotia uses peer adjudication to distance from governing control, the agency's staff do not experience the same distance. Colin, a member of staff at Arts Nova Scotia, described:

So, Arts Nova Scotia is created by an act of legislation as an agency of the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage. We technically receive an annual ministerial allotment for our budget, which we are responsible for spending. So, the board, technically speaking, has the power to run the program in any way

they want - Create the programs and we receive - So I'm a government employee. So, the staff are all- not the staff: the board are all volunteers, but the workers are all government employees. So, we recognize that we have a degree of autonomy there. There's a distance; it's called arm's length. They have different lengths of the arm. We- all the staff, all the people that work, are- all work for the government. Our offices are all paid for under government money. So really, it's a way of maximizing resources. (Colin, personal communications, 17 September 2015)

Colin recognizes his position and those of his colleagues at Arts Nova Scotia as government employees. While this proximity is positioned in organizational texts for "human resource purposes only," the proximity itself is present (Arts Nova Scotia, n.d.). Figure 8 is the same image as initially included in Figure 5, now including an arrow identifying this defining language as contained in the original diagram posted on the Arts Nova Scotia website. This shortened relationship is intended to address funding realities, reduce administrative costs, and "get as much funding into the hands of artists as possible" (Arts Nova Scotia Transition Committee, 2011, p. 17). Fundamentally, this means the director and program officers employed at Arts Nova Scotia are public servants for administrative and human resource purposes such as payroll.
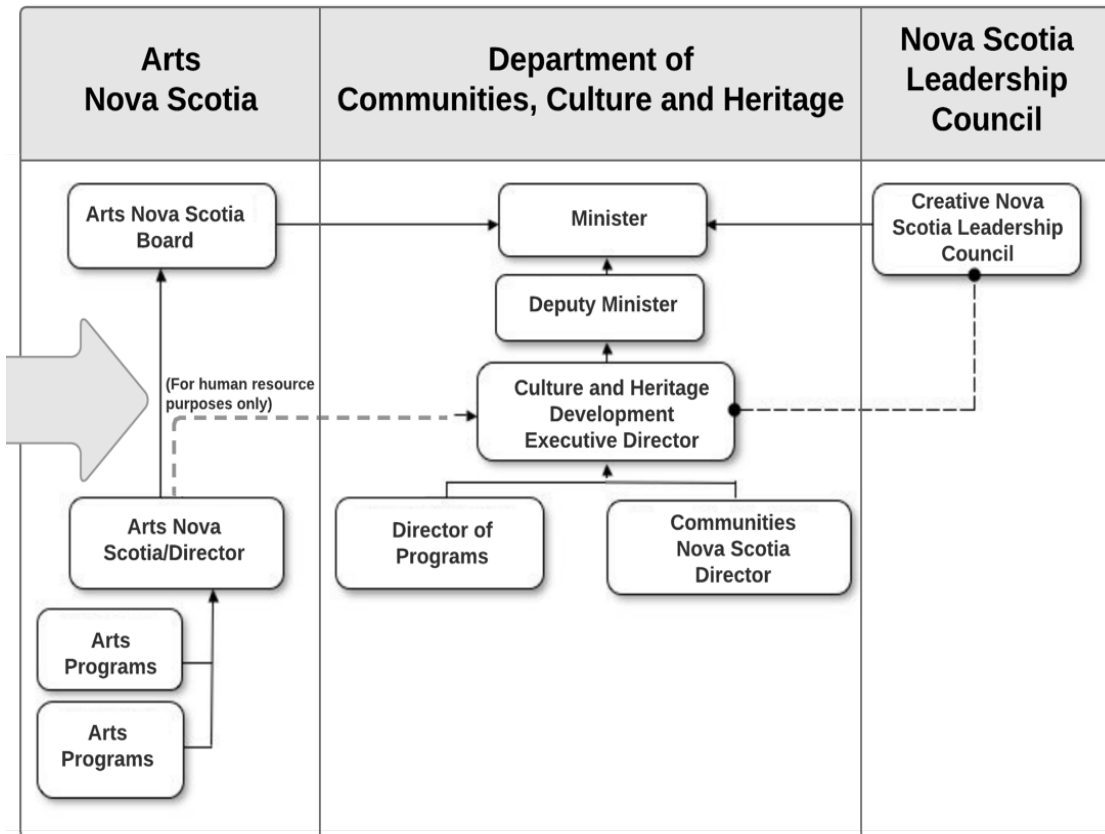
Though mandated as working at arm's length from the provincial government, Arts Nova Scotia's organizational structure and administrative processes challenge this status. Rebecca, a senior arts administrator, described her experience concerning the relationship between the agency and Department:

> As an organization, I think it has a lot to do with having had several years of having to just put itself [Arts Nova Scotia] together, set up the systems, and find its leadership because it's a quasi-governmental organization. It has its own board of directors, and they are arm's length from the Minister, but the senior staff person still is a government employee and is hired through the public service, and all the

staff were hired through the public service, and report from the human resources perspective back to the government.

But, from all other aspects, theoretically, they report to the board of directors. Now that's a little bit - There's sort of some corporate grey area in there. The funding still feeds down through the Department. So that means that when there are changes in the Department, potentially there could be changes in the funding for Arts Nova Scotia.

It's not as protected as it might be. It has been very fortunate that it has actually maintained and even grown a little bit. But there's always - it always could be vulnerable. (Rebecca, personal communication, 18 August 2015)

Rebecca's experience speaks to how processes from the extra-local domain coordinate the understanding and navigation of this cross-sector relationship from the artists' standpoint. She recognizes that components of Arts Nova Scotia organizational design, though occurring by the necessity for its existence, challenge a genuine arm's length nature. Due to this, she describes Arts Nova Scotia as a "quasi-governmental organization." This semi-arm's length status is embedded in Arts Nova Scotia's intermediary role between the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage and the professional theatre sector. While Arts Nova Scotia is granted independence from departmental control, its activities are funded from the province's annual budget, and staff are public servants. Rebecca's observation that the agency is "not as protected as it might be" points to the governing discourse's presence within agency activities and the province's institutional legacy around arts funding.

Though an external peer-review panel scores funding applications, the process is

still textually-mediated by the governing discourse. As Jennifer described and Amy learnt in her application review, strong funding submissions include specific details that clearly express how a proposed work satisfies the program goals. Prescribed guidelines outline the acceptable submission format, content, and supplemental materials—Arts Nova Scotia staff design these templates for consistency when peers are scoring the applications' alignment to program interests. By default, the content requested within the application processes is attributed as institutionally valued under both Arts Nova Scotia's and the Department's governing discourse.

Further, Arts Nova Scotia program officers review submissions against the governing qualifications before sending eligible applications to the peer jury. Application eligibility is then subject to the program officer's understanding of the program goals, application guidelines, and proposed project. Much as Colin expressed that there are varying distances of arm' s-length relationships, institutional controls prevent a full separation between state and agency.

Its staffing structures further challenge the arm's length status of Arts Nova Scotia. While Arts Nova Scotia staff are government employees "for human resources purposes only," the case remains they are then members of the public service (Arts Nova Scotia, n.d.). In compliment to being held accountable to their departmental mandate, government employees also need to work within the constraints of Nova Scotia's Public Service Commission Code of Conduct. The code includes the following value statement:

> We proudly serve the public needs of Nova Scotians. We support the efforts of our elected government to develop and implement public policy. We are answerable through due process to Ministers of the Crown, who, in turn, are accountable to the

public. (Nova Scotia, n.d., pp. 2–3)

The code emphasizes public servant values, including respect, integrity, diversity, accountability, and the public good (Nova Scotia, n.d.). Guiding these value statements is the institutional understanding that public servants serve and are accountable to the public. According to the official Code of Conduct, public servants recognize public policy as the governing discourse and need to conduct themselves in alignment. While the agency has a board of directors, as Rebecca stated, the director and staff at Arts Nova Scotia are government employees. Therefore, they need also to adopt these institutional values and associated processes in their everyday work. These institutionalized expectations on staff work maintain provincial policy control over sector activities.

In compliment to work processes, the public sector has formal textually-mediated procedures when hiring staff. As a public funding agency whose human resources are managed by the Department, Arts Nova Scotia also adopts these hiring procedures. They include a series of textually-mediated exchanges to encourage transparent, replicable, and partisan decision-making. Forms coordinate job postings communications and the associated employee pay grades. These governing texts also have guidelines for pre-screening job applications, standardized interview questions across all applicants, criteria for applicant scoring during the interview process, and templates for notifying individuals of the competition results.

Additionally, provincial government and Arts Nova Scotia job postings, excluding those for management, include the following standard clause:

This is a bargaining unit position initially restricted to current civil service employees represented by the Nova Scotia Government Employees Union

[NSGEU]. […] External applicants and current casual Nova Scotia Government employees will only be considered if there are no qualified Nova Scotia Government Civil Service NSGEU bargaining unit candidates. (Nova Scotia, 2017)

Staff positions, such as the Arts Nova Scotia program officers who administer funding programs, are members of the provincial bargaining unit and subscribe to their collective agreement's interests. Due to the union involvement, Arts Nova Scotia needs to first consider internal government applications of fellow public servants as Nova Scotia General Employee's Union members before considering external applicants. For example, a job posting for the Director role at Arts Nova Scotia also had the text, "All current employees who wish to be considered an internal candidate, please click here" with a link to an employee only login screen (Nova Scotia, 2018). Applicants outside the public sector can only be awarded a staffed position within the agency if there are no internal candidates who meet the base qualification, regardless of the outside applicants' level of ability and experience. Though the bargaining unit does not include management positions, the language used in these texts reinforces an internal vs external applicant dichotomy. Internal applicants are institutionally understood already to be subscribers to the institutional language and governing discourse. Further, both Arts Nova Scotia board members and Department staff can be present during management and program officer interview processes. These human resource processes facilitate auditable exchanges under and reinforce staff and agency proximity to the governing discourse.

Beyond textual controls, organizational activities also experience this shortening of an arm's length relationship between the agency and the Department. Nora, a senior arts manager, described a meeting she had with government staff:

I requested a meeting with the Minister [of Communities, Culture and Heritage].

When he showed up, he arrived with the Executive Director of the Culture Division

on one arm and Director of Arts Nova Scotia on the other. I mean, I have access to

those guys! If I wanted a meeting with them, I would have just called them up. It

was like the Minister was parading them around. (Nora, personal communication,

23 July 2015)

As a senior manager in the theatre sector, Nora often speaks to both the Executive Director

of the Department and the Director of Arts Nova Scotia. She requested a meeting with the

Minister to discuss sector issues. While the Minister may have had distinct reasons for

senior staff attending the meeting, the artists' standpoint and associated governing

discourse mark Nora's understanding of the event. In addition to these people being

individuals, she otherwise has access to; their professional titles make them physical

representations of the governing discourse. Nora needs to subscribe to this discourse to

receive provincial funding for her organization's ongoing operations. Their attendance on

behalf of and arrival with the Minister further shows their institutional position. Their

presence ensured that the governing discourse was maintained during the meeting. Nora's

language of "parading them around" indicates a perceived ministerial control and

intimidation should she deviate from the governing discourse during the meeting. The

action of these government executives collectively attending a meeting communicates a

unified front, reinforcing governing control and the understood shortening of Arts Nova

Scotia's arm's length status.

Arts Nova Scotia is unique in its proximity to the Department of Communities,

Culture and Heritage. This distance allows the agency administrative security by reducing

human resource costs and providing an annual operating budget. The province maintains those duties and associated expenses. However, this proximity also creates administrative vulnerability. As Rebecca described, Arts Nova Scotia is "not as protected as it might be" (Rebecca, personal communication, 18 August 2015). The arm's length status of Arts Nova Scotia is to negate political interference in organizational activities. However, the governing discourse's influence is embedded in the agency's organizational structures and everyday policy processes.

Further, the agency's institutional position within cross-sector exchanges is sustained by its proximity to the governing discourse. Therefore, it is in the best interest of Arts Nova Scotia executive and general staff to achieve the expectations of and alignment with those in governing roles. In complement to everyday policy processes, this interest is both satisfied and reinforced by actions such as the Arts Nova Scotia and the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage executive appearing with the Minister to the meeting with Nora. Just as the professional theatre sector is reliant on Arts Nova Scotia for public support, the agency is reliant on the Department to fund its everyday activities. Deviating from the governing discourse could jeopardize the relationship between Arts Nova Scotia and the Department, as has happened in the past.

6.2.2 Legacy of Arts Funding

Previous events warrant the theatre sector's concern that the interests of the governing discourse can change. Rebecca, an interview participant, describes Arts Nova Scotia as experiencing "several years of having to just put itself together, set up the systems, and find its leadership" (Rebecca, personal communication, 18 August 2015). Other research interviewees also reflected on the administration of provincial arts support

over the years:

The Nova Scotia Arts Council, which is now Arts Nova Scotia, was reconstituted. It had existed previously - ten years before that, at least. It had been cut down ten years before that, almost to the day. Which is very interesting because it's one of those kinds of things: "Oh, that's how long it takes for something to come back, right?" So, ten years to the day it had existed for - Let me think about this. So, it was cut down in 2002. So, it existed since 1995-96, maybe. Yes, somewhere in there. That's a long time. Nova Scotia was one of the last provinces to have an arts council, and then we didn't have one for ten years. There's a lot of resentment in the community, over that ten-year-period, in the arts community about the lack of an arts council and the perceived lack of independence or arm's length relationship with decision-making for the program. (Caroline, personal communication, 27 July 2015)

There's a new arts council now. It's not the same as the old arts council, but it's better than no arts council at all. And there are good people on the Council, and I think they are doing some good work. (Joanne, personal communication, 5 September 2015)

A lot of people worked for a lot of years to make that arts council happen. By God if you talked to those people. Oh my God, years of their lives. Now we have a new entity again, Arts Nova Scotia, with [name redacted] at the head. I think everybody is happy; no one is happier than theatre because we know exactly how smart [they] are. And how well [they] can navigate that world in between government and artists. So, a brilliant person, but working within the limitations of

the system that isn't really set up to support arts. I mean, that's just the truth. There's

not a lot of support for arts and culture. So that's the thing that underlies all of it. Is

it better? (Amy, personal communication, 3 June 2015)

Rebecca, Caroline, Joanne, and Amy speak to the institutional legacy around arts funding

in Nova Scotia. Over the last three decades, several milestone policy activities have

contributed to shaping arts funding and theatre professionals' relationship with the funding

models and associated governing bodies. Pivotal examples include the development of the

Federal Status of the Artist Act in 1992, Nova Scotia's Arts Council Act in 1995

establishing the Nova Scotia Arts Council, the 2002 disbanding of the Nova Scotia Arts

Council, followed by the 2011 creation of the quasi-arm's length Arts Nova Scotia granting

body, Nova Scotia's Act of legislation forming the province's own Status of the Artist Act

in 2012, the 2015 dissolving of the Nova Scotia Film Tax Credit for an alternative model,[43]

and the 2016 onward introduction of new funding programs with Arts Nova Scotia and the

Culture Division to encourage industry growth, representation, and stability across Nova

Scotia's arts sector (Arts Nova Scotia, 2019; Status of the Artist Act, 1992; *Creative*

Industries Fund: Program Guidelines, 2017; Status of the Artist Act, 2012; Arts Council

Act, 1996; Arts Nova Scotia Act, 2011; Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage,

2014a, 2018; Nova Scotia Finance, 2015c; Schwartz, 2002). Figure 9 chronicles the

timeline of these policy milestones.

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[43] It is common for theatre professionals to work across multiple creative sectors, such as film and theatre.
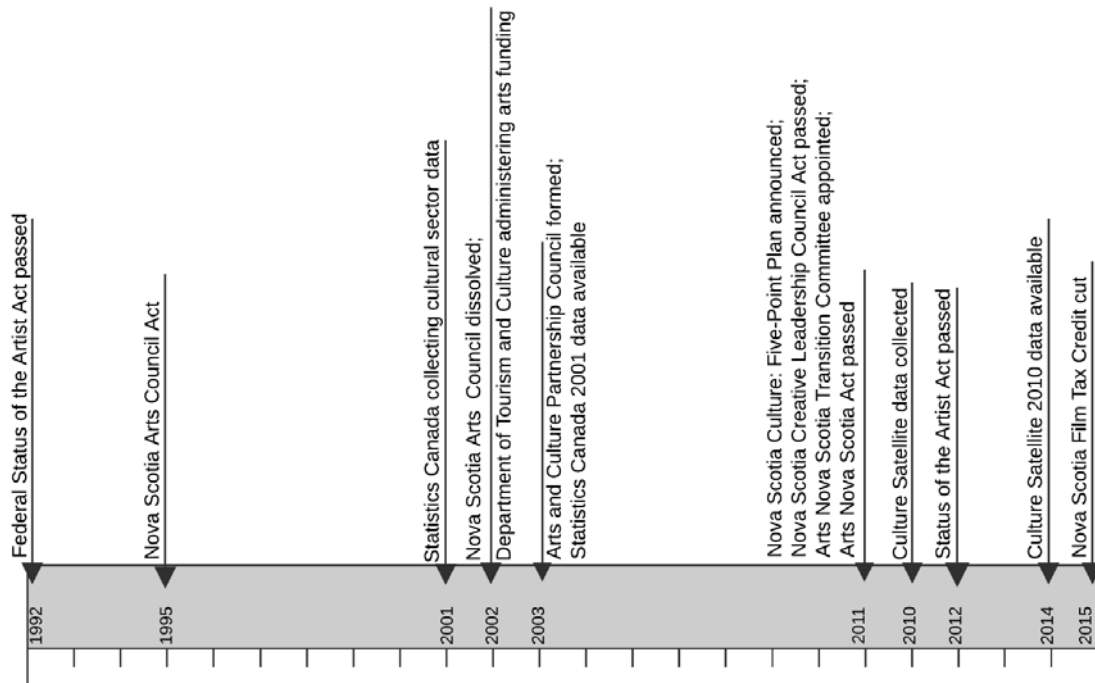
While serving the public good is a fundamental trait of provincial policy, what is determined to be in the public good is subject to the day's politics. The above experiences and public policy developments illustrate this. Funding models available to the Nova Scotia government's professional theatre sector have experienced flux states over the decades. For example, the Nova Scotia Arts Council was the province's first arm' s-length funding body, which was dissolved by the provincial government in 2002. The artists' standpoint maintains an institutional memory of this event, which creates a legacy of instability and vulnerability around professional arts funding from the province. This institutional memory contributes to how theatre professionals interact and understand their experiences with the provincial funding bodies. The remainder of this section discusses this institutional memory and accompanying disjuncture between the artists' standpoint and those in governing roles.

Development. The development of the Nova Scotia Arts Council in the mid-90s

is indicative of a provincial interest at that time to invest in the arts for the public good. The council was the outcome of a report drafted by a 15-member steering committee of artists appointed by (then) Premier Savage on arts sector activities (Nova Scotia Education and Culture, 1995). Upon recommendation from this report, the Nova Scotia Legislature passed the 1996 Arts Council Act, which formally established the Nova Scotia Arts Council (Nova Scotia CAN, 2011; Nova Scotia Education and Culture, 1995; Arts Council Act, 1996; Schwartz, 2002, p. 24). The agency's inaugural 1997-1998 budget was $1.3 million, recognized within that year's budget address to "be invested annually" (Nova Scotia Finance, 1997). The province also created an endowment fund to be administered by the council in supporting arts sector growth (Nova Scotia Tourism, Culture and Heritage, 2010). The result of these governing actions was indeed Nova Scotia's first provincial arm's length professional arts funding agency.

The year prior to the council's formation Lieutenant Governor Hon. J. James Kinley recognized the province's interest in supporting the arts sector as part of his Throne Speech. He expressed, "The growing role of arts and culture in our economy has not been lost on my government. The Nova Scotia Arts Council will offer research and development assistance" (Kinley, 1996). At this time, provincial governments across Canada were aligning their policy activities with the increasing discourse of investing in arts sector activities through formal public granting programs for regional development (Alderson et al., 1993; Status of the Artists Act, 1992; Griffiths, 1993, 1995; Hansen, 1995; Nova Scotia Education and Culture, 1995; Wilson, 1996).[44] Kinley's statement attributes the

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[44] As discussed in chapter 2.

intersection between arts and government to be one of economic growth and linking to the day's policy interests.

Nova Scotia Legislature passed the Arts Council Act in 1996. This Act formalized the government's interests to "foster artistic excellence" by "peer assessment in the determination of artistic merit and the allocation of funding" (Arts Council Act, 1996, sec. 6), affirming a governing interest and investment in arts sector activities. The resulting funding council structure, specifically independent from yet funded by the provincial government, shows the governing discourse recognizing the professional arts as contributing to the public good and the need for a separation between state control and creative funding. However, the governing discourse is indicative of and interpreted by the political interests of the day, and those interests can change.

Dissolving. While the governing standpoint remains on the public good, the interpretation of what is in the public good can change and did so in 2002, to the detriment of the Nova Scotia Arts Council. On March 27 of that year, Premier Hamm's government dismantled the Council and moved the associated arts funding programs inside government to the Department of Tourism and Culture (Beaumont, 2011; Nova Scotia CAN, 2011; Schwartz, 2002). No longer was the separation between state and funding observed as in the public good. The government sought greater control when empirically tracking and accounting for public spending on the arts. Journalist Hilary Beaumont chronicled the events of the Nova Scotia Arts Council closure:

> On March 27, 2002, Tim Leary was on time for his 1pm appointment with the province's Deputy Minister of Tourism, Culture and Heritage. After waiting patiently, the Executive Director of the Nova Scotia Arts Council was ushered into

a meeting room with the deputy minister and a lawyer, who handed him two pieces of paper. The first was a letter from the culture minister of the day, Rodney MacDonald, saying he had dissolved the arts council's board of directors -Leary's bosses- and had appointed a single bureaucrat in its place. The second was a letter from the new bureaucrat saying Leary was fired. [...]

Meanwhile, at council headquarters on Hollis Street, two government officials and a security person told workers to step away from their desks and file into the boardroom. Documents were seized. Locks were changed.

It was the first time in Canadian history that a government killed an arts council. And now, nearly nine years later, advocates who worked to establish Nova Scotia's arm's-length arts body say they still feel the decision's immoral sting. [...]

Two hours after Leary's meeting with the deputy minister, Andrew Terris received a matter-of-fact call from a fired board member.[45] Terris ran the few short blocks to the council office in time to see the officials through the locked glass doors. A sign said the arts council was closed until further notice. He said it was as though the government had strangled his five-year-old child. (Beaumont, 2011)

Beaumont's article is indicative of the artists' standpoint when experiencing and understanding the council's dissolution. The professional arts sector had not predicted such a shift in the interpretation of the governing directive. The experience was so jarring that its shockwave rippled through Canada, showed in the 2002 publication of Fuze magazine. The sign Terris saw on the door was published on the cover of this magazine and the

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[45] Terris was contacted due to his involvement in the creation of the Nova Scotia Arts Council (Terris, 2012).

content featured articles discussing the event and what it could mean for arts funding in Canada. A photo of this cover is included in Appendix G.

Barbara Godard, a professor at York University whose scholarship included Canadian literature, culture, and theory, had an article included in this magazine, in which she described the speed of the event's occurrence:

It took just one hour to occupy the office, confine staff, dismiss council members, fire the executive director, close the website, and issue a press release for a replacement "Arts and Culture Council," a branch of the Department of tourism and culture. (Godard, 2002, p. 13)

Also included in the magazine was a piece from Ken Schwartz, the Artistic Director of Ross Creek Theatre in Nova Scotia. In it, Schwartz described the emotions experienced by his colleagues in the sector about the Council's end:

The professional arts community of Nova Scotia reacted with shock and anger. It was by far the most callous and destructive piece of cultural policy introduced by a provincial government in living memory. What made the closure of the Nova Scotia Arts Council particularly infuriating was the lack of respect shown for the cultural sector: The Nova Scotia Arts Council was dismantled without warning, public consultation or the slightest respect for the volunteers who had built the public organization from scratch. The Council was, in the words of writer and columnist Frank MacKay, "taken out behind the barn and shot." Those who played a role in its creation felt powerless. (Schwartz, 2002, p. 23)

The Nova Scotia Arts Council closure was rapid and unannounced, catching the region's arts sector off-guard. While the decision to disband the council had financial implications

on the government-arts sector relationship, it also generated a critical emotional impact. The descriptions provided by Beaumont, Terris, MacKay, and Schwartz's speak to this impact. Nova Scotia was one of the last provinces to have an arm's length granting council and the first to dissolve such an entity (Beaumont, 2011; Godard, 2002; Terris, 2012). Almost nine years later, at the time of Beaumont's article, the sector was still experiencing "the decision's immoral sting" (Beaumont, 2001). This surprise policy decision is a milestone marker in cross-sector relations shaping emotions and understandings around the arts and government cross-sector relationship.

Interpreting the Governing Standpoint. Prior to the dismantling, the 2001-2002 Crown Corporation Business Plans for Nova Scotia included governing text that articulated the relationship between the Nova Scotia Arts Council and government:

> Every dollar of Nova Scotia Arts Council's support is an investment in Nova Scotians, creating opportunities at home. Nova Scotia's approval of the arts through Nova Scotia Arts Council represents direct opportunities in tourism as well as opportunities for enriching the culture that attracts tourism; opportunities to support the burgeoning cultural industries, which involve, for example, film, television, information technology, and the recording industry; opportunities for early years and lifelong learning; personal fulfilment; opportunities for sharing and reinforcing our sense of community and for improved quality of life in Nova Scotia. (Province of Nova Scotia, 2001, p. 60)

This text soundly recognized the public value in investing in the arts. While the 2001-02 budget allocation from the province was $1.2 million, down from the original $1.3 million distributed in 1997, there was still a financial and textually-mediated commitment to

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investing in the arts (CP, 2002; Nova Scotia Finance, 1997; Province of Nova Scotia, 2001, p. 67). However, the text in the 2002-03 report on Crown Corporation Business Plans was markedly different:

> Changes in the delivery of government investment in Nova Scotia's culture sector will result in the winding-down of activities of the Nova Scotia Arts Council. A new investment model will be established. Consequently, a business plan for the Nova Scotia Arts Council is not being published for the 2002–03 fiscal year. (Province of Nova Scotia, 2002, p. 43)

This shift in language is understandable, given the council termination in March 2002. The administration of investments in Nova Scotia's culture sector had changed, and a "new investment model" was being developed. Tourism and Culture Minister Rodney MacDonald assured a new body would be created to oversee provincial investment in the arts with "responsibility for the broader objectives of government" resulting in the streamlining and reduction of cost (Godard, 2002, p. 17; Schwartz, 2002, p. 23). News reports on the Nova Scotia Arts Council closure cite the predicted cost savings to government as $270,000 (Beaumont, 2011; CP, 2002; Nova Scotia Tourism and Culture, 2002c; Schwartz, 2002). The new model would position the administration of arts funding, including decisions on funding award, within departmental operations. While the public good would remain at the foundation of policy decisions, there would be a greater focus on governing oversight. The arm's length separation between state and artistic merit was gone.

Following the council's closure, authority over public funding of professional arts activities was moved inside the government and was administered by the (then) Department of Tourism and Culture. The 2002-03 Nova Scotia budget estimates have no

mention of a cultural council or support to the professional arts sector. The closest language in the Department of Tourism and Culture, Culture Division description was: "The Culture Division delivers programming and develops investment strategies to advance the interests of the culture sector" (Minister of Finance, 2002a, p. 23.7). The supplementary detail document accompanying the 2002-03 estimates did elaborate on this description at the departmental level, though did not speak to a council nor the arts specifically:

> The Department of Tourism and Culture's priorities for 2002-2003 are based on the following goals: develop the economic and export potential of Nova Scotia's tourism and cultural industries; support economic growth and develop sustainable communities throughout Nova Scotia through development of our culture, heritage and tourism sectors; provide stewardship of Nova Scotia's heritage and cultural identity through development, preservation and presentation of Nova Scotia's cultural and natural heritage resources and institutions; and deliver effective and accountable corporate support to government through records management and archival programs, protocol, policy and communications. (Minister of Finance, 2002b, p. 23.1)

Such text, or the lack thereof, made the change clear. Government interests had shifted. Arts funding at arm's length from the state was no longer prioritized as in the public good. Instead, the focus moved to develop cultural industries for economic export and growth under the scope of accountable corporate support. These were the new governing text structuring funding support to the professional theatre sector, emphasizing output and governing control. While the governing standpoint remained on the public good, the governing understanding of how that interest was achieved was restructured.

An arm's-length agency works at a distance from the government. This relationship allows the agency independence in regular administrative and decision-making processes. The Nova Scotia Arts Council was one such agency. Schwartz described the original intention of the Nova Scotia Arts Council as the province's "first arm's length public funding agency [and] a body that would be free of political interference from elected officials or those who worked in their departments" (Schwartz, 2002, p. 24). However, such separation diminishes government control. Minister MacDonald's reaffirmed the governing authority by cancelling the Nova Scotia Arts Council and moving arts funding decisions into the Department of Tourism and Culture.

One year following the Nova Scotia Arts Council's closure, in March 2003, membership of a new Arts and Culture Partnership Council was announced. This new council included "15 representatives, 13 from the arts and culture community and two from government" (Nova Scotia Tourism and Culture, 2003). The inclusion of two government representatives on the new council ensured an ongoing governing presence and control over council activities.

The new council's duties included making "recommendations to the minister on planning, design, and delivery of arts and culture programs in Nova Scotia" (Nova Scotia Tourism and Culture, 2003). This language is a further example of increased controls placed on the new council. Though there were members of the arts and culture sector appointed, the council itself remained structured as an advisory and not a granting body. The new council was to make recommendations to the government. It was not granted authority to act on its own accord.

Sector Experiences. Many professional arts sector members spoke out against

the Nova Scotia Arts Council closure and associated new proximity of the Department of Tourism and Culture staff and Minister to arts funding decisions. Caroline, an arts administrator, characterized the Department as not having "a fundamental understanding of how the arts thing works" (Caroline, personal communication, 27 July 2015). Schwartz's article in Fuse opens with the following description:

> In the past three months, the Conservative government of Premier John Hamm has eradicated the principle of arm's length funding from the cultural landscape of Nova Scotia. While many are still in shock, some citizens are asking profound questions about what this unprecedented action means for the future of publicly funded art and the fundamental principles of transparency and public consultation in our democratically elected governments. (Schwartz, 2002, p. 23)

In his article, Schwartz chronicled the Nova Scotia Arts Council closure and several later events by the arts sector, including rallies, gatherings, and communication campaigns. Citing concerns including democratic principle, political involvement, and artistic merit, Schwarz, Terris, and others fought to have an arm's length granting body reinstated. Terris wrote of the experience on his website:

> What followed was a brutal political slugfest, with the Cultural Network [of which he was Executive Director] leading the charge against the Minister. It went on for weeks and included a large, loud demonstration outside the provincial Legislature and a full-page ad in the provincial newspaper calling for the Minister's resignation. In the end, we lost the battle, and I lost my job. The Network board chose to go along to get along, and I was let go. (Terris, 2012)

For the arts sector to continue in any capacity, it had to accept the governing discourse's

new priorities and processes. Those who protested the shift were metaphorically punished for not aligning with the new direction. This tension is exemplified by events such as Terris losing his employment in a cultural organization that received funding from but was otherwise independent of government. This job loss is an assertion of the provincial government's position of governing within the cross-sector relation. While there was a clear outcry from the professional arts sector around this event, the governing directive to dissolve the Council was final and authoritative.

6.2.3 Institutional Memory

This section opened with quotes from senior arts administrators Caroline, Joanne, and Amy. In these narratives from 2015, the speakers reflected on their lived experience through the cessation of the Nova Scotia Arts Council and the eventual creation of Arts Nova Scotia. Twenty years since the creation of the Nova Scotia Arts Council and thirteen years since its dissolution, the institutional memory of the event continued to remain present. During the years following the Nova Scotia Arts Council closure, the Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council, the provincial government, outside consultants, and arts organizations published reports on arts sector metrics, activities, and needs (Arts Nova Scotia Transition Committee, 2011; D.W. Pilkey Consulting, 2010; Hamilton et al., 2009; Horizons Community Development Associates Inc., 2010; Kelco Consulting Ltd, 2011; Nova Scotia CAN, 2010; Nova Scotia Tourism and Culture, 2002a; Nova Scotia Tourism, Culture and Heritage, 2010). Then on February 14, 2011, Premier Darrel Dexter's government released Nova Scotia's Arts and Culture Five-Point Plan. This plan included the commitment to setting up an independent provincial arts funding body (Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c). The Minister of Communities,

Culture and Heritage subsequentially struck a four-person Arts Nova Scotia Transition Committee to develop the terms of reference for a new provincial arts granting agency (Arts Nova Scotia Transition Committee, 2011, p. 2; Caskey, 2011). 10-years since the original Nova Scotia Arts Council dissolving, the provincial Legislature passed the Arts Nova Scotia Act. The Minister appointed the Arts Nova Scotia Board of Directors, and the arts sector had a formal provincial funding agency again (Arts Nova Scotia Act, 2011). However, even with stakeholder input by the Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council and the Arts Nova Scotia transition committee, narratives such as those from Caroline, Joanne, and Amy shows an ongoing reluctance from the artists' standpoint to invest full faith in the new agency and associated provincial operations.

Institutional memory impacts how the artists' standpoint understands Arts Nova Scotia and Nova Scotia's arts policy framework. As a repercussion, the professional theatre sector may be reassured to have an official granting agency. However, there is also a degree of caution toward an institutionalized relationship with a demonstrated record of suddenly dismantling significant resources. Such hesitation is not without reason. The provincial government continues to maintain the position of governing over Arts Nova Scotia.

Moreover, Wayne MacKay, a professor at Dalhousie's School of Law, flagged a clause within the original Arts Council Act, which says, "The Minister has the general supervision and management of this Act" (Beaumont, 2011; Arts Council Act, 1996, sec. 3). This text gives the Minister the authority to dissolve the Nova Scotia Arts Council. The 2011 Arts Nova Scotia Act has the same clause at verbatim (Arts Nova Scotia Act, 2011, sec. 3). Therefore, the provincial government has created, funded, and can end Arts Nova Scotia at any time should the Minister decide that is in the best interest of the public good.

The sudden and unexpected 2002 dismantling of the Nova Scotia Arts Council is a demonstration of this power.

Schwartz's closing remarks in his 2002 article continue to resonate today within the cross-sector relationship between the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage, Arts Nova Scotia, and the professional theatre sector. In his article, Schwartz wrote:

> That the government so successfully killed the Nova Scotia Arts Council and brought arts funding under political control will not go unnoticed by right-of-centre governments across Canada who are looking for money to cut deficits. Nova Scotians were the first to lose their Council, but it would be foolishly naïve to assume they will be the last. In an era of dwindling public resources and the crushing force of globalization on cultural development, Nova Scotia's artists have learned a powerful lesson on the perils of political cynicism and indifference. How they choose to use the experience is a work-in-progress (Schwartz, 2002, p. 31)

At the time of his writing, Schwartz had no way to know the province would create a new arm's length funding agency 10-years later. However, for theatre professionals, this institutional memory is still present within cross-sector relations.

6.3 Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council

On February 11, 2011, Premier Darrel Dexter's government announced a (then) new Arts and Culture Five-Point Plan. This governing text articulated the provincial government's commitments to the sector, including to:

- Develop and introduce Status of the Artist Legislation,
- Establish Arts Nova Scotia, an independent body responsible for decisions regarding funding to individual artists. It will take over responsibility for the peer

juries that review applications and make all final decisions about grants to individual artists and then communicate those decisions,

- Form the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council, an evolution of the current Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council to provide a voice for the arts to dialogue with government and lead the development of a strategy for Nova Scotia's culture sector,

- Develop a communications strategy for arts and culture, including a new interactive website that will allow for discussion and enable artists and cultural interests to showcase and market their work, and

- Create an interdepartmental committee to coordinate government efforts to support arts and culture development and address the community's needs and concerns in a coordinated manner. (Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2011a)

The five-point plan and associated commitments arose from community consultations and sector studies commissioned by the Department (Arts Nova Scotia Transition Committee, 2011; D.W. Pilkey Consulting, 2010; Hamilton et al., 2009; Horizons Community Development Associates Inc., 2010; Kelco Consulting Ltd, 2011; Nova Scotia CAN, 2010; Nova Scotia Tourism and Culture, 2002a; Nova Scotia Tourism, Culture and Heritage, 2010). Within this plan, commitment number 3 is developing the Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council into the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council. This new volunteer advisory body would be tasked with identifying sector issues and supplying direct recommendation to the Minister of Communities, Culture and Heritage on policy action. Due to this proximity to the Minister, the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council is in a governing role to guide cross-sector relations and contribute to the region's arts and

culture sector growth.

The Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council is an advisory body to the provincial government. It does not administer public programs nor funding. However, it does conduct research and make recommendations on provincial policy activity. Nonetheless, these recommendations are made behind closed doors and distanced from the artists' standpoint. Therefore, while the Council may hold a governing role over sector activities, the artists' standpoint does not see itself reflected in the Council's activities.

In the following interview excerpt, Caroline recalls when the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council first began:

> Creative Nova Scotia had this sort of nominal oversight into the programs that the civil service had in the Department. Creative Nova Scotia as an organization - a leadership council - came out of the previous ten years of a volunteer leadership group that was called the Arts and Culture Partnership Council in order to build, to repair, relationships essentially with the arts and culture community. So, those first few years [the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council was] forming themselves as an advisory body to the Minister that had a kind of wide purview but was also a conduit between the community as a whole and the Department. (Caroline, personal communication, 27 July 2015)

Caroline's narrative draws attention to the governing intention in forming the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council. The sector named need and role for such an advisory council is rooted in its predecessor's institutional legacy. Following the 2002 disbandment of the Nova Scotia Arts Council, Tourism and Culture Minister Rodney MacDonald announced the appointment of the Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council (Nova

Scotia Legislature, 2003; Nova Scotia Tourism and Culture, 2002c, 2003; Nova Scotia Tourism, Culture and Heritage, 2005). This partnership council was to provide "advice to guide the department's ongoing investments in Nova Scotia's artists, cultural industries and cultural activities" (Nova Scotia Tourism, Culture and Heritage, 2005). As the name suggested, this included partnering with the Department to advise and report on provincial investment and strategic planning for the arts and culture sector (Nova Scotia Legislature, 2003; Nova Scotia Tourism and Culture, 2002b, 2002c). However, the Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council development and later operations were not without issue, resulting in the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council's eventual creation.

The Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council was fraught with confused intentions from its point of conception. While the Nova Scotia Arts Council was a granting body, the Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council was not. Instead, from 2002 to 2012, the Department handled funding activities (Nova Scotia CAN, 2010, 2011; Nova Scotia Legislature, 2003). However, legislative committee meetings discussing the Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council sought clarity for partnership activities regarding financial accountability, peer review processes, and ministerial control (Nova Scotia Legislature, 2002, 2003). Additionally, members of the arts and culture community described the Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council as "flawed, inflexible, and unrepresentative," experiencing ongoing "serious communication problems," and creating confusion around the administration of provincial arts funding (Horizons Community Development Associates Inc., 2010, p. 3; Nova Scotia CAN, 2010, 2011, p. 10). With such community input and various sector reports, the provincial government concluded to restructure the Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council, negating many of the

concerns plaguing the Council.

In response to the provincial government's February 2011 announcement of Nova Scotia's Five-Point Plan, Joella Foulds, chair of the Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council, responded by saying:

> Today's announcement recognized the importance of this sector and gives a clear direction for its future growth. This announcement is positive news for the sector and for the province as a whole. [...] The Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council welcomes the changes and looks forward to continuing to advocate for the arts and culture sector in Nova Scotia as the new Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council. (Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council, 2011)

The new plan was well received, as it showed both government's commitment to the sector and the new governing roles and responsibilities across entities. The Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council proposal kept a sense of familiarity by involving the earlier Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council members. However, there a clear division between Arts Nova Scotia as the provincial funding agency and Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council as the advisory Council. Additionally, due to community consultations over the prior year, the announcement was not a surprise to the sector. The Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council was ready and accepting to transition to the new Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council model.

6.3.1 Governing Operations

As with the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage and Arts Nova Scotia, the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council both adheres to and administers policy text. The Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Act names the governing criteria for the

Council to follow, including:

5   The objects of the Council are to provide advice to government on matters related to

(a) Promoting cultural vibrancy in the province;

(b) Encouraging community spirit through creative endeavours and pursuits throughout the province;

(c) Undertaking activities that facilitated the development, promotion and preservation of arts and culture and cultural activity throughout the province;

(d) Educating the public regarding the cultural, recreational, educational, social, and economic importance of culture and the uniqueness of Nova Scotians' diverse cultural identities;

(e) Investing in cultural development, the cultural industries and cultural activity;

(f) Researching matters relating to the creative economy and the cultural sector; and

(g) Existing or new cultural policy. (Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council Act, 2011)

The Nova Scotia Legislature passed the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council Act in December 2011, completing the organizational shift from the Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council to the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council (Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2019c; Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council Act, 2011). At the start of section 5 in the Act, the text explicitly says the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council was to "provide advice to government." The rest of this section then describes the subject for such policy advice as developing arts and cultural activities, the

cultural industries, and the creative economy.

There is little subjectivity or confusion in the governing purpose of the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council's role in the arts sector. During his interview, Colin, a government staff, described his understanding of this role:

The leadership council is an advisory body that doesn't have any fiduciary responsibilities. It doesn't manage the budget. Its purpose is to provide the Minister with advice on all matters relating to culture. So, it has a broader view [than Arts Nova Scotia]. It's really looking at museums, libraries, archives, and communities and looking at culture in a broad sense. It's their committee, there, that does research. That's basically what it does, advise the Minister. (Colin, personal communication, 17 September 2015)

Caroline and Michael also outlined their perspectives:

Any of the programs that Arts Nova Scotia was running were the purview of Arts Nova Scotia, and they [Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council] had no business… They could have an opinion, of course. Everybody could have an opinion. But it wasn't their business. And the internal programs were still run internally [within the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage]. Although they [Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council] still have kind of a - Not an oversight, because they're not responsible for a budget. They don't have capacities and stuff. They don't oversee the department staff at all - but they could advise on directions. (Caroline, personal communication, 27 July 2015)

We have the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council, which is the more comprehensive body. The arts are only part of its equation. They [Creative Nova

Scotia Leadership Council] are not really representative of a particular community.

They come from the community at large, and they deal with policy issues and more.

You know. They talk to society about culture in a broader sense. They're not

specifically arts. They're not specifically heritage, not specifically culture. They're

the broader picture. And all of those councillors meet on a regular basis. (Michael,

personal communication, 16 September 2015)

Further, the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council website included the following

statement:

All funding programs [grants and awards] are funded by the Department of

Communities, Culture and Heritage. The Council is not involved in the decision-

making process for the Department's programs. While the Council can make

recommendations to the Minister regarding the allocation of funds to each program,

specific funding decisions are made via peer selection committed or assessment

panels. (Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2019c)

Unlike the Nova Scotia Arts and Culture Partnership Council, the Creative Nova Scotia

Leadership Council has a clear scope and firm separation from the Department and the

provincial funding agency. In his interview, Michael went on to describe this role of the

Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council:

When it comes to policy, it depends on what area they're engaging in. If they look

at program areas, they could actually say, "Why do you do this, why don't you do

that?" Or if, like, for example, we're reviewing the Initiative Growth Program, at

some point staff are going to have to go in and say, "This is what we're going to

want to do."

Council takes it away and debates it and may come back and say, "Don't do that, do this." Or they won't get specific, okay, because that's not their job. But if they say, "It's not broad enough," or "You should include this," or "You shouldn't include that," that would influence the development of the program.

It would be to the Minister that they'd say that. They'd asked him to come into their thing if the Council wanted. Then they may say, "Yes, but you're heading in the wrong direction, should think more of this." Then the Minister goes down that way. (Michael, personal communication, 16 September 2015)

Like the website statement, Michael described the Council's authority to suggest policy revisions or restructuring. However, these suggestions were only recommendations to the Minister, who held authority for the final decision. The Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council's governing role is situated to influence policy through guidance. The Council is not structured to design policy nor provide program support. Instead, they adopted a governing position over sector activities by advising the Minister on policy matters concerning the arts and culture sector.

To ensure sound and relevant recommendations aligned with governing interests, the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council followed an organizational structure set forward in their associated Act. Caroline described this structure as "interesting" and went on to say:

The Leadership Council is comprised of 15 people. Thirteen of them are from the community, and they go through a very - I would say onerous nominations process - which cuts out a lot of people who might otherwise be interesting and valuable because it is very onerous. In particular, it cuts out people who aren't used to having

to handle a lot of government processes in volunteering for a Board.

Then, in addition to that, there's the Arts Nova Scotia representative, and there are two staff people who are by legislation appointed to that board. And those are not, they are not specific positions, and they're not specific people that the legislation names. But they were nominated. So those two people are fully functioning voting members of the Council. In fact, the only non-voting member of Council is the Arts Nova Scotia representative, which is a funny kind of thing in and of itself.

Anyway, you know, these things happen when legislation is being formed. The upside of it is that leaves you an odd number on the board, and you always want an odd number if you can so that you can still have a majority vote.

What it means is that (the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council) is much more closely tied to the existing priorities and vision of the Department. Because there are two people embedded who also provide other support to the Council. (Caroline, personal communication, 27 July 2015)

In her narrative, Caroline highlighted a governing control maintained through the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council membership structure as mandated in the Council's legislation (Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council Act, 2011, sec. 6). Caroline cited the "onerous nominations process." Within this process, a council nominating committee gives membership recommendations, and the Minister then appoints the members. Of these appointments, a range of art disciplines, generations, ethnicities, and genders were also mandated for inclusion to ensure diversity of experience and perspective. (Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2019b; Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council Act, 2011). While Caroline suggests this process is to move forward only nominees of a strong

calibre for council interests, the process is a gatekeeping act. In addition to the legislated representation, the "onerous" process also ensures ministerial approval, and therein governing control, of council membership. Therefore, while the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council holds a governing role by advising on policy, its activities are still shaped by the broader institutional context in which it works.

In addition to the nomination process, the Council's membership itself aligns the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council activities to the governing discourse. Of the 15-voting member council: 13-voting members are volunteer community representatives appointed by the Minister, two-voting members are staff from the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage, and one non-voting member stands for Arts Nova Scotia (Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2019c; Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council Act, 2011). Caroline's narrative draws attention to the two departmental staff as ensuring the council activities are "closely tied to the existing priorities and vision of the department." While the Civil Servants Code of Ethics does not apply to council members sitting as volunteer sector representatives, the code does apply to the Department voting members and Arts Nova Scotia non-voting member. These three government appointments are seated at the table and engaged in the conversation. There positions are government staff. So, the people employed must uphold provincial government values and support the public good in their activities and associated recommendations. Though two voting positions and one non-voting position are not enough to overturn thirteen opposing votes on an issue, the presence, participation, and proximity of the governing discourse through the staff can influence the group decision. Therefore, the institutional cross-sector relationship's hierarchal nature is present within

the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council activities, upholding the institutional interests of accountability and sound decision-making across the Council.

6.3.2 Successes

The Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council has been successful in its leadership role, supplying recommendations on provincial policy regarding arts and culture. When prompted on the relationship between the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council and the Minister, Caroline responded, "They've had a very good relationship with all the ministers, which has been good. In fact, they've had a great relationship with most" (Caroline, personal communication, 27 July 2015). While having a positive relationship with the Minister is at least in some part attributed to the membership structure, it also facilitates a positive record of accomplishment for Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council to be influencing policy. The public record of Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council accomplishments includes the 2012 passing of Nova Scotia's Status of the Artist legislation, the publication of various sector reports including presentations to the Minister, the creation of targeted awards for artist recognition, and the establishment of the Support4Culture program which funds arts, culture, and heritage activities (Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2019a, 2019b). These are critical developments in advancing Nova Scotia's arts framework, where each event was built on the previous. However, the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council recommendations are also subject to council majority vote, followed by Ministerial approval. Those in the room are the only ones to know such discussions, associated guidance, and ministerial decisions during these votes.

Though the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council is in a governing role, the

provincial government and associated provincial public policy uphold the governing role of coordinating sector activities. Therefore, while the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council is valuable in advising on policy direction and maintaining a quasi-governing position over theatre sector activities, it is not immune to public policy discourse and the governing rule itself.

6.4   Other Governing Bodies

This research would be remiss if it concluded that only three bodies govern theatre sector activities within the institutional framework. The state does not hold full responsibility for shaping theatre activity within the province. During this study, the province's theatre sector emerged as dependent on commercial activities, philanthropic giving, intermediary support organizations, and union bodies. This list of other governing bodies is not exhaustive. Though intermediaries were not always present when engaged, they actively connected institutional exchanges between the governing and subsidiary roles. This relationship is charted in Figure 10. Participants in these roles included arts consultants, advisors, advocates, colleagues, and mentors. Their activities were multi-directional, connecting to both the governing and subsidiary roles. Also included here were union bodies coordinating minimum rules for engagement in professional theatre practice. Additionally, philanthropic and corporate funders maintained governing positions over the professional theatre sector through their funding contribution.

Figure 10
Hierarchal representation of stakeholders engaged in the institutional relationship between Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and the provincial government
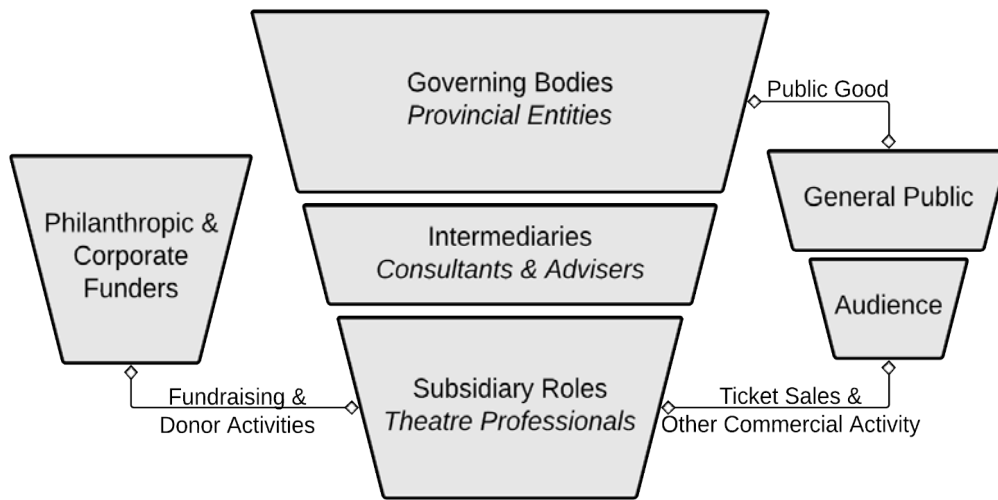
Finally, the public took up a role bordering the institutional relationship as the theatre audience. This group holds different locales depending if they were in reflection to the governing or subsidiary roles. The public is an interest group for the provincial government, beneficiaries of the intended public good. For the professional theatre sector, they are the target market for creative consumption and box office revenue.

6.5   Chapter Summary

Within the public sector, the standpoint of governing is embedded in the public good. The governing bodies work within and align their work to this institutional mandate. These bodies include Nova Scotia's Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage, Arts Nova Scotia, and the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council. Their governing operations are grounded in policy texts as operational practices designed to create objectivity and neutrality in public sector activities.

However, the artists' standpoint and that of governing are in disjuncture. This chapter has shown this by examining the governing bodies, their organizing texts, and theatre

professionals' experiential understanding as derived from observing and working within the associated empirical processes. The tensions which have been identified through this analysis are consequences of public service operations. The democratic position of the institution maintains the principal interest of acting in and contributing to the broader public good. The work of engaging in the institutional relationship, from all parties, is then centred around interacting with, satisfying the interests of, and being shaped by the policy texts designed to uphold this governing standpoint. While defining the work of the governing bodies, this chapter's findings raise to question how theatre professionals' work is achieved to satisfy this disjuncture between the artists' and governing standpoints.

Chapter 7 Navigating the Institutional Framework

This chapter describes the framework which structures the institutional exchanges between the professional theatre and the provincial government. This institutional framework is administered from and in the interest of the governing discourse. Theatre professionals work within this framework to access public support. Yet, the data shows an empirical disjuncture between the governing structure of the institutional processes and the artists' standpoint working within those processes. This section follows the investigation of a question which emerged during data analysis, "How does the institutional framework organize theatre professionals' work and lived experiences?"

Theatre professionals want to "make theatre;" this has been established as their standpoint. Producing theatre carries ongoing costs. Therefore, to "make theatre," funding is needed. Public support is one of the three primary revenue generation modes for the professional theatre sector within Nova Scotia.[46] The professional theatre sector and Nova Scotia's provincial government are institutionally connected through economic necessity and public funding availability, as illustrated in Figure 11.

Figure 11
The overlap connecting the governing discourse to the artists' standpoint

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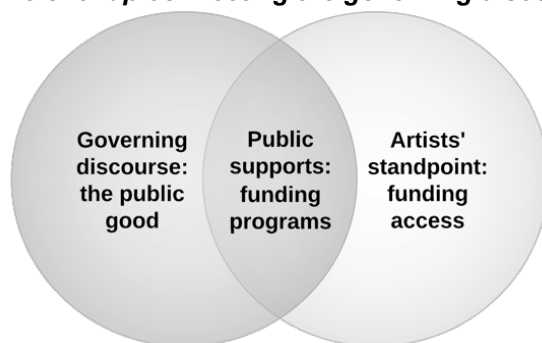
[46] The other common revenue sources are box office sales and philanthropic/corporate giving, as defined in chapter 2. However, the literature suggested that sustainable professional theatre activity required ongoing government support (Kavolis, 1966, p. 217). Full dependence on the latter two sources, either collectively or individually, is not viable for ongoing market sustainability nor contributing to the desired public benefit.

Nova Scotia's provincial government and the professional theatre sector do operate in an institutionalized relationship. Each group's particular situation shapes their motivation and ability to enter the relationship. The governing discourse upholds the interest of the public good through public support. Meanwhile, the artists' standpoint is economically interested in seeking help to fund their work.

Theatre professionals' experiences interacting with the institutional frameworks shape how they engaged in and understand their work. The activity of applying for, securing, and reporting on funding in part shapes the lived experiences of theatre professionals. Public policy and public policy implementation textually-organizes, structures, and defines this work to uphold the institution's governing interests. However, while the governing discourse shapes theatre professionals' work, this governing discourse does not reflect the theatre professionals' everyday lived experience of engaging in the institutional relationship.

This chapter is divided into two sections for analysis. First, the hierarchal structure of the institutional relationship is defined. As policy users, theatre professionals are economically dependent on the provincial government for their continued revenue. This dependence requires theatre professionals to navigate the linear public policy process as administered by those governing roles.

Public policy is concrete. It maintains standardized processes that are consistent across geographic location and time. As holder of the public purse, the provincial government is accountable to the public for its spending. This accountability includes support to be limited to activities that contributed to the public good. Administrative practices, which are textually-mediated, coordinate public policy to achieve an accountable

and compliant funding distribution. The provision of support to the professional theatre sector by the Government of Nova Scotia is designed with the intention to align programs with the governing literature around cultural policy and arts activity. Associated text/documents communicate definitions of programs, rules and expectations for qualification, applications and related adjudication, and activity reporting. These texts include the institutional assumption that public support to the professional theatre sector is in the public good. This understanding is illustrated in and frames the institutional context of the relationship.

Figure 12
The policy justification for public support to the professional theatre sector
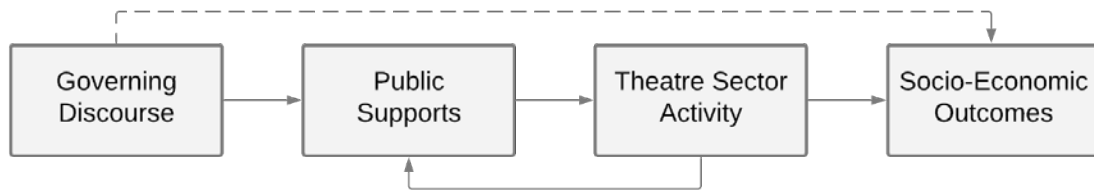
However, the data shows the artists' standpoint to experience this process as a cycle. The latter half of this chapter discusses this distinction between linear administration and circular experience. The data shows that theatre professionals are in an ongoing relationship cycle with the governing roles, which repeats with each new funding opportunity.

7.1   Hierarchal Organization

The artists' standpoint experiences the relationship between the professional theatre sector and the provincial government as one of economic necessity. Theatre work is financially dependent on public support. The provincial government's intention is juxtaposed to the artists' standpoint. It is commonly understood that the arts contribute to

the public good. The provincial government maintains a policy mandate to act in the interest of the public good. This mandate then authorizes provincial funding to those activities institutionally understood to be in the public good.

As the provincial government holds the money the professional theatre sector is dependent on, a hierarchical relationship is structured. The public funding support positions the state in a governing role over the professional theatre sector. In turn, the theatre professional has a participatory but subordinate role. Public policy textually-mediates this relationship to align with the public good, following the mandate of those in governing roles. The professional theatre sector accesses public support and contributes to the public good in return, meeting the governing policy interest. Nova Scotia's Public Service Commission articulated the ideological values of the public sector to include:

> […] the very special relationship we have with the citizens of Nova Scotia and are committed to developing and delivering services that are in the public's interest, are for the public good, and to be a professional public service that is deserving of the public's trust. (Province of Nova Scotia, n.d.)

Therefore, Nova Scotia's provincial public policy is implemented through textually-mediated programs designed to align the public policy on the arts with the institutional discourse's ideological values: contributing to the public good. It is important to understand that while the meaning of public good may vary in everyday use, its significance in the state context is determinate and stabilized. The state is in a governing role by providing support, which aligns with the public good mandate.

In this governing role, provincial bodies manage the public purse.[47] The administration of public funding controls for program compliance through textually-mediated applications, monitoring, adjudication processes,[48] and reporting procedures. Associated policy documents prescribed expectations, rules, and intended outcomes for participation in public programs, including funding. The texts create translocal processes that consistently coordinate theatre companies/applicants' participation across time and geographic location. Theatre professionals access these policy texts when applying for public funding or taking part in the associated public programs. The application and related administrative documents stabilize and support the proposed theatre projects to be adjudicated from the texts alone. Activities that the governing discourse recognizes as contributing to the public good are then authorized for inclusion within the institutional relationship.

While the realm of public support connects Nova Scotia's provincial government to the professional theatre sector, it also moulds the institutional relationship into a hierarchal structure. Figure 13 maps the institutional process of administering public funding from the provincial government to the professional theatre sector. By positioning the provincial government and professional theatre sector's activities in relation to one another, the map visually illustrates the relationship's hierarchical structure. Ideologically interested in the public good, the province administers granting and award programs to the professional theatre sector. Theatre professionals apply to the associated program, hoping

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[47] Public purse refers to the government funds secured through taxes, program fees, and other means, which are then used to finance government sector activities, including public support.
[48] Depending on the funding program and granting body, adjudication may occur by a staffed program officer or jury of professional peers.

to receive said support. Entrance into these funding programs is subject to applicants'

successful alignment with the governing processes. These processes present as invisible

codes of conduct (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 31). They prescribe what actions and

interactions are accepted within the realm of public policy.

Figure 13
Process of administering public funding
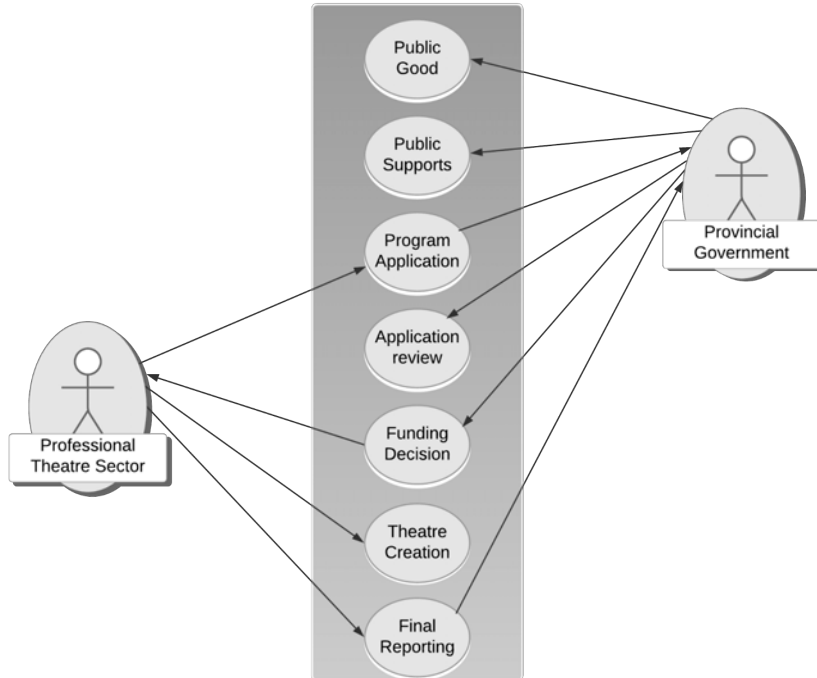
Provincial funding applicants engaged in the same process regardless of time or

location. Textual engagement included any degree of interaction: direct, indirect,

conscious, or not. These governing rules for engagement are reinforced and made routine

through everyday practices. For example, the Nova Scotia Department of Communities,

Culture and Heritage's vision statement began: "A Province which enhances pride in our

creative and diverse communities and people…." (Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and

Heritage, 2015). The design and administration of departmental programs are

institutionally expected to support this vision. Similarly, theatre professionals' use of

program applications and guidelines are further examples of policy text being activated.

While intended for cohesive accountability structures, these institutional exchanges exposed an inherently coercive nature governing the intuitional relationship. These policy texts prescribe expectations for engaging in the relationship. Theatre professionals shaped their actions to these governing codes to gain entrance to the institutional relationship and access the associated public support. This financial dependence positioned the professional theatre sector in a subsidiary role: their work depended on and was therefore coordinated by provincial policy. Theatre professionals mould their work to fit within, and therein satisfy, institutional constructs. The ideological processes involved then influenced the forms of thinking and working within the professional theatre sector. However, presenting the work to meet institutional expectations means only those portions of the theatre professionals' lived experience aligned to the governing discourse are included and recognized in applications (and, therefore, funding requests). What experiences are overlooked or underrepresented, and what is the impact of their omission on theatre professionals' work?

7.2 Linear and Circular Experiences

Though theatre professionals navigate the public funding process as overseen by the governing roles, there is a disjuncture between how the artists' standpoint experiences this process and how it is ideologically understood to be administered.

As an institution, the provincial government maintains formal, text-based processes that construct codes of conduct for its programs. Members of tthe professional theatre sector access public support through these administrative practises, funding their theatre projects and operations. Theatre professionals navigate such text-based processes as granting programs and awards to the professional arts sector, administered by those in the

governing roles. Public support processes do not begin in the artists' standpoint; they begin, as has been discussed, in policy embedded in an ideological notion of the experience. It is not surprising then that these public support processes align theatre professionals/companies/projects with the specific administrative application of the public good. It is assumed that this incorporates the interest of the qualified theatre community. However, the data reveals a disjuncture between artists' experience and the organization and implementation of the public programs for the arts. Moreover, this disjuncture shapes theatre professionals lived experiences.

The way the artists' standpoint experiences the public funding process and how the governing discourse administers it are not the same - chart these two models, respectively.[49] The artist's standpoint experiences its relationship with the provincial government as a cycle for funding support. However, governing roles administer the funding process in a linear model with a distinct beginning and end. Within this distinction between the models, the overall public funding process is divided into four phases. These phases are present in the funding model as approached both from the artist's standpoint and the governing relations:

1. *Enter* – The theatre professional applies for public support to fund their work.

2. *Authorize* – The application is reviewed and scored.

3. *Validate* – Funding is approved.

4. *Summarize* – The theatre professional sends a final report to the granting body, and the program officer closes the associated client file.

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[49] Appendix G includes additional maps with greater detail on the text-action-text elements.

Figure 14
Nova Scotia's public funding cycle as experienced from the artist's standpoint
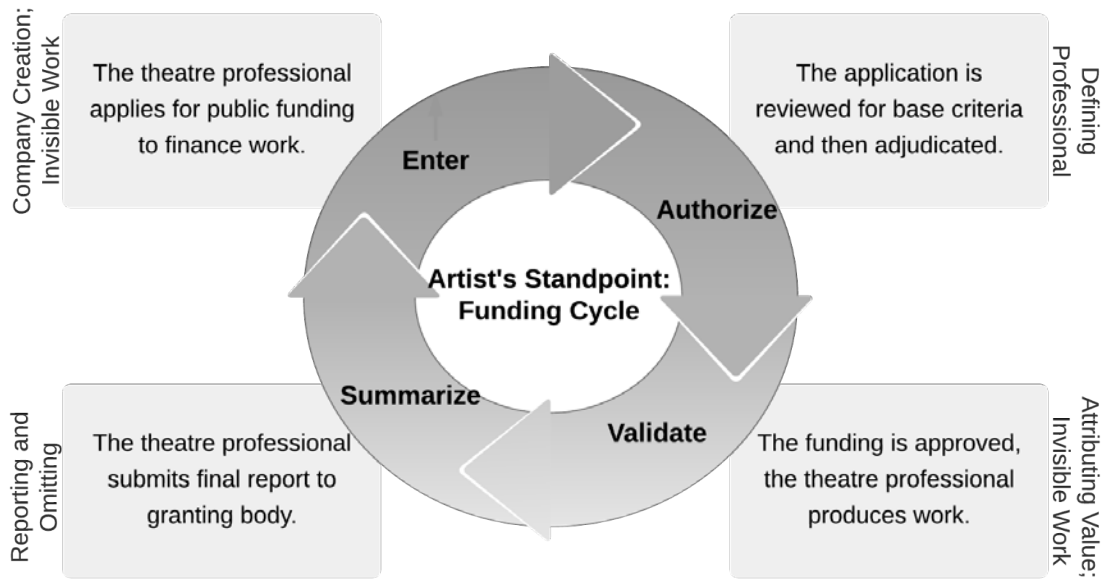
Figure 15
Nova Scotia's public funding cycle as experienced from the governing relations
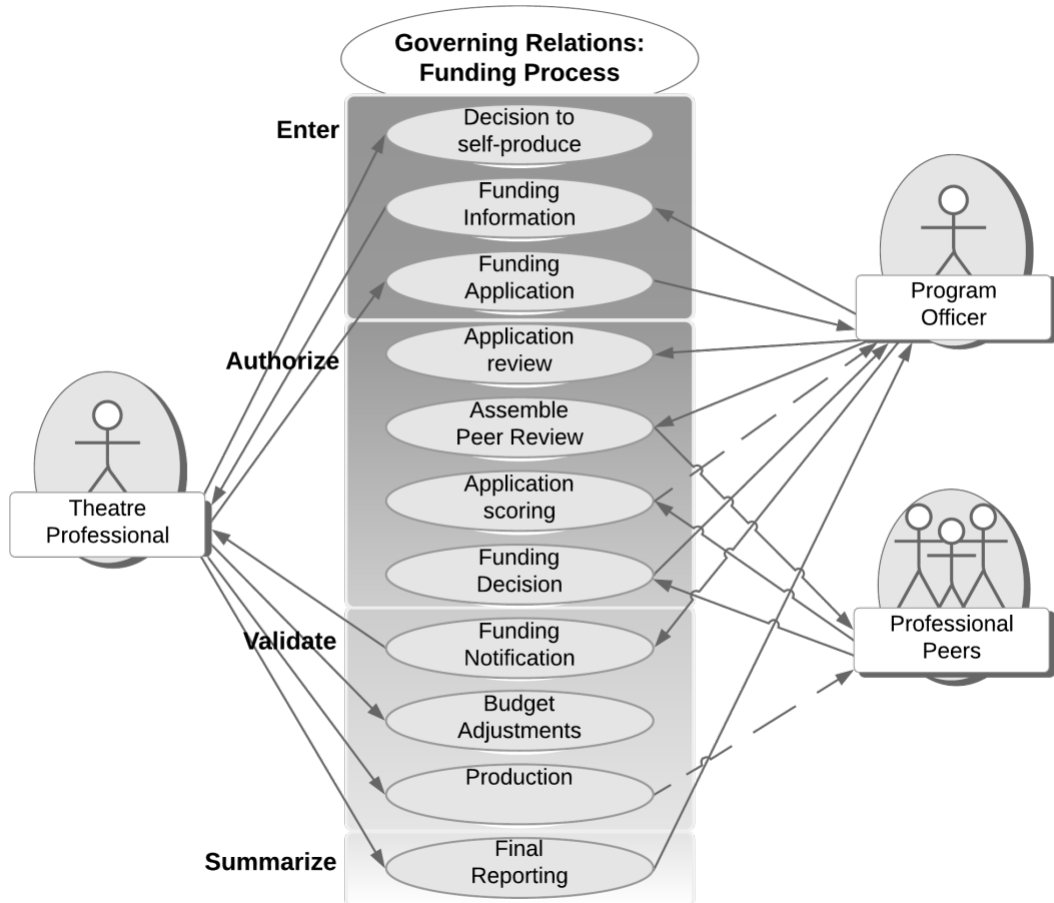
Theatre professionals understood their relationship with public funding as a cycle. The artist's standpoint's circular process shaped their experiential ways of knowing. Theatre professionals needed to navigate and complete all the textually-mediated public funding processes. These include completing a full funding application (enter), submitting the application before the deadline and waiting for the peer review decision (authorize), receive notice of the funding decision and return a letter accepting the grant (validate) before producing the theatre piece. Following a production, the theatre professional needs to give a final report on that project (summarize). At this time, the theatre professional would also apply for funding for their next piece, re-activating the funding cycle (enter). Unsuccessful funding applications also experience these steps; however, they do not enter the validation or summarization phases.

Reactivating the funding cycle distinguishes the experience of the artists' standpoint from that of the governing discourse. A theatre professional can be engaging in any number of funding streams at one time. Moreover, the decision of funding applications is influenced by previous grant receipts and awards recognition. Theatre professionals are reactivating the funding cycle indefinitely.

Theatre professionals are engaged in ongoing administrative paperwork of grant writing and submission, in contrast to (yet to support) their live theatre practice. For each grant to which they applied, theatre professionals need to complete all required paperwork and supply support materials comprehensively. Then they need to supply final reports post-project for all publicly funded work. Each action within the funding process has an associated mediating text that individuals need to satisfy.

However, these institutional activities serve a governing purpose. Policy is

concrete. As a translocal text, public policy is intended to keep unbiased and transparent decision-making on behalf of the state. Policy texts institutionally organize relations around public funding to be standardized and replicable across applicants and funding decisions. Every project receiving public support is expected to have gone through the same processes institutionally confirming its ability to contribute to the public good, therein authorizing the funding.

While the artists' standpoint experiences the funding model as a cycle, the governing discourse organizes public funding administration through a linear process. Policy texts communicate institutional interests. These texts shape participation within the relationship through translocal rules for engagement. The texts include eligibility guidelines, application forms, requested support materials, and reporting templates. Funding submissions from all applicants have the same base materials, allowing the work to be systematically compared to the governing interest and other proposals. The texts uphold translocal processes for public decision-making, intending to be fair and replicable across geographic location and time. While a text-heavy process from the artists' standpoint, the text standardizes public funding administration to encourage unbiased, fair, and equitable adjudication.

The governing focus shaping the public funding framework is on the application itself and not the applicant. This focus is also on contrast to the lived experience of the artists' standpoint. Funding program guidelines include eligibility criteria and are accompanied by standardized application forms, materials available to theatre professionals through the granting body's website. Those in governing roles use the information supplied to categorize, track, and report on project outcomes. Notably, only

the content included in the application and the associated reports is reviewed during funding and program decisions.

The governing roles fund activities through the provincial budget. Therefore, they are accountable to the public for transparent and fiscally sound spending. For example, guidelines around funding program activities include maximum potential funding amounts. Arts Nova Scotia's Grants to Organizations and Small Groups Program, one of the first provincial public funding programs accessed by theatre professionals, hold a funding cap of 50% of total project costs up to $15,000 (Arts Nova Scotia, 2014b, 2014c, 2014d). This funding limitation enforces an accountability measure. The state is not fully subsidizing the theatre work through taxpayers' dollars. Funding recipients also need to secure funding through other avenues. As a response, theatre professionals often apply to multiple funding sources to ensure enough funding. These other sources can include municipal, provincial, national, and corporate funders.[50]

The text-based governing focus of the application process triggers tensions for theatre professionals when writing grant applications. In the following narrative, Amy recounts an early experience meeting with a program officer following her company's unsuccessful funding application:

> And when we met to get the feedback, they gave us some amount of what we had
> asked for, and it was very disheartening. I went to meet with the program officer,
> and he is reading through, "Well, it says here, you know, a piece of what? You have
> to be more specific." And I said, "Well, we're a theatre company, so you would

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[50] Each additional funder represented another governing role with which the theatre professionals would need to align their work institutionally. This tailoring also included unpaid administrative work to complete the funding application(s) appropriately, as is discussed under the section "Invisible Work."

understand we're referring to a piece of theatre." He said, "No, you cannot assume anything." And it was this kind of, you know, "What? Well, what do you want?" And so that was the very first issue, and it didn't really change from there. It was very bureaucratic. (Amy, personal communications, 3 June 2015)

Amy's experience reinforces the belief of an overly bureaucratic process. Amy found the process to include an excess of rigid paperwork and did not allow for any subjectivity. However, these texts are designed to avoid subjectivity. In practice, after a funding application deadline has passed, a government program officer reviews those applications sent for base eligibility and that all required content is included. All program applicants are to follow the same textually-mediated submission process for consideration. This process is prescribed through program guidelines and supported through the application templates. It requires applicants to supply comparable base materials for adjudication. Further, the program officer and peer jury considered only the application's content during the funding process.

The text-focused governing lens then continues into application scoring. After the program officer reviews all submissions, they then arrange for a peer review panel to meet, score the proposals, and decide on funding allocations.[51] Program officers provide the peer juries with binders filled with the submitted application materials. These assessment panels are professional peers to the applicants and would have sector knowledge outside the applications. Nonetheless, the assessment panel scores each application based only on the applicant's text as included in the application documents and in response to the granting

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[51] This analysis assumes the funding program is administered from Arts Nova Scotia, where a peer jury is used for funding decisions. For programs administered through the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage: Culture Division, the program officer reviews and scores the applications internally.

guidelines. The focus for this process is on the application itself, as a standard piece of text coordinating the submission materials and supporting the accountability of the decision process.

This distinction between the applicant and application is critical to this analysis and the artists' standpoint. The program officer and the assessment panel scored only the applications' content, not the individual nor theatre company. Should any content be missed from the application, the governing discourse had no method to recognize that material. Amy's experience reflected this. After scoring, the program officer listed the applications from highest to lowest score and funding is distributed.

However, not all qualifying applicants are funding recipients. Instead, the peer review panel draws a red line across the page when the available funding reached $0. This line is a textual tool, authorizing those above it to receive public funding while those below the line do not. Therefore, it is in theatre professionals' financial interest to adopt the governing discourse. Theatre professionals need to be clear and direct in their applications, showing their alignment with the program criteria to score above the red line. These criteria stand for ideological practices, and the associated policy text communicate codes of conduct for engaging in the institutional relationship. Theatre professionals reflexively tailor their activities to these codes to access public support.

A funding application may be awarded receive the full funding request, an amount less than the original ask or be rejected for funding.[52] Following the peer review, program officers notify applicants of funding decisions through a formal letter. A funding

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[52] As theatre professionals often seek funding from public and private funders, if the province's funding offer is less than expected or other support sources are unsuccessful, theatre professionals have to re-evaluate their budget and the project's potential for success before accepting the funding.

acceptance form is sent with the funding letter for those applicants authorized to receive a public grant. This package is an offer of agreement between the funding body and the recipient. It marks a formal invitation by the governing roles to the theatre professional to engage in the institutional relationship, stipulating the level of funding and implying an expectation to uphold the governing interests mandated within the program description. The theatre professional accepts both the agreement's grant and associated terms by completing and returning the form.

For unsuccessful applications, the governing body sends a written letter to the applicant, saying the file number and the submission's unsuccessful status. From the artist's standpoint, the receipt of these non-acceptance letters is devaluing to them and reinforcing the dehumanizing quality of the funding process.

Assuming funding receipt, the fourth phase of the funding processes is reporting on the theatre project. After completing the funded work, theatre professionals must give a final report to their granting program officer. For the governing body, receipt of the final report signifies the conclusion of the linear funding process. This conclusion includes the program officer reviewing the report and pulling details needed for their departmental reporting. They then disperse any outstanding grant sums, therein closing the associated project file. Future applications from that theatre professional or company receive new file numbers associated with the next funding streams to which they are applying.

While most of the grant is available in advance of the work, the final report submission authorizes the program officer to release the remaining grant funds. Additionally, all paperwork between the government and the funded company needs to be up to date to qualify for future funding. Theatre professionals interviewed often referred to

the provincial funding policies as highly bureaucratic, such as in Amy's early narrative. Meredith, another theatre professional, had a similar perspective. She said:

> So, you know, then there's the huge bureaucracy about like "where that money went, where that money went." Then it's like, well, you know, the play got done. (laughing) The proof is in the pudding when it comes to art. Because if we make something that is publicly available and viewed - Now if we had spent $75 000 on a show, damn right, we should know and respond to "where did you spend that much?" So, you know. It's- it's a- It's becoming more bureaucratic. And there's a lot of goodwill within the funding agencies, but they do see things from their point of view. They are administrators. So, they create more paradigms for administrators. (Meredith, personal communications, 3 June 2015)

Like Amy, Meredith described her experience around the final reports associated with public funding as bureaucratic. She found that she had to prove where and how she spent the budget. Meredith's comment, "the proof is in the pudding when it comes to art," refers to the administrative processes used to account for public spending, such as final reporting, which do not accurately reflect theatre sector work processes. Where and how money is spent does not necessarily determine a project's success, only that the project occurred. Further, final reports happened when the production had closed, and the theatre professional is already mentally engaged in their next project. Therefore, from the artists' standpoint, these reports do not reflect their work and distract from their next project. However, as public support is needed to fund their work activities, theatre professionals completed the reports.

Moving through this funding cycle contributed to the ways of knowing from the

artist's standpoint. Texts for provincial funding programs communicated predefined rules which controlled participation in the institutional relationship. To receive initial public support, theatre professionals had to show their work aligned with the governing discourse. Future public support is also contingent on the theatre professional's ability to show their ongoing alignment with the governing discourse. In both instances, this included fulfilling the processes and actions as instructed under the policy text.

The act of engaging with the policy text instilled power within them. Policies repetitive activation normalized their governing coordination over theatre professionals' work as regular everyday events. They organized when and how certain activities could be engaged by the theatre sector and, in turn, how theatre professionals institutionally understood those activities. The offer of public funding is an authorizing text inviting the theatre professional into an institutional relationship with the provincial government. Those who successfully show their theatre work to align with the governing processes are metaphorically invited into the institutional relationship and authorized to receive the associated public support.

For theatre professionals, receipt of this support is significant in shaping their lived narratives. The funding authorizes the work to go forward and for the research participant to "make theatre." However, the event of receiving public support is experientially understood as more than a dollar amount. This lived understanding can be recognized in Janice's earlier narrative in which she cited a sense of empowerment from a successful funding application. Such experiences are validating from the artists' standpoint. They institutionally prescribed the work as having artistic merit. This recognition of artistic merit contributed to the professional standing of the recipient, as further empowerment. Receipt

of provincial support raised one's reputation as a professional artist under Nova Scotia's Status of the Artist Act. It is recognized as an award, pay for work, and peer recognition (Status of the Artist Act, 2012). Through these layers, receiving public support is validating to the artist's standpoint and their craft.

7.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented an empirical analysis of the administrative processes employed in provincial public support to the arts. Theatre professionals are economically dependent on public support to sustain their work. This dependence unconsciously coerces them into an institutional relationship with the Provincial Government. This relationship has rules for engaging, which are upheld through policy processes. These processes support the relationship's hierarchical structure, where the governing bodies administer public programs to those in subsidiary roles.

The administration of public support is framed in a textually-mediated linear model emphasizing the application content and policy mandate. However, the artists' standpoint experiences this funding model as a cycle. Their economic dependence on public support means theatre professionals are continually engaging with the policy framework to access funding. Moreover, this reoccurring interaction shapes how theatre professionals know their work, and it normalizes that shaping.

Receiving public support attributes institutional value to theatre professionals' work. The public funding validates the time and energy the theatre professional has invested in the work, both in application content and the project itself. This value is recognized by the funding allocation, which supports the project to suggest that it may produce an associated socio-economic contribution to the region. This understanding of

value is then internalized from the artists' standpoint and attributed to how they understand their work and their act of working. This distinction is important. Institutional value is placed on both the work as an outcome and the work as a process. This is the lived experience from the artists' standpoint. A theatre professional's work is then institutionally endorsed with added value with each successful funding application and public award.

In contrast, work that is not funded is not granted institutional value. With each unsuccessful funding cycle, the artists' standpoint experientially understands their work as diminished in value. It does not qualify for funding and is instead further removed from the institutional processes. Therefore, public funding decisions shape how theatre professionals understand their work, giving or taking understood worth, economically and socially, from the activity.

This study's findings thus far have positioned the artists' standpoint as one motivated to make theatre. From this standpoint, they enter a relationship with the Provincial Government to secure public support to fund their work. The government administers this public support through a linear model. However, theatre professionals' experience is cyclical. They are dependent on public funding and therefore engaged in an ongoing relationship with those administering the resource. In this cycle, the receipt or non-receipt of grants shapes how theatre professionals understand their work's value. Each repetition of the cycle reaffirms the policy texts, normalizes the institutional processes, and reinforces the associated experiential ways of knowing. This finding directs the research attention to these ways of knowing: What are they? What are their implications on professional theatre sector work? These questions are answered in the following chapter.

Chapter 8 How Policy Shapes Ways of Knowing

In this chapter, the discussion moves from an analysis of empirical processes documented in text-based activities to consider the implications of the tensions created by these institutional processes for the professional theatre sector. The artists' standpoint is to make theatre. From this standpoint, the economic imperatives of theatre mean theatre professionals seek public support for theatre production and, in doing so, enter an institutional relationship with the provincial government. There are points of tension between the governing ideology of this public funding and how theatre professionals experience the process. The previous chapters have established these tensions. Nonetheless, theatre professionals work within, and by necessity, shape their work to 'fit' within, the governing discourse.

From the standpoint of artists, the relationship between Nova Scotia's professional arts sector and the provincial government, though designed to be objective and replicable through policy texts, is, in fact, inconsistent between intention and experience. This is defined through the previous chapters, exposing the disjuncture between the ideology of public support held by the governing standpoint and the experiential way of knowing from the artists' standpoint. This disjuncture is further apparent in an insufficiency of language prevalent in theatre professional's experiences. Theatre professionals do not have a vocabulary to describe their work fully or accurately within the governing discourse. The governing discourse is still non-inclusive of the everyday social of the artists' standpoint.

This omission of theatre professionals' lived experience is not a result of malice or conscious activity. Instead, it is a blind spot associated with the act of governing within an institutional framework and expressed in an insufficiency of language that contributes

consequences on theatre professionals' lived experiences activating and working within the institutional framework of provincial public support. Nonetheless, it exists, with consequences on theatre professionals' work. The governing discourse idealizes recognizable operating structures while penalizing investment in administrative skills. It focuses on empirically organizing theatre work to fit within the institution's governing mandate, leaving the theatre professionals' lived experience outside of the conversation.

This chapter discusses how this language deficit contributes to shaping and maintaining consequences on theatre professionals' work, including the prevalence of theatre companies sustained through under-compensated and undervalued administrative work and the challenge in accurately describing the public good associated with theatre work.

The desire to "make theatre" introduces theatre professionals to public policy and the institutional relationship with the provincial government. Making theatre is the motivation of the artists' standpoint. However, this concept of "making" is convoluted with ideological ways of knowing as theatre professionals progress within the institutional relationship. Governing expectations frame these ways of knowing, where theatre professionals tailor their work to fit within the textually-mediated processes. This tailoring is intended to enter the institutional relationship and access the associated public support. This tailoring is also an unconscious act. Moreover, because it shapes the theatre professional's work outside of the governing discourse, the institutional structures do not include means to recognize the associated consequences. These consequences include early theatre company creation with limited administrative knowledge, a prevalence of invisible work to sustain theatre activity, and the incomplete reporting of theatre sector activities.

8.1 Insufficiency of Language

The use of language, or lack thereof, suggests ways of knowing from the artist's standpoint. During data collection and analysis, it became apparent that the institutional relationship between Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and provincial government suffered from an insufficiency of language. The insufficiency of language is prevalent in how the artist's standpoint experienced the public support models, where they were experiencing an ongoing challenge when defining their work.

This insufficiency first appeared in Janice, Anton, Glenn, and Steve's narratives when describing their work. How the artists' standpoint understands their work is shaped by the institutional language available to them. This language reflects the discourse in which it is used. It communicates ideological ways of knowing; loading words, syntax, and delivery with meaning (Diamond, 1995, 2006; Foucault, 1982; Foucault & Nazzaro, 1972; Griffith & Smith, 2014; D. Smith, 2002). For example, actions and events are given titles to distinguish between them. These headings are loaded with institutional meaning and value. Labels such as "actor," "artistic producer," and "board" have different meanings. Each has a distinct definition and associated role, attributing to the ideological way of knowing and doing the work. An actor embodies a character and performs on the stage. An artistic producer is responsible for managing the creative and financial aspects of the company. They report upward to their board of directors, who holds financial liability for the theatre company's activities. While having distinct functions, theatre professionals engage in any one or multiple of these roles at a time. However, the governing discourse does not include language to reflect the complexity of this everyday work accurately. The ideological and experiential ways of knowing within the institutional relationship do not

match.

This insufficiency of language is shown rom the point of entry into the institutional relationship. Across the narratives, theatre professionals want to "make theatre." However, policy texts maintain the governing focus on supporting the public good. For example, to access funding applications, theatre professionals visit the Arts Nova Scotia website. According to the agency's website, "Arts Nova Scotia is the provincial funding agency that provides support to professional artist and arts organizations, arts education programs and a number of arts awards and prizes" (Arts Nova Scotia, n.d.). The website also includes the text: "Arts Nova Scotia champions the fundamental role of the arts" (Arts Nova Scotia, n.d.). These are outcome-oriented statements that illustrate the governing discourse's emphasis on the arts' role in contributing to the public good. Indeed, the government can only invest in activities institutionally understood to be in the public good. Therefore, it is understandable that the governing text mandates this interest. However, this focus omits the lived experience from the artist's standpoint. While theatre professionals access public policy text to "make theatre," they do not have associated language to describe what that means from their standpoint within the institutional context of the government-theatre sector relationship.

Policy texts also institutionalize the relationship as a formal process of exchange. However, the insufficiency of language continues to characterize the relationship between Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and the provincial government. For example, when theatre professionals send their application, the program officer opens a corresponding numbered file that identifies the program funding stream and the associated project proposal. All communications regarding the funding program and associated

submissions are coordinated through this application file numbers. The number is an authorizing text, indicating the application is accepted into the institutional policy process. However, this ideological focus is text-based. Emphasis is on the application and not the applicant.

While this text-based focus is intended to standardize the process and remove any subjectivity, it dehumanizes the process and the applicants. Applicants become ideologically framed as numbered client files associated with the funding program. The lived everyday experience of the artists' standpoint is removed from the governing discourse. Instead, the application is reviewed for its suitability to the funding program and not the applicant. However, theatre professionals' work and everyday experience are at the forefront of the artists' standpoint. These experiences frame their way of knowing. From the artists' standpoint, funding receipt, or the lack thereof, denotes artistic merit and associated institutional value.

8.2 Company Creation

The institutional value which emphasizes forming a theatre company occurs early within the artists' standpoint. In the following narrative, Janice describes her introduction into self-producing theatre and the eventual creation of her company:

We were having such a good time on this one show, and we said, "When are the opportunities going to come up for the three of us to be on stage together again? It's not ever going to happen. This is such an anomaly. We should do something about that. We should do a piece together. We should find a play to do." And she said, "I have this play. I was adjudicating at a theatre festival, I saw a play, and I kept the play. It wasn't a good production, but I thought it was an interesting play.

It's about three sisters," and I was getting all excited as an actress, going, "Oh yeah, yeah!" Then she said, "We could bring in this other woman, and you could direct it." And I went, "Oh? - Oh! I'm a director - oh, okay." So, the second piece I directed was a co-op production. And we really got along well and worked well together, so at that point, we decided to create a company and incorporated in March of the next year. (Janice, personal communication, 1 June 2015)

In Janice's experience, she describes the motivating drive she and her colleagues experience when working together. They want the opportunity to work together again. Interviewee narratives repeat this quality of opportunity-seeking. It appears as a critical point in situating the social organization of knowing from the artists' standpoint as differing from the governing discourse. For Janice, this opportunity-seeking drives her career development from actor to director and then to co-producer of a theatre company. Even so, she did not set out initially to run a company.

In her interview, Janice goes on to describe her first experiences producing theatre contrasted by her current knowledge:

When I had to wait for the phone to ring was the time, I would pace up and down the room, saying, "Why am I an actor? Why am I doing this? Why do I put myself through this? I got to leave this business."

But as soon as I became a producer when I didn't have work, I could create work for myself. It was unpaid work most of the time, but I was still operating as a creative human being.

We started out as a co-op. And then we needed a board. So, our significant others helped us form a board. Luckily, one person's husband was a lawyer, so he

helped through a lot of things like registering the company, Joint Stocks registry.

All that kind of thing. We went to Theatre Nova Scotia and talked to the Executive

Director at that time. And he had a theatre company himself, which was kind of in

a hiatus and has been ever since, but they had bylaws set up. He gave us a copy of

his bylaws - his theatre company's bylaws - so we could look those over and create

our own bylaws. We had a lot of help in that way. So, people through our

connections really helped us to do the formalities of forming the company and

registering it. Then we started applying for grants. (Janice, personal

communication, 1 June 2015)

While the subject of Janice's narrative is self-producing and company creation, she focuses

on applying for funding following company registration. Her description of registering

with Nova Scotia's Registry of Joint Stocks, including enlisting spouses as members for

the board of directors and accessing existing by-laws as a societal template, situates the

process of creating a company as one of utility over conscious design. It is a consequence

of policy coordination.

Janice also recalls her experience registering her company with Joint Stocks,

reflecting on how she initially understood the process. What she describes are textually-

mediated steps to enter a formal institution relationship with the public sector. By

incorporating, registering, and running companies under Nova Scotia's provincial policy,

theatre professionals enter into a legal agreement with the province. Within the domain of

public policy, such administrative processes are in place to ensure accountability. It is in

the public good to know and track what companies (within any industry) are operating

within the province. Accounting for this interest is increasingly relevant when

organizations receive public funding, as is the intent within non-profit theatre companies. Janice centralizes her experience of forming a theatre company around associated funding and work opportunities. She recognizes formal steps in establishing a company, such as securing board members and creating formal bylaws. In turn, she readily enacts those policy procedures to register her theatre company.

The emphasis on formally registering as a non-profit company to access public support is a consequence of public policy. As established, Nova Scotia's arts policy framework exists as a collective discourse shaping sector activities. Funding program applicants must show their eligibility for the program by satisfying specific criteria. These qualifying factors differ depending on the funding program to which applicants are applying. For example, ad-hoc groups can apply for entry-level project funding but do not qualify for operating support. However, provincial policy appears within the data as placing an institutional value on recognizing operating structures and processes that may be efficiently recorded and catalogued under the governing discourse. This preference contributes to the frequent creation of theatre companies.

The Arts Nova Scotia funding programs, *Grants to Individuals* and *Grants to Organizations and Small Groups,* are colloquially referred to as project grants. Across these two granting programs is a policy interest to develop skills and knowledge of the professional arts sector (Arts Nova Scotia, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2014d). The primary difference is while Grants to Individuals is available to professional artists, applicants to the Grants to Small Organizations and Groups program are must be a registered non-profit organization or ad-hoc group of three or more people. Within both programs, funding streams include creation and commissioning grants, production or presentation grants, and

professional development grants. Both the production and presentation categories are included in the Grants to Small Organizations and Groups program, while the Grants to Individuals program only consists of a presentation stream. Due to this program availability, project grants under Grants to Small Organizations and Groups are often the entry point in funding programs accessed by theatre professionals initially looking to produce their work.

The action of applying for funding is then a textually-mediated one, loaded with institutional processes and understanding. These texts authorize certain behaviours as preferred over others for cross-sector relationship engagement, including a governing value on formal non-profit company registration. Project grant funding is available to "non-profit societies or non-profit cooperatives registered with the Nova Scotia Registry of Joint Stock Companies, or ad-hoc groups of professional artists" to help with associated eligible costs to a maximum of $15,000 (Arts Nova Scotia, 2014a). However, the systematic value contributing to the understanding cited by Janice, Norm, Glenn, Anton, and Steve of needing to "form a theatre company" is embedded in the policy design and language. The artists' standpoint experiences a hierarchal sequencing and institutional directive to incorporate theatre companies early in their careers.

While Arts Nova Scotia's project grant funding program provides one-time project-based funding, the Operating Grants to Arts Organizations provides annual funding support. This later program is mandated to "enhance stability within established professional arts organizations" (Arts Nova Scotia, n.d.). This funding stream offers financial overhead for regular day-to-day operations of running a theatre company to compliment production programming.

Like project grants, operating grants have a series of eligibility criteria applicant companies have to achieve. These operating funding criteria include having employed paid administrative staff, annual financial statements reviewed by an independent accountant, been in operation for a minimum of four years before applying, and previously secured a minimum of three project grants from public funding bodies (municipal, provincial, or federal). The guidelines also name eligible organizations as being:

- mandated to create, produce, and/or present the work of professional artists,

- engage a board of directors,

- have been registered as a not-for-profit society for a minimum of two years with either the Nova Scotia Provincial Registry of Joint Stock Companies or with Corporations Canada under the Corporations Act (Arts Nova Scotia, 2014b, 2014d).

Only in achieving these qualifying markers can a company be eligible for operating funds from the province. The institutional reasoning goes back to the public sector's interest in fair, equitable, transparent, and replicable policy decisions. However, based on the other requirements, while companies must work at least four years, at least two of those years must be as legal business recognized by the province's authorizing agency, Nova Scotia Registry of Joint Stocks.

Understandably, operating financing is of high value to the professional theater sector; it holds poignant institutional significance. Such public assistance can provide organizational stability. That means the company produces quality work of high artistic merit. Furthermore, in doing this work, the funding recipient aligns the work to institutional interests and supports the public good. The funding empowers the company as having

institutional value. Their work has been validated.

However, to receive operational funding, applicants must meet more criteria over the project level funding. Nora, an arts administrator and consultant, said, "the funding mechanism taught everyone to get a company." One area of value for such a higher-level public support occurs when a group is registered as a formal company. As funding recipients, the financial award indicates the recipient has assumed and fulfilled the governing discourse's expectations and is thus authorized to participate in institutional relation. Granting criteria such as formal operating years and project grants ensure this alignment to the governing discourse. Thus, as the theatre sector takes up the institutional discourse, value is instilled in registering companies and applying for funding.

Theatre professionals recognize that they can create their own theater company with the support of colleagues. An online search for how to create a Nova Scotia company directs individuals to the province's Registry of Joint Stock Companies. There, theater professionals find descriptions of different business structures and step-by-step guidelines for registering a business. Non-profit societies are the typical business structure for professional theatre companies in the province. The Registry of Joint Stock Companies identifies societies as entities which promoted "benevolent, philanthropic, patriotic, religious, charitable, artistic, literary, educational, social, professional, recreational, sporting or any other useful goals" (Registry of Joint Stock Companies: Service Nova Scotia, 2019, p. 1). This website also has a fillable template for society by-laws, as included in Appendix I. Theatre professionals access this form, complete the required sections, and list the names of the proposed society's board of directors with accompanying signatures. They then send this request to the Registry of Joint Stock Companies with an associated

fee payment to be reviewed for approval.

These steps in business creation are more than tasks. They are textually-mediated actions setting the framework for the institutional relationship. The documents available through the Registry outline the theatre company's future operations. These documents define acceptable practices for engaging with the provincial government and within the institutional relationship. These texts and the associated text-action-text sequence of completing them are formal agreements showing the theatre professional would subscribe to this guiding discourse, be it consciously or not.

By registering their business with the Registry of Joint Stock Companies, theatre professionals can apply for public funding and produce theatre. Ideologically, public policy labels the theatre society's work as contributing to the public good. However, under this guise of accessing public support, theatre professionals engage in a formal institutional agreement with associated rules and expectations embedded in further authorizing texts. The theatre professional's desire to *make theatre* is then loaded with institutional meaning, expectations, and processes.

Fundamentally, the policy intention of registering a business through Joint Stocks and theatre professionals' motivation are disconnected. Theatre professionals look to make theatre while the state is working within the public good. This juxtaposition of artistic versus administrative interests is a defining characteristic of the institutional relationship and the research problematic. A theatre company's adoption of formal non-profit business structures coordinates their overall operations to align with governing structures through by-laws and financial reporting. These coordinating texts are an accountability measure for the provincial government. Time-sensitive criteria within the operating funding stream are

additional accountability controls. Theatre companies need to have secured a minimum of three project grants and have been in general operation for a minimum of four years. Achieving these baselines is institutionally understood as indicating organizational stability and controlled for frugality in fiscal management.

However, while these criteria are designed to control policy decisions, they encourage theatre groups to register as non-profit societies early in their careers, when still new and only beginning to apply for project funding. However, the sooner these criteria can be satisfied; then the sooner theatre professionals can apply for operating funding. Delaying registering as a theatre society means the theatre groups cannot meet the operating grant eligibility criteria as early.

The artists' standpoint recognizes this process of registering a non-profit society as an administrative and bureaucratic hurdle. Below, a theatre executive administrator, Nora, describes how she experienced the work and associated provincial government relations:

> You need money. You have to start a company. You have to get a board. You have to do this - and then you can make a grant application. Our funding structure problem is to start an organization. You know, make it a non-profit structure. Get a board of directors. (Nora, personal communication, 23 July 2015)

She spoke about the "thrill" when receiving public funding for the first time. The possibility of such financing empowered the work of self-producing and therein the work of the theatre professional. However, Janice contrasted this sense of empowerment by noting her work is "unpaid work most of the time" and "the bloom [of producing] is off the rose now." This comment is a reminder that neither receipt of public support nor the amount of said support is guaranteed.

Moreover, in response to the lived experience of limited external opportunities for work, the artists' standpoint inferred value in self-producing to remain engaged in their creative work. Nowhere in her experience did Janice speak to the long-term commitment to running a formal business. Instead, the work of incorporating a non-profit society is an adaptive solution to be recognized under the provincial policy framework and secure public funding to make theatre. When seeking public support, the institutional processes emphasized company creation. The inferred value is transferred from self-producing to having a theatre company to facilitate the self-producing. However, the experiential motivation from the artists' standpoint remained as to make theatre.

While initially experienced as a solution that allows theatre professionals to work, the activity of running a non-profit theatre society is tangled with institutional meaning. For Janice, she "got along well" with her friends and wanted to keep producing theatre together. Therefore, she accessed and completed the associated forms available through the Nova Scotia Registry of Joint Stocks website. Completing these forms is an example of necessary invisible work, not considered within the governing discourse yet essential to engaging in the institutional relationship.

Following submission and successful review, the Registry of Joint Stocks issued Janice's company a business number. At that moment, she had a legally recognized non-profit theatre society. From the artists' standpoint, such registration is a sequence of activities that secured non-profit status for public funding opportunities. In contrast, policy organizes these activities into a textually-mediated agreement by creating a legal entity. By incorporating, the theatre professional is entering a formal relationship with the provincial government. By association, this relationship has formal and informal codes of conduct, of

which the theatre professional is expected to subscribe. As a legal corporation, the applicant engages under such codes of conduct as regular governance reporting, sound fiscal management, and continued operation long-term.

Further, the associated non-profit status institutionally recognizes the resulting work as contributing a public good, returning to and reflecting the ideological discourse. The business number is then an identifying text which authorized engagement in the associated work under the governing discourse. The interest in company structure from the artists' standpoint concludes at incorporating, as authorizing funding applications. However, the act of incorporation is a legal, contractual agreement for engaging within the governing discourse of public policy.

Incorporating a theatre company as a registered non-profit society has broader implications and associated responsibilities than securing public funding. It is not a bureaucratic process but an activity with authorizing texts as rules of operation. As Janice described in her experience, registering a non-profit society is a formal process through the Nova Scotia Registry of Joint Stock Companies. This formality of registering is a normal process across most businesses working within the province and required by law (Province of Nova Scotia, 2017). This policy process provides a mechanism for showing what organizations were working within the region, for what purpose, determined a recognized agent to be the official point of contact for government communications, and provided said organizations with their legal status as separate from the theatre professional(s) and the board of directors. The Canada Revenue Agency describes the use of business numbers as "an effort to simplify a business' interaction with government" (Province of Nova Scotia, 2018). Provincial and federal government correspondence then uses this business number.

Under the governing discourse, registered non-profit theatre companies are formal operating businesses. The theatre company is institutionally understood to uphold the same organizational, legal, ethical, and fiscal obligations as any other operating businesses. Such expectations include acting following governing documents, providing minimum wage for employees, completing annual reporting, paying associated renewal fees to Joint Stocks, and filing a yearly tax return to the Canadian Revenue Agency. Suppose theatre companies do not achieve these expectations. In that case, they risk such legal ramifications as a federal audit from the Canadian Revenue Agency, the potential to be sued, or a financial necessity to claim bankruptcy. As Janice said, "The bloom is off the rose." It is not until a theatre professional has formed their company that they recognize these requirements. The governing expectations and theatre professionals' lived experiences are disconnected.

8.3 Invisible Work

The insufficiency of language extends beyond how theatre professionals structure their work. It has implications on how they understood that work within the institutional context. The governing discourse instead omitted those experiences which did not fit within this governing rule book. Such omissions made those work processes invisible and institutionally devalued them. Below, Janice chronicles her work activities in self-producing theatre:

> The whole producing aspect is a long process. So, you start with the grant writing. Well, you start with the concept and then you do the grant writing with the concept. Then you wait. Then you find out whether you got the money or not. Now you adjust the budget and figure all that out. Then you get into finding the people for the production, branding the production, doing the graphics, securing the place to

do the production, the actors involved. All that kind of stuff. So, there are kind of

these frenzies of activity at the very beginning, and then there's a lull. Next, once

you get the money, there's another frenzy of activity, and then there's a bit of a lull

as everybody starts just creating. Then there's the next flurry of activity when you

actually get to the production week. And you just help get the show up. And get

people out to it. And deal with the box office. And getting in and out of the venue.

Then you do your final reports and budgets. (Janice, personal communication, 1

June 2015)

Janice's narrative bounced between her interactions with public policy structures and with

her creative work. Regardless of which topic, her focus remained on the creation of theatre.

While her use of the general descriptor "next flurry" could also suggest an impartial

relationship to the action, the full narrative's focus on producing a piece of theatre negated

this conclusion. Her word choice showed a focus on theatre creation. In recalling applying

and securing public funding, she hesitated and made corrections to her narrative. Though

she engages with the institutional processes, she is doing so out of necessity and without

comprehensible language to describe her activities.

 While the governing roles emphasized supporting theatre practice for the public

good, the artists' standpoint remained centralized on and understood from the experience

of making theatre itself. The prevailing connections between the two sectors (theatre and

government) were the availability of public support. Institutional processes such as

completing applications, getting a business number, showing qualifications, using unified

forms and templates, and completing post-event reporting were institutionalized actions

prescribed by governing text to mediate the relationship. However, due to an insufficiency

in language, there is a disconnection between policy intention and lived experience. Though those in governing positions required such processes to categorize applicants, offer an equal base level for adjudication, and supply comprehensive reporting on program activities, the artists' standpoint experienced these processes as time-consuming, bureaucratic activities. It is a bookending activity, opening and closing the relationship between the professional theatre and provincial governments. In doing so, these processes shape how the artists' standpoint understood their work.

To successfully run a company, an organization needed administrative capacity. This capacity included administrative support as staff and staff hours. For a theatre company, these administrative duties included financial planning, fiscal management, annual tax reporting, public relations, grant preparation, long-term strategic planning, human resource management, and even day-to-day management of regular operations. Though these duties were everyday business activities, theatre professionals often did not consider them when registering their theatre company. The artists' standpoint experienced pressure first to incorporate the company to secure funding and create theatre, only considering the 'how' of running such a legal business entity later. Theatre professionals then have to balance managing the company's administrative aspects while actively producing theatre.

In an interview with Sandra, a co-Artistic Director of a company, this need for and the challenge of multi-tasking across administrative duties is unconscious though prominently articulated when Struan, the other co-Artistic Director, briefly interrupted the interview. Sandra and Struan shared the production and management responsibilities of their theatre company. In the following interview narrative with Sandra, the italic font is

used to distinguish Struan's interjecting comments:

So anyway, I'm hoping this project will fly, and I'm hoping that you know it will be wonderful. I went and saw these shows last summer. But there's this [knock on the office door] Come in!

Hi guys, sorry to interrupt. We have no toilet paper in the girls' toilets.

Oh right, I just haven't had a minute since I got here.

Do we have any in the building?

I don't think so. Other people have to start thinking about it besides me. I was going to get some this morning, but I rushed down here because of this meeting. Is there any in the men's?

Oh, I hadn't checked. I just got a note from one of the girls that we don't have any. I'll raid the boy's washroom; they don't need it.

I thought about this last night. I thought I must remember to do that, and I didn't. No. I think no because I already robbed - I think I robbed the men's washroom yesterday or the day before. You could use this for now. [She passes a box of tissues] That'll do for now.

I'll check when I'm taking off if I have an emergency roll.

I'll get some. (Sandra, personal communication, 11 June 2015)

In her everyday work, Sandra needed to meet the essential and overhead regular administration duties of running a theatre company. As she said, "Other people have to start thinking about it besides me." She is experiencing a strain in managing her various duties. As Sandra and Struan were co-Artistic Directors, they engaged in business management and creative management processes. The creative process of casting,

directing, and producing a show included choosing the artistic works, securing funding, marketing the production, attending rehearsals, preparing the show for an audience. They also managed the general day-to-day operational tasks such as monetary management, stakeholder relations, human resources, and office management.

Arts administration is a crucial backbone of a successful theatre company. Nonetheless, it is a role systematically challenged and undervalued in interview narratives. This deficit is a consequence inadvertently coordinated through provincial policy structures. The artists' standpoint experienced a sequence of events and motivating factors that encouraged company incorporation. This encouragement is occurring without emphasis on how to sustain business operations nor the necessary administrative skillset. Instead, the governing discourse underlined the longevity of a company's existence. Therefore, without highlighting the need for or how to readily develop arts management skills (in terms of finance, human resources, and time management), theatre professionals developed self-reliant ways of working to sustain their company operations. These methods included long work hours with little to no pay. Moreover, such work patterns did not necessarily support nor grow the company's operations.

Stephanie, an Artistic Producer, spoke about the complexity of administrative models, staffing, titles, and theatre operations:

I'm an Artistic Producer. Most theatre companies and I think like any other not-for-profit or something, but theatre companies in particular – artistic organizations – have, sort of, two main goals or functions. The first is to do their artistic work, but their second function is to operate as a - not necessarily a business - but like a business - you know? There is a certain amount of profit and business savvy that it

takes to keep an organization afloat.

So, in a company like [name redacted] – they're a good example because they're big. There is an artistic director and a general manager. So, the Artistic Director is responsible for the artistic health of the organization, and the general manager is responsible for the business health of it, the maintenance which is to keep everybody working.

But sometimes organizations make the choice to have one person look after both functions. It tends to be because they have no money, or they don't have enough money to have two people. Because when you're talking about two people who are equal in terms of responsibility and their jobs are big, they both get paid the same.

But there's a difference, and the difference is that both people [Artistic Director and General Manager] would report to the board of directors. So, an Artistic Producer is the only person in an organization who reports directly to the board of directors. (Stephanie, personal communication, 21 August 2015)

Stephanie is defining her understanding of the distinction between various managerial roles within a theatre company. The size of the company distinguished these roles. At the time of research, the province is home to only a few theatre companies who have the budgetary resources to engage a full suite of staff year-round, including the artistic director, managing director, general manager, and administrator. Instead, companies were prevalent with only one or two full-time administrative staffed roles, if any. There is little distinction between General Manager, Artistic Producer, and Artistic Director in these smaller organizational models. For example, within Sandra and Struan's experience, they engaged an

administrator through the summer months who supported the company's day-to-day operations. However, as co-Artistic Directors, they handled the financial, management, and creative processes associated with the company.

Executive and administrative job titles were commonly adopted and interchanged, with responsibilities fluid depending on company needs. This finding returned to the insufficiency of language within the governing discourse. The fluidity made navigating the ideological versus experiential ways of knowing the work an ongoing tension. The business administration is assumed to be accounted for through application and reporting procedures within the governing discourse. However, the lived experience is adaptive to needs and resources as available. Janice, herself an Artistic Director and Producer, described her experience of managing both the creative and financial sides of her work:

> Acting and directing are their own full-time jobs. Then when you put producing on top of that - you end up of having kind of multiple full-time jobs that you never feel you're doing properly. You can't give enough to any one of them. Your creative and financial selves have to argue with each other. (Janice, personal communication, 1 June 2015)

Janice is expressing her challenge in meeting opposing job interests. There is no clear divide across her work roles—her experience aligns with the overall findings, where most executive roles hold administrative and artistic expectations. Janice had to navigate creative expression within financial restrictions. In doing so, she experienced internal conflict, expressed through her "creative and financial selves" arguing. Theatre professionals were experiencing an inherent challenge in handling the financial and artistic management interests of a company. Nonetheless, the sector has adopted the role of Artistic

Producer (and Artistic Director with producing responsibilities) within its regular operations.

The artistic producer's title combined the creative role of artistic director with producer, general manager, and finance officer's financial function. While multiple responsibilities were rolled into one position, Janice expressed she did not have added time to manage these additional responsibilities in her above narrative. Stephanie, another Artistic Producer, described her experience and thoughts on the role:

It's a horrible position, actually. It shouldn't exist. I call them bullshit all the time. Anyone who works in any artistic organization with a similar position knows its trickery, and it's just being done for budgetary means.

It's a terrible position because what it means is then, So, I make all the money decisions. So, it means that no artistic decisions I make are necessarily pure. They almost all have to do with money. So, I'm thinking about the money and the art at the same time, all the time.

It also means that I'm the person who negotiates every contract in the building. So, staff and, most importantly, artistic contracts. If we hire a director or an actor or a designer to come to our company, I negotiate their contract. Sometimes they are unhappy with the terms of it. They either don't like that they have to pay for their accommodation while they live here, or they think that they are not being paid enough.

If I am involved in that play, often as a director, So, let's say that an actor is unhappy with the fact that they have to pay for their accommodation. They dislike the terms of their contract, but they're coming anyway, and I'm the one who

negotiated it. If I have to go into rehearsals and then direct them in a play, we've already started off with a relationship that isn't the best. So, it's really unfair to have people in the rehearsal room who have a relationship as an authority figure to anyone in the room that has nothing to do with the play. We all give the director of a show a certain amount of authority, but it makes it weird when the person who's negotiating your money is also in there.

I've experienced that. I've had actors and designers. It wouldn't be a director because that would be the role I'd be in there for. But I've had them try to change the terms of their contract, and we're simply unable to. There's just; The fact of the matter is nobody has room for negotiation, really. We're all so strapped for cash that you can't do it, and unfortunately, the thing is, if you start doing it with anyone, then you have to be able to do it with everyone. You know, it's like that Lays potato chip commercial: if I give one to you, I have to give one to everyone else.

You just have to get into the practice of being upfront and saying, "No, everyone is either on the same playing field or, you know…. And if the contract is unattractive to you, just don't take it, with all apologies." It's an uncomfortable thing. (Stephanie, personal communication, 21 August 2015)

Stephanie is describing the conflict of interest she and Janice experienced. Rather than someone giving her budget amounts and working within them, Janice had to navigate budget creation, fiscal management, and artistic creation in unison. An Artistic Producer also holds authority over other company members, which she found conflicting in her everyday work. She negotiated artist contracts, ensuring they fit within the artistic vision

and show budget. However, her company is not in a financial position to negotiate artists' rates beyond the minimum artist's fees identified by the Canadian Actors Equity Association. She found she was disappointing artists during pre-discussion negotiations due to financial limitations yet had to work closely with them artistically in the rehearsal hall. Her experience is unlike a director's experience, whose responsibility would be only artistic interests. Instead, the Artistic Producer remains accountable to their theatre company's fiscal rules and creative integrity.

Accurate and frugal fiscal management is sensible within any company structure, and even more so when using public money for the public good, as in the case of arts policy. Stephanie touched on funding constraints in her narrative. However, everyday lived experiences, such as adapting to these constraints, shaped experiential ways of knowing. The role of Artistic Producer, as cited by Janice, is a result of the frugal blending of artistic, commercial, and human resource management into one staff role.

Meredith is another artistic producer who began self-producing work first to increase her opportunities for acting contracts. She described her experience entering the roles of Artistic Producer:

> And I like to say, well, you know I started out as an actor, and I adapted to become a writer and a director. And then I had to adapt to become a producer, so I could get back to my original love, [acting]. So, it's like saying to someone, "I appreciate that you want to be a teacher. I think in the day we're going to pay you to go teach children at elementary school, but on the weekends, you have to taxidermy this buffalo. Otherwise, we will not give you a cheque to do what you want to do." (Meredith, personal communication, 3 June 2015)

Meredith's experience is reflective of the insufficiency of language. She used the example of a teacher and a taxidermist to describe her lived experience metaphorically. Within her example, the teacher engaged as a taxidermist to secure funding to teach. These are two jobs that have little in common. Similarly, the Artistic Producer manages various responsibilities that could have little in common or even conflict. For Meredith to produce theatre work, she needs to navigate both creative and administrative duties. However, these interactions are constricted by an institutional undervaluing of arts administration.

Moreover, the artists' standpoint experiences an ongoing lack of awareness from the governing discourse toward the everyday work of theatre creation. In the following interview excerpt, Meredith explained her challenges when describing her work to public funders:

> The position I feel like I'm always in it's like, "Okay, I wrote this play. You can see the script of this play, and it was done. I can show you the videotape of it." But, you know, to get there, I try to describe the process of the project. Otherwise, you're describing something that hasn't been made. So, like - okay: you and I are going to have a baby. Let's decide now if it's going to have red or black hair. Be a boy or a girl. You don't get to. We have to wait to see what we get at the end of the process.
>
> We had to create the space where those solutions would bubble up, right? And try different things until somebody could have a little lightning bolt and go, "Ah! Do-do-do!" You know?
>
> The process is the process. If we exaggerated the table and said, "Well, we should write a play about Angus L. MacDonald because he was the Premier of Nova Scotia, does that mean we know what the play is? Does that mean we know

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how it will be told? It could be a musical. It could be told as a one-person show, in

flashback, or with puppets. I mean, we don't know. We just need to start the work.

(Meredith, personal communication, 3 June 2015)

Meredith was trying to describe her creative process in a funding application in advance of

engaging in it. To do so, she needed to define the outcome before entering the work.

However, as she had not yet created the piece, she did not have the language to do so. The

organic process of artistic creation does not 'fit' within the governing discourse's textually-

mediated processes. Instead, Meredith used examples to portray her experience, reframing

it under someone else's narrative to be recognized within the governing discourse.

The governing discourse restrains theatre professionals' descriptions of their work.

In a similar breath to Meredith, Janice spoke about her work and the public policy

programming criteria to access program support:

You have to visualize it [the final product] yourself before you're ready to really.

You have to come up with design plans, and who your designers are going to be,

and who's going to be in it and, and those things you don't know. You don't know

because you don't know exactly when you'll do it and if you'll get the funding or

not.

The show that we're doing now, we've wanted to do for a year, but it's

taken us this long to get things together.

Whether or not I still have the same group of people involved, it's

impossible to know when you're applying. So, you apply with these very stringent

set of rules. You have to know things that you don't know. So, you kind of take a

shot in the dark and say, "Well, we worked with these people before, so we'll ask

them if we can use them in our application."

I'll get calls from people all the time saying, "I'm applying, and can I use your name to apply for this particular show?" And I don't know if I'll be available for that show, but I figure if putting my name on their application will help them in any way, then absolutely. In that way, I feel; honestly, I feel a bit dishonest because I'm trying to tell them the things I think they want to know, rather than telling them the truth.

There are lots of variables I don't know. "How do I sell this, so you will want to support it? I have to create a picture for you out of the things I have available at hand right now. Which won't be the things necessarily available after I get the funding when everybody is available to do it." But that's what I've learned is part of grantsmanship.

You are creating. You are pitching an idea. So, you make the best pitch you possibly can. And you use terminology that they would want to hear that will help sell the case. And that changes apparently.

These are things that I'm learning. There are certain phrases that granting bodies want to hear. You try to include them in your application. - You'll know all of them from doing this report.

I noticed 'capacity building' was in your ethics form. I had never heard of 'capacity building' until we had a Flying Squad meeting with [an art consultant, name retracted]. We had to ask; we had to do an application for that to get someone to come in and help us develop our audience. "Oh well, that's capacity building." "Okay…. I'll call it capacity building," a phrase that meant nothing to me before

that. It's lingo that I don't use in my everyday life. Administrative lingo.

So, you're trying to learn all these to help you pitch your project.

Janice's experience shows how theatre professionals adapt their work to policy expectations. Her applications to the funding programs became not about what she was doing but about what she believed those in governing roles wished to know. Janice was consciously aligning her work to the ideological discourse to gain access to the institutional relationship and associated public support. In doing so, she used the institutional language and applied it to her work.

While beneficial to securing funding, Janice's act of adopting the institutional language in her application reinforces her lived experience of theatre creation as being invisible. She described this experience as being forced to "visualize it before you're ready," and as a result, she was consciously "telling them the things I think they want to know rather than telling them the truth." Janice referred to this process of knowing, accessing, and successfully navigating public granting programs as grantsmanship. She has unceremoniously adopted the governing policy language to explain the process, how she came to understand it, and how she engages in her work within the institutional framework. Janice's experience draws attention to the regulatory nature of policy coordination over the theatre-government relationship. She understood the public sector as having their language and expectations, preferring those activities that are contextualized clearly within the governing discourse. She adopted performative behaviours to show her work as aligning with the governing interests. However, in doing so, her experience remains invisible within this performative relationship.

The tendency to under or not pay administrative duties is prevalent among

emerging companies operating on project-to-project planning or limited annual budgets. Nora described her experience moderating a group of artistic peers in determining a theatre award recipient:

> I have to remind my membership that administrators are important too. They are included too. When we're looking at awards and scholarships, I have to remind the juries that administrators can be nominated and win. It's important that they be recognized. I'm clear on that. And we do have more administrators being recognized now. There's been a couple. But this wasn't always the case. (Nora, personal communication, 23 July 2015)

The theatre sector has internalized a systematic undervaluing of administrative roles. This value is instilled in the provincial policy framework and adopted as a learnt performative behaviour by theatre professionals. As a coping technique, theatre professionals engage in low/unwaged administrative activities such as artistic development, business planning, grant application, and governance before funding allocations are secured. These are the 'weekend taxidermy activities' Meredith exemplifies in her narrative. They hold no direct connection to the artistic work yet are essential to the company's operation. The theatre professional is engaging in such administrative tasks to secure public support for their work. However, they continue to receive no/low pay for these activities. Further, the recurring act of engaging in these activities without wage normalizes the experience. Low/unwaged arts administrative work itself has become understood to be unceremoniously compulsory for a theatre production.

While Arts Nova Scotia recognizes administrative tasks as eligible expenses within their public granting criteria, there is no associated budget line on the project-level grant

applications. Appendix J includes a copy of this application. The pre-labelled budget lines include "artist fees," "project costs," "promotion and publicity," and "other." As the template does not address it elsewhere, administrative overhead falls within this "other" category. This insufficiency of language prescribes administrative tasks as institutionally valued less than regular activities.

The financial template for operating grant applications did include a section for administrative expenses. However, it is the project funding stream that theatre professionals commonly first encounter when seeking provincial support. Theatre professionals are then operating within this project-granting stream for a minimum of three project grants (while being in operation for at least four years) before being eligible to apply for operating funding. In the concept, as Meredith says of, "getting the show up," theatre professionals become intimately knowledgeable with and familiar to grant eligibility guidelines at the project funding level.

The texts which coordinate the project funding stream also shape theatre professionals' understanding of their work. Moreover, the lack of value placed on administrative work and career development reinforces a prevalence of underpaid and unpaid labour within the theatre sector. Such activities have become invisible work. The invisible nature of both artistic creation and arts administrative work, combined with the systematic undervaluing, enables administrative duties to be 'tacked-on' to other job descriptions. For example, the role of Artistic Director, which is already laden with executive creative responsibilities, absorbs administrative tasks out of necessity. In this event, the theatre professional may keep the title 'Artistic Director.' This title then further reinforces the invisible nature of the administrative work. Alternatively, the position may

be rebranded to 'Artistic Producer.' However, even when adopting a new title, the administrative work remains institutionally undervalued.

The position of Artistic Producer also maintains conflicting responsibilities. For example, Stephanie and Janice experience ongoing demands on their time and job interests positioned against one another. Neither Stephanie nor Janice feels they can complete either duty fully when having both creative and administrative responsibilities. Instead, the obligations are still in conflict with each other.

While administrative work in Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector is normalized from the artists' standpoint, this experience is not ideal. It has implications for sector growth and sustainability. Nora, an arts manager, describes her experience and concerns around theatre administration within the province:

Collectively, overall, I have a massive problem with how little our people are paid. Right? I mean, my main concern is administrators, because you can see it more easily as a salaried or as an hourly wage. Artists are a lot more protected, but I'm not saying they're not under-waged. I'm just saying that I'm talking about the ability for us to keep staff, you know, that are really highly educated. They are over-educated for the jobs that they're doing, with no particular ability to advance. Right? I mean, our organizations are all so small.

The administrator at our office moved from another province to take this job, was supported by CHRC [Canadian Human Rights Commission] through federal job creation funding in the hope that there was going to be city funding. There wasn't city funding, so she went from a full-time employee down to 20 hours a week because that's all I can keep her, right? So, she's, you know, she moved

from Ontario to Halifax, and now has reduced hours. So, she'll have to get two jobs in order to be able to continue to live.

And what is she going to do within our company? Just sit around and wait for me to leave? What kind of professional development can I help her with, in the ways that larger organizations absolutely commit to doing? Our resources are always so strapped, and we always come down to, for example, if we have to decide to do a collective marketing brochure for our members, it's going to overtake whether or not I go to conferences, or career advancement or professional development for any of our people. That concerns me a lot. But paying a university graduate with two degrees $15 an hour is insulting. And all of our granting processes want everybody to show them how little we'll spend on administration. It's insulting. They look for small amounts. They look for little.

If I submitted an operating expense grant that said I need, you know, $20,000 more dollars over here because I can't live on $30,000 a year - and why should I with two degrees? - It would absolutely be turned down.

These are inappropriate salaries. And that's true of all our administrators. Any general manager working in professional art committees, it's an insulting amount of money. Right? (Nora, personal communications, 23 July 2015)

Nora is echoing the low-value emphasis instilled on administrative roles by the provincial arts policy framework. While Nora directs her narrative toward low salaries, her experience indicates a multi-fold tension for the sector in attracting, keeping, and developing employees. A lack of funding support means a lack of pay. However, as the institutional value emphasis is on the product rather than process, organizational activity mirrors such

institutional value. Nora describes how the granting process encourages small administrative costs and penalizes more extensive budget lines. The funding that is available for administrative tasks is generally allocated to employing and retaining senior staff. After this allocation, limited resources then remain to fund junior and middle management opportunities. As Nora describes, this financial constraint limits a theatre company in the career developmental resources it can offer staff. In turn, the development of new arts managers within Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector is stifled, and the development of emerging arts administrators and general managers hindered.

Current arts administrators develop their skills through on-the-job activities of necessity. Anita, a co-producing Artistic Director, describes her experience learning such administrative skills:

Besides writing the grants: I'm maintaining records, keeping registration up to date, dealing with the board - we have a Board of Directors - scheduling board meetings, doing the books - which is one of those things that if we get to the point where we were eligible or able to receive operating funding. That would be something that we would want to outsource. It's kind of a; It's the biggest, most time-consuming thing that I do that I am not really qualified to do.

I have no framing in maintaining financial records or doing the books or anything. It's just something that ended up happening because we started doing shows, and we had financial records outside of shows that had to be kept. Period. So, it's something I just kind of learnt as I went, but I'm fairly certain I'm not doing it right. I have balance sheets where I could probably explain where everything is. But nobody who does it as a living would look at it and know. You know what I

mean? I have an Excel program and a glass of wine and, you know, ask a couple of people who do it professionally what the language or terminology used means. (Anita, personal communication, 9 June 2015)

Anita explains how she develops her administrative skills through necessity. She recognizes these skills as incomplete but sufficient for what she needs currently. Further, when unsure of a task, Anita accesses colleagues in the sector for help. She has adapted her work practices to account for her limited administrative skillset. However, Anita also says that for her company to develop, she needs the proper training; she maintains, "I'm fairly certain I'm not doing it right." She reveals looking forward to when her company qualifies for operating funding and can outsource the tasks to someone with the skillset and interest.

Public policy is shaping Anita's behaviours and operational challenges. She does not qualify for operational funding. Therefore, she cannot pay someone to teach her the necessary bookkeeping skills. Nor can Anita afford to hire someone to take the bookkeeping responsibilities. So, she is constrained to learn the material independently. Further, as the funding limitation also prevents Anita from paying herself an administrative salary, any self-instruction and her actual work of bookkeeping are unpaid labour activities.

However, having a designated bookkeeper would mean they could complete Anita's company's financial records correctly. By reallocating that task to someone better suited, Anita could reorganize her work and dedicate time back to her creative activities. Anita accepts her current responsibility of completing administrative tasks not because she is skilled nor interested in the tasks, but because of her limited financial resources. She cannot pay herself nor someone else to complete these activities. However, they need to be

completed. Engaging in such administrative activities and learning by trial has become a rite of passage for theatre professionals. Only upon receiving operational funding is the ritual complete, funding available, and the theatre professional's administrative work prescribed with institutional value.

A concern around and awareness of a lack of arts administration skills is not new to the province's theatre sector. Moreover, this awareness extends across theatre professionals and policy officials. For example, Strategic Arts Management was founded in 2007 as a non-profit society mandated to provide subsidized administrative support and services to professional artists and arts organizations in disciplines across the province. Theatre companies access these services through client consultations and workshops to develop their organizational capacity. Janice and Kelly-Ann have both accessed Strategic Arts Management's services:

> Right now, we have been using Strategic Arts Management and using the resources of a [Strategic Arts Management] Consultant who has a lot of experience and has sat on a lot of juries. So, she can come in with that experience and say, "A jury is looking for this; answer these questions." She's been helping us by looking over our applications before we send them off, making notes, adjustments according to her experience, really. So that's been really helpful to us. (Janice, personal communication, 1 June 2015)

> You have to kind of get more firm infrastructure in order for it to be considered for the operating funding. So, recently we've worked with SAM - Strategic Arts Management - and gathered, sort of, board development work - and then started doing more fundraising. (Kelly-Ann, personal communication, 16 June

2015)

Janice and Kelly-Ann reference the administrative projects they do and their relationship with a Strategic Arts Management consultant to complete the work. A formal consulting arrangement links the client, being the theatre company, to an arts administrator as a consultant, at a heavily subsidized rate. These rates are on a sliding scale based on the client's annual operating budget. Strategic Arts Management often connects consultants and clients for grant writing, bookkeeping, strategic planning, and business model development. While subsidized, these services still have an associated cost. Additionally, while the consultant provides guidance and direction to increase organizational capacity and skills building around arts administration, the theatre company administrators and managers must complete the work themselves.

Within Nova Scotia, theatre administrators learn through trial and error. There are few opportunities for middle management development. The governing focus of the work is instead situated on the theatre product and cataloguing the product in such a way to exemplify the public value and secure public support. Administrative duties are made invisible under the governing discourse. However, that discourse overlooks, and theatre professionals have normalized, an ageing executive workforce, the lack of succession planning or senior executive exit plans, and employee burnout.

Further, when organizations are aware of sound arts management activities, they understand it not to be valued under the governing discourse, as in Nora's experience. Therefore, the company does not invest in the activity. As a result, policy aims such as Arts Nova Scotia's vision of "a thriving and diverse professional arts community" are juxtaposed against unintentional policy structures limiting organizational growth. Critical

management concepts are essential for sustainable company development, such as board governance, strategic planning, financial reporting, and human resource management. Instead, they are foreign activities, situated outside the goal of a measurable theatre product for public value. However, without strong administrative skills, theatre companies cannot grow. Moreover, this lack of strong organizational and managerial abilities challenges theatre companies in their capacity to meet and showing public good readily.

8.4   Omission from the Public Good

The programming and administration of Nova Scotia's arts policy standardize and institutionalize the relationship for those partaking. Nova Scotia's arts policy framework has formal and informal codes of conduct embedded as rules of behaviour to maintain institutional processes, expectations, and values. These rules ensure policy engagement and outcomes align with policy intent, therein being in the public good. Such experiences are self-affirming, reinforced by their ongoing acceptance and activation.

However, Nova Scotia's arts policy's governing discourse is not reflective of the lived actualities of theatre professionals, administrators, general managers, or even policy officials. For example, the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage's 2015-2016 Statement of Mandate uses language including "Government's Core Priorities" and "continuing work that quantifies and communicates" around cultural investment(Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2015, pp. 3–4). Such text omits the theatre professional as a living being from the report. Instead, the focus is on demonstrating policy outcomes that are the public good. This focus is contrary to the language used in the 2012 Status of the Artist Act, where the government committed to "acknowledge the artist's role" (Status of the Artist Act, 2012). This misalignment to the artists' standpoint is a

tension within the governing discourse and institutional relevance.

Provincial policy activities need to remain accountable to the public good. Patricia, a public servant for the province, describes:

We [the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage] never had any research for culture - We had no basis with which to articulate the economic worth of the sector. And you know the saying, that line about 'that which gets measured gets improved'? It's important.

Successive ministers and deputies kept asking why [there was no current data] because every industry makes account statements about what their worth is. And Culture didn't. And Culture didn't not only in Nova Scotia; Culture didn't across the country.

We were in a department that had tourism, which is - their full mandate is economic. And we were constantly being asked for a business plan. Like, "What's your worth? What are your outcomes? Create some goals, create some measurables, create some outcomes."

You know, we had no baseline. We had nothing. And I wasn't going to make up shit, which other people like to do. Well, I wasn't doing that. So, we really had some issues. We struggled along. (Patricia, personal communication, 16 September 2015)

Patricia's experience highlights the difficulty of measuring arts and cultural value in a region, a concept first introduced in chapter 2. Authentically reporting on arts policy outcomes has limitations. Use and non-use value mean the governing discourse only recognizes some areas of impacts, such as ticket sales and immediate job creation. For

example, Neptune Theatre engaged a consulting group to review and report the theatre company's activity and associated regional outcomes. This report highlights many quantifiable use-value elements of the work. The theatre company has highlighted these outcomes through the mural on their loading bay doors, as included in Figure 16. However, the non-use value of arts and culture remains is intangible and slow presenting nature (Bakhshi, 2012; Bakhshi & McVittie, 2009; Bakhshi & Throsby, 2010). Therefore, the ability to efficiently report on both use and non-use value associated policy outcomes remains limited.

Figure 16
Photo of a mural on Neptune Theatre's loading bay doors citing the company's economic contribution to the region

Note. The photograph was taken on Argyle Street in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 2015 by the researcher following a nearby interview.

Patricia's narrative also draws attention to the progression of development within Nova Scotia's arts policy activities. Figure 17 chronicles associated policy milestones from 1992 to 2014 (Arts Nova Scotia Transition Committee, 2011; Horizons Community Development Associates Inc., 2010; Nova Scotia CAN, 2010; Nova Scotia Tourism, Culture and Heritage, 2010; Statistics Canada, 2014a). The data limitations which Patricia spoke to imply a lack of grounded data prevalent during early policy developments. A potential example of this data shortcoming is the 2002 dismantling of the Nova Scotia Arts Council discussed in Chapter 7. Reports on cultural sector activity were not available until 2003 when Statistics Canada released the 2001 national census results (Kelly Hill & Kathleen Capriotti, 2009; Statistics Canada, 2003). Therefore, it is questionable what data the provincial government had, and the accuracy of that data, to ground their 2002 decision to dismantle the Nova Scotia Arts Council. According to Patricia and Michael, the provincial government used the 2001 census data for upwards of a decade when reviewing and developing arts and cultural policy (Michael, personal communication, 16 September 2015; Patricia, personal communication, 16 September 2015). This ongoing lack of data reinforces the occurring insufficiency of language and creates shortcomings for sound policy development.

Figure 17
Milestones in policy activity and data availability for Nova Scotia's arts policy framework
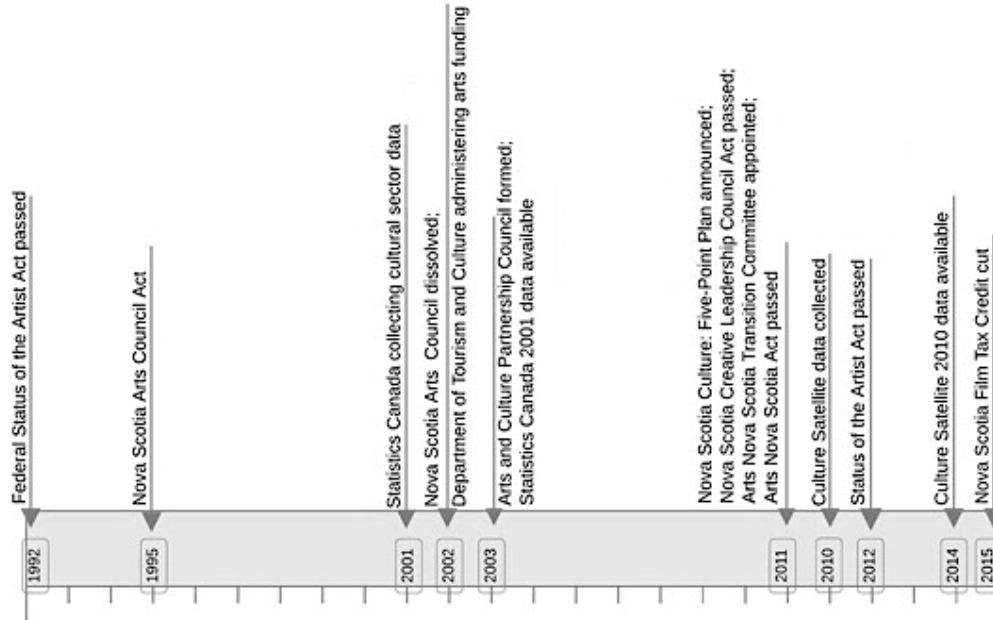
In more recent years, Nova Scotia's government has begun collecting data on provincial sector activity. It has partnered with Statistics Canada, among other federal, provincial, and territorial government departments, to address areas of ongoing data deficit. These activities include conducting sector consultations and the 2011 development of the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council to provide sector input to the province on policy activities. In 2014, Statistics Canada released the first report from the Canadian Culture Satellite Account. The Account measures the economic impact of culture and sport on the Canadian 2010 economy (Statistics Canada, 2014a, 2014b). Appendix K includes a copy of the media clipping announcing the data results from this inaugural study. Include in this text is the wording, "This research is a snapshot of the first-ever economic picture of culture and sport in Nova Scotia in 2010" (Statistics Canada, 2014a). However, while the government is now publicly chronicling economic outcomes of theatre activity, this reporting does not address the ongoing language deficit in recognizing sector value.

Finally, each funding allocation requires the submission of a final report from the

funding recipient. These reports are further textually-mediated activities ensuring accountability to the public good while reinforcing governing expectations. The documents need to include final budget numbers, project activities, and success markers. However, returning to the concepts of use and non-use value, characteristics for success within the governing discourse and the artists' standpoint do not always align. For example, during their interviews, research participants were asked to describe a success story they recognized within their work. Anita's response reflects on her one-woman show:

> A success story? Whoa. What one? There's so many. I think one of my coolest moments was when I did my one-woman show.
>
> A theatre company programmed it in their fall season, and I took it up there. I had never previously thought of it as a show that would go over well with young people. But the Artistic Producer who runs that company thought it would be great for young people. So, she brought high school students by the hundreds to see the show.
>
> It was such a strange and frightening experience for me. To have all these 13 to 18-year-olds in the room. There were probably 300 of them in the early morning, 10:00 a.m. show, and I'm doing this solo show.
>
> And then I had classes of them waiting for me outside the theatre because they wanted to meet me in person. And I did not think – when I think of teenagers, I do not picture this kind of wide-eyed enthusiasm as I saw from these kids. Nor did I expect that they would identify with something that, to me, is such a personal story, and it's such a different, you know. It's about immigrating across the world twice. And they all had stories that they wanted to share with me. They all had

things they wanted to say about how they felt different, and they felt strange and alien, and disconnected, and how certain parts of my story really applied to them.

And it was a huge eye-opener. So, yeah. I guess that's one of my favourite stories because it really kind of shows exactly the kind of type of imagination expanding that I'm hopeful to do. People being able to see themselves reflected in something that's nothing to do with them. And yet somehow, it's true to them, you know. That was a really powerful experience. (Anita, personal communication, 9 June 2015)

Anita's experience is one of a thriving theatre piece by her standards. However, she does not grade her success based on the level of public benefit. She is creating work in which her audience can see themselves reflected. From Anita's perspective, that is the power and interest of her craft.

Conventional reporting structures do not reflect the outcomes of Anita's experience. No one tracked the number of youths who stopped Anita after her show. Nor does she record how the theatre experience may impact the students in their lives after leaving the theatre. Anita recognizes her piece's innate success but that the show's non-use values do not fit within the governing discourse for evaluation.[53] Again, in the words of Patricia, "that which gets measured gets improved." The governing discourse writes the lived experiences of theatre work and its outcomes out of the institutional narrative. Those activities omitted are not measured and, therefore, do not receive policy attention.

Glenn is another theatre professional interviewed whose success story is missed by

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[53] The concepts of use and non-use value are examined in chapter 2.

conventional policy reporting methods:

> There is currently an artist named [name redacted] in Toronto who is making theatre. And she went through our youth ensemble. She went to Berlin with us. She performed in our cafés. Did an original show there. She was mentored. She helped backstage for us during a show when we were in Berlin. And she is currently doing a piece in Toronto. I forget the title. She is in the kitchen, and she has invited certain theatre artists to come in, cook a meal, and talk about family and home and love. And she very generously, but also clearly, has said, "I would not be doing this if I had not worked with [Glenn's theatre company]. You taught me that theatre is more than a high school show." And she is a very bright, capable person. So, it's loving to see that she chose a theatre career over other things that she could have done. She is passionate. But she's having a successful experience. So, the opportunities to work and travel with us made her more inclined to do that. Now she is creatively engaging as an artist, and really, I think, having an effect in the Canadian arts scene. (Glenn, personal communications, 10 June 2015)

Glenn's narrative makes it clear this Toronto performer attributes their career success to his company. However, such attribution would not have been offered, let alone available, until after the performer's involvement with Glenn's company. Glenn's final report to the province as the public funder cannot reflect this eventual value.

Though Anita and Glenn's experiences both identify theatre characteristics that contribute to the public good, the shape of that value is akin to Bakhshi and Throsby's non-use value referenced in chapter 2. The value's actual impact is not tangible (Bakhshi et al., 2010; Bakhshi & Throsby, 2010). Non-use value is not easy to record, let alone benchmark.

Within the state and the professional theatre sector, policy emphasis is on what is occurring around theatre production and not how a theatre production is occurring. The institutional framework coordinates funding and recording activities. In doing so, the governing discourse overlooks both positive and negative theatre experiences. Unpaid administrative and creative work is made invisible, undervalued, yet remained necessary to carry out the day-to-day task, secure essential public grants, and create the final theatre product. In turn, those positive experiences, as had by Anita, are not recognized by the governing discourse. Direct policy investment does not foster such experiences due to their omission from final reporting. The insufficiency of language across the cross-sector relationship influences what is institutionally recognized as valued and authorized to receive public investment.

The theatre production is the final product of theatre activity, designed for public consumption. It has use-value, which the state can record to show public value. This value includes such markers as job creation, audience numbers, and media reviews. Funding applications require descriptive information on the proposed activity, including project summary, predicted outcomes and community impact, funding sources, budget estimates, and information on people who will be engaged. These are traits the governing discourse recognized, therein giving them institutional value. However, requesting such criteria in advance of a project's development circles back to Meredith's challenge when explaining her work and creative process before it has begun.

Theatre professionals' understanding of the value and organizational priorities within their work is textually-mediated. Theatre professionals are operating with limited recourses, including cash flow, total budget, and skill set. Mirroring the governing

discourse's interests, theatre professionals direct what financial assets they have available into the actual production to cover costs. As Caroline, an arts manager, describes, "You have to cut somewhere. You cut administration first before you cut programming or artistic practice, which was a laudable goal, but not always the right decision" (Caroline, personal communication, 27 July 2015). Within some theatre organizational models across Nova Scotia, such executive roles as the Artistic Producer and Artistic Director are paid salary positions. Receiving appropriate levels of pay-for-work is ideal for theatre professionals.

Moreover, the Nova Scotia Status of the Artist Act directs that receiving payment for work is a marker for professional standing (Status of the Artist Act, 2012; Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2018; VANS, 2012). However, as Caroline described, what public support theatre professionals receive is directed from arts administration toward production costs. Those administrative and managerial roles remain no/low-waged positions. Creating a theatre product is institutionally positioned as higher importance than the organizational administration and creative processes that facilitate the work. As products can be institutionally measured, they are given value and priority, unlike the abstract activities of creation or administration.

For the theatre professional, the preference is for arts administrators, Artistic Producers, and Artistic Directors to receive fair pay for their work. However, theatre companies routinely do not have funding to pay full-time or even part-time administrative staff. In these companies, the role of Artistic Producer is often unwaged or funded through a small honorarium. Glenn, an Artistic Director, explains, "I get $200 a month's salary. It really doesn't pay for the time. It doesn't pay for a lot." Theatre professionals initially enter the institutional relationship to secure public support to create theatre and not run a

company. The support received went to the company's overhead operating costs before the founding theatre professional's salary. This low salary is attributed to the institutionalized interest in the product over the process. This disconnect is fundamental in how theatre professionals do and know their work and how they perceive the work in relation to the state.

With the value of administrative duties diminished, the demand placed upon administrative work hours and associated pay-for-work is unbalanced. As Gregg, an Artistic Producer, explained, "The sad thing is that in theatre you're expected to do 50 to 60 hours. That's sort of the norm. The people who work in the non-profit sector work the hardest and make the least amount of money." Gregg refers to this unbalance as being "the norm." It is an expected activity, normalized by its frequency within sector activities. In her narrative, Anita echoes this institutional expectation:

> We end up paying ourselves less than we're worth. Putting in work that you know, there is no way to account for stuff like that. But that's just how much we want to make it happen, right?
>
> I don't pay myself as a producer. I do a lot more admin than I ever sort of pay myself a fee for. I do have - Usually, in the budget, there's always an admin and production coordination amount. But that is normally the first thing to go when the budget does not balance out. Because my partner and myself are doing it. So, we're responsible for everybody else being paid. (Anita, personal communication, 9 June 2015)

While Anita is consciously referencing funding levels, her narrative's underlying current remains about the institutional value placed on administrative work within the sector or the

lack thereof.

Arts administration is a low/no-wage position within Nova Scotia's theatre professional sector. The experiences of Janice, Meredith, and Glenn managing their companies' creative, administrative, and production responsibilities further echo those of Gregg and Anita:

> As soon as I became a producer when I didn't have work, I could create work for myself. It was unpaid work most of the time. But I was still operating as a creative human being. (Janice, Personal communication, 1 June 2015)
>
> There's no routine. There's no, you know, "Here's the two days a week you go into the office, and you're paid, and everything is set up, and you've got your calendars and your everything there." I'm using my home computer; emails get buried; I don't get paid. So, there's the constant stress that I'll drop the ball. And I do. (Meredith, Personal communication, 3 June 2015)
>
> I get $200 a month's salary. Whenever we get a gig, we just take 10% off. Or a grant. So, when we have a project, 10% goes to me. It really doesn't pay for the time. It doesn't pay for a lot. But what it does is it supplements the rent a little bit. I'm able to have a home office and store some scripts at my home. (Glenn, Personal communication, 10 June 2015)

Without dedicated office space or hours, these jobs (particularly for emerging theatre companies) tend to occur in home kitchens and coffee shops. This invisible nature transcends to how theatre professionals recognize their administrative work. There is no approach around administrative tasks as formal 'work.' While theatre professionals are founding companies to access funding and facilitate active careers working in theatre, they

do not receive money for all areas of their work.

Instead of funding administrative costs, public support is directed toward other theatre costs, such as operating expenses. Caroline referred to administrative costs as one of the first budget lines a theatre company reduces when fiscal capacity is lacking. However, reducing the budget amounts does not reduce the workload needed to produce theatre productions. If project funding is insufficient, theatre professionals do not include an administrative expense line in their budget. They adopt the governing discourse by omitting those experiences which did not fit. However, they still engage in administrative work to produce their theatre piece. As invisible work, it is not paid work. Therefore, it is overlooked by the governing discourse and, by consequence, undervalued within the theatre professional's experiential ways of knowing. While theatre professionals choose to allocate the funding to other areas of the budget, the process of still satisfying the workload and consequence of those actions indicates the ideological values impacting their experiential way of knowing.

These theatre professionals' experiences speak to the invisible nature of theatre administration, habitually shaped and normalized by activation. Janice recognizes and accepts her work is often unpaid. Glenn understands $200/month is not a substantial salary; however, he confirmed it as "supplement[ing] the rent." Emerging professionals are caught in a loop where funding is needed to pay administration duties to develop their company to qualify for funding. Administrative positions are needed to write funding applications and manage the administrative workload. As a recourse, theatre professionals engage in this work in no or low-pay and invisible roles, reinforcing the work's understood lack of institutional value. Professionals are volunteering their administrative time (or a part

thereof) out of necessity. Policy and associated sector values, or lack thereof, are being activated and instructed around administrative theatre work.

8.5   Chapter Summary

Provincial public granting structures instruct and suppress value in dimensions of theatre professionals' work. The implications of this relationship are more significant than approval of a particular project for public funding. This chapter argues an insufficiency of language provides a point of entry to understand the institutional relationship between Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and the provincial government. This language 'deficit' maintains points of disjuncture between the governing discourse and the artists' standpoint. How theatre professionals organize their work falls outside the governing discourse yet is coordinated by this same discourse. While this is not unique, it is taken for granted. The normalization of institutional processes as everyday social activities makes them and their consequences invisible. The insufficiency of language means how the day-to-day work of doing theatre is achieved has been normalized yet left without definition within the institutional relationship.

This chapter drew attention to this insufficiency of language to argue its consequences on theatre professionals' work. The institutional framework emphasizes formal theatre structures yet excludes consideration towards such operations' administrative skills and costs. These necessary work processes are removed from, and therefore, not given value within the institutional structures. Further, the insufficiency of language means the experiences and actual processes of theatre professionals' work are not efficiently recorded nor reflected in the governing discourse. This oversight is to the deficit of the sector and

public policy activity.

The work of gaining and satisfying the requirements of public funding creates work and ways of thinking that are not compensated in grants and become normalized unpaid work within theatre. At the same time, this unpaid work is skilled and necessary to getting grants and conducting theatre projects. It is also that this work is exhausting to theatre professionals since it must be done before projects and are essential to getting to make theatre. Finally, the governing discourse is blinded to this work as it falls outside the governing discourse.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

This study provides a critical analysis of the relationship between Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and the provincial government. An institutional ethnographic research design was adopted to achieve this. As a theoretical and methodological framework, institutional ethnography provided a process of inquiry into how the institutional processes in which one works structure the ways of knowing and doing that work.

This research uncovers how theatre professionals' everyday work, their understanding of that work, and their understanding of their relationship with the provincial government are institutionally shaped by public arts support. The original contribution to knowledge from this study is identifying how the reoccurring activation of the public funding cycle, as experienced from the artists' standpoint, shapes value in some areas of theatre professionals' work while overlooking other areas and the implications of this shaping on those undervalued areas. The consequences of this attribution of value include supporting and perpetuating an institutional distrust toward those in governing roles, the burnout of theatre professionals due to business skills deficits, the reliance on underpaid labour to sustain the theatre sector, and the omission of qualitative theatre sector experiences that are otherwise contributing to the public good.

This chapter provides an overview of this study. It opens with a discussion summarizing the research findings. Next, it speaks to the research relevance and suggests policy application for the research findings. The chapter concludes by recognizing the research limitations and potential for future work.

9.1 Discussion

Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and provincial government are engaged in a textually-mediated institutional relationship. Such relationships occur when an individual or group engages with the institution and the associated institutional practices. Policy texts are gatekeeping tools. Theatre professionals consciously and unconsciously tailor their everyday activities to satisfy the public funding programs' governing criteria. Theatre professionals' engagement in this textually-mediated process is unassuming. From the artist's standpoint, participation is unknowingly coerced by economic need.

This relationship maintains rules and expectations prescribed through public policy as codes of conduct for participation. These texts are activated as theatre professionals take up the associated translocal processes when engaging in the public arts funding model. The implications of this institutional relationship extend beyond application content and funding amounts. Public policy texts are shaping theatre professionals' ways of working.

Though this shaping of theatre professionals' work is an implication of provincial policy coordination, the governing discourse is not inclusive of its occurrence or the subsequent consequences. Instead, the governing discourse overlooks that which falls outside its scope. This finding opened the analysis to question the omitted experiences and how they are being overlooked.

Theatre professionals experience policy consequences in their everyday work, socially organized under public policy texts. These lived experiences frame their ways of knowing theatre work. The repetition of an experience, such as occurs in the provincial public funding cycle's reactivation, reinforces the experiential ways of knowing. The recurring activation of the public funding programs normalize this institutional

coordination as presumed regular day-to-day activities. However, the data shows that theatre professionals are challenged when describing their experience in a way for it to be included in the governing discourse of theatre funding. This limitation appears as a deficit or insufficiency of language in the data.

This 'language issue' is prevalent within the experiences reported by theatre professionals. A domain of experience is omitted from the institutional discourse. While theatre professionals and public officials adopt the governing discourse to engage in the relationship, the ideological and experiential ways of knowing are disconnected. The governing discourse includes only those activities which fall inside its textually-mediated focus. These omissions of everyday experiences include how theatre professionals' work is institutionally recognized, valued, validated, and invalidated. This discovery is a map key. It isolates translocal processes entangled in day-to-day institutional activities.

The relationship between Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and the provincial government is shaped by theatre professionals' interactions with policy text. Among this shaping is how the artists' standpoint understands the relationship itself. Everyday interactions from the artists' standpoint suggest the potential of preferential treatment across some funding recipients over others even though policy texts are designed to mitigate such actions. Further, the cross-sector relationship is marked by the institutional memory of the Nova Scotia Arts Council. Though the provincial government developed Arts Nova Scotia, appointed the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council, and launched several sector studies, programs, and action plans, an unresolved distrust toward those in governing roles remains present in the artists' standpoint. Further, this standpoint experiences a lack of clarity around the institutional actions coordinating the policy

developments.

This institutional shaping is to the sector's limitation. The practice of making theatre requires many dimensions of work. Of these, the artists' standpoint experiences the administrative domain as necessary, exhausting, and without compensation. The artist's standpoint is contextually instructed to create a theatre company early in their career without administrative skill sets or business management understanding. The work diverts from their creative process, yet it is essential to fund artistic activities. This necessary deficit contributes to the perpetuation and normalization of under-waged labour within the theatre sector.

While the lack of compensation for administrative theatre work is partly due to constraints in public funding available, it is also shaped by the institutional undervaluing of administrative work associated with the theatre practice. However, this aspect of the discipline (arts administration) is an occupation in itself and not an add-on responsibility of theatre work. This tension is made clear in the research by the time demands and necessary skillsets reported by theatre professionals to complete their administrative tasks. Nonetheless, a lack of resources and institutional value has sequestered the administrative domain of theatre work to be unpaid labour, recognized in this study as invisible work. Further, as these experiences are outside the governing discourse, they are not seen nor addressed. Nor are the real motivations for theatre professionals when looking to "make theatre." The artists' standpoint is omitted from the discourse, undermining the experience, and limiting sector activities that would otherwise be recognized as in the public good.

9.2   Research Relevance

It is commonly understood that the arts contribute to the public good. This

understanding is the fundamental concept grounding the provision of public support. However, the coordination of this support on theatre professionals' everyday work as the policy user was not previously well defined. This gap was not to be disregard. The timing, approach, and subject matter of this research is valuable for regional activity and development. Regional vitality is essential for the development of an area, particularly with an increasing prevalence of technology to extend beyond locale marketplaces, regional competition, and shifts in the broader economic market (Baeker, 2010; Duxbury, 2004; Duxbury & Campbell, 2010; Duxbury & Jeannotte, 2012; Duxbury & Murray, 2010; Gibson, n.d.; Morgan et al., 2006; Taylor & Baeker, 2008). Nova Scotia is not excluded from these socio-economic shifts.

Professional theatre practice can contribute to the sustainability development of the region when understood. By mapping the institutional processes shaping theatre sector work and the sector's relationship with the provincial government, the research provides a contextual analysis for recognizing these policy structures' implications on work processes. With developments in public administration and public policy around activation and budget validation, how public support influences sector activities becomes relevant.

This research purposefully engages an interdisciplinary and institutional ethnographic approach. The predominance of single disciplinary research within this subject matter is limiting to the topic itself. The dominant literature keeps -and suffers from the same insufficiency of language as- the governing discourse. The literature on the historical patterns of cultural policy development in Canada focuses on the political approach and reasons. Anecdotal literature articulates regional cultural benefits in economic growth and social capital building. However, this literature remains limited to

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the relationship across cultural policy, economic development, social capital, and overall link to practitioner experiences (Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2011a). As stated by the Arts Nova Scotia Transition Committee, "Numbers do not tell the full story" of culture's social and economic impacts (Arts Nova Scotia Transition Committee, 2011). Therefore, an interdisciplinary approach accesses literature across disciplines to suggest a knowledge gap and pursue the study accordingly to authentically track and explicate social experiences of doing theatre work. This study shows institutional ethnography as a viable research method for public policy and arts sector activities.

The research problematic is situated within popular policy discourse, which focuses on the arts' socio-economic outcomes for the public good, to the omission of theatre professionals' lived experience as policy users. In response, this study maps translocal experiences across cross-sector activities. Through the adoption of institutional ethnography, shortcomings in conventional policy evaluation are identified, and the applicability of this theoretical and methodological framework is confirmed.

Public policy shapes theatre professionals' work. Nonetheless, those in governing roles are hindered from recognizing and addressing the impacts of this shaping and connecting them back to policy activity. These events occur outside of and therefore are invisible to the governing discourse. This research draws attention to this institutional shaping, mapping its occurrence, and the consequences on theatre sector work. It uncovers events that would otherwise be invisible within the public policy domain and shows the linkage between these events and policy processes.

The study opens the governing rules of practice through an institutional ethnographic research framework to illustrate how public policy processes coordinate theatre sector

activities. It found public support for the arts is intended to promote the professional theatre sector (among others). However, Nova Scotia's policy structures surrounding this support reinforce consequences on theatre professionals' work. Though Nova Scotia's public policy framework is defined as leveraging the sector, it also hinders theatre sector development through associated policy coordination. This finding is relevant to both academic and public policy discourse.

Understanding a distinction between the ideological ways of knowing, as attributing from the governing relations, and the experiential ways of knowing as lived from the artist's standpoint validate theatre professionals' lived experience doing their work. Only by validating the experience can the institutional processes, their implications, and their consequences be addressed. While this research is neither evaluative nor prescriptive in the findings, policy recommendations can be drawn from the analysis. These recommendations include:

1. **Understanding the power dynamic inherent in the relationship and recognizing this sensitivity:** This could include the provincial government increasing transparent communications and methods of active engagement with the professional theatre sector regarding policy activity as it is occurring, rather than completed, within all governing roles.

2. **Shifting focus from applications to applicants**: The funding process needs to be re-humanized, where the applicant's experience is institutionally prioritized before the content of the application. Public officials would need to explore avenues to allow for human subjectivity while still maintaining the necessary accountability processes associated with public administration.

3. **Accessible and upfront communications for business expectations when starting theatre companies:** Activating this recommendation may range from the addition of instructional texts themed around "things to consider before starting a theatre company," sector partnerships with training institutions and support organizations to host information sessions, and program officers reaching out to new funding applicants to discuss funding streams, ad hoc groups, and business creation.

4. **Investing in administrative skills early on, as components of project funding awards:** Arts administration and management skills need to be first within the institutional relationship as a part of all funding applications. The suggestions put forward in recommendation three may also be applied here.

5. **Seeking opportunities to capture qualitative outcomes without additional ownness on the theatre professional**: Public support to the arts is mandated to contribute to the public good. This mandate is from the provincial government. The institutional processes required the artist's standpoint to report on this public good for policy accountability. However, the artist's standpoint is already experiencing limitations in their capacity, which hindered their work—the ownness of tracking and reporting on the public good needs to be returned to the public sector and expanded to include an understanding of the public good from the artists' standpoint.

This research moves beyond examining sector activities and evaluating policy support. It purposefully shifts the focus from policy outcomes to implications. In doing so, pivotal consequences on the professional theatre sector work and cross-sector relations are

exposed. The very policies designed to elevate the arts through public support are constraining professional theatre sector activities. It is noteworthy that these constraints, through readily present, do not appear purposeful nor malicious. Nonetheless, only when moving beyond the governing discourse, to break apart the institutional relationship for analysis, are these limitations uncovered.

9.3 Study Limitations and Future Research

This research investigates Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector work, as organized by provincial policy. Included in this approach is a series of limitations, such as the research scope and intent. This research does not set out to be exhaustive. It constructs a map for navigating Nova Scotia arts policy's institutional processes and the province's professional theatre sector's related experiences working within these policy boundaries.

Within the context of this study, Nova Scotia's theatre sector is in a challenging position. It is institutionally dependent on the provincial government for public support. Nevertheless, it remains financially constrained. During interviews, theatre professionals and policy officials alike lamented insufficient operational funding available to the arts. However, these funding levels remained unchanged.

Theatre professionals engaged in this study were hopeful that the research would present a definitive argument for increased public support. In a similar vein, provincial personnel were interested in a qualitative methodology for reporting arts sector impacts and policy evaluation. However, this research is not an evaluative piece. Rather, the findings provide a navigational tool kit to launch future research.

The decision to approach this study as non-evaluative, non-hypothesis driven research was affirmed early in the investigation. By removing funding levels from the

conversation, theatre professionals could express their lived narratives outside of their financial concerns. While the insufficiency of language still constrained theatre professionals, the governing discourse's pressure on outcomes for validating the support was removed. In doing so, the theatre professionals were also able to remove the governing discourse's evaluative qualities from their narrative. They were able to describe their experience authentically. It is in the interest of future policy development to continue deconstructing the governing discourse's presence when investigating arts sector activities to collect authentic and empirical data from the artists' standpoint.

The scope of this study is limited to the theatre sector (in place of other disciplines). By focusing on the experiences of only one arts discipline, space is made for theatre professionals' actual lived experiences working within the provincial policy contexts to be examined. However, the conscious act of mapping from the artists' standpoint outward into institutional processes may be used to investigate other arts disciplines and governing structures. Through this study, the application of empirical analysis within arts and public policy analysis was demonstrated as a viable research methodology.

Institutional ethnographic studies may be considered connected as they share an organizing ontology and generalize the overarching governing structures (D. Smith, 2006, p. 18). Institutional ethnography's adaptability across research topics does not lessen its methodological value. Each institutional ethnography application builds on and contributes to previous and future research. This breath of application gives institutional ethnographic research its unique ontology as a sociology for the people (D. Smith, 2005), recognizing the everyday world as problematic. Therefore, this research may be applied to and complement other socio-cultural policy analyses using an institutional ethnographic

approach.

Activity between Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector and the provincial government is not static. Policy changes and developments are ongoing and were so during this study.[54] For example, professionals within the theatre and film sectors heavily overlap. This exchange across the disciplines includes actors, designers, directors, and producers. Experiences within one cultural sector ripple into others, contributing to the experiential perspective. The research scope maintained an investigative focus on experiences occurring within the realm of professional theatre practice. Interviews were gently guided to remain about theatre work and not digress into other subject matter. When interview narratives did shift, these events were recognized as influencing participants' overall ways of knowing.[55] These events contribute to shaping theatre professionals' experiences, which was indicated during the analysis as areas of strain in theatre professionals' experience and warrant future investigation.

Tensions experienced in these side narratives were not pursued due to the research scope and data availability. One such tension area is the Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council's position to the government divisions, agencies, ministers, and the arts sector itself. However, data limitations such as confidentiality around organizational activities prevented this tension from being investigated as part of this study. Another area of

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[54] In 2015, the Nova Scotia Government cut the Nova Scotia Film Industry Tax Credit without warning to the sector.

[55] The research scope maintained investigative focus on experiences occurring within the realm of professional theatre practice. Interviews were gently guided to remain on the subject of theatre work and not digress into other subject matter. When interview narratives did shift, these events were recognized as influencing participants' overall ways of knowing.55 These events contributed to shaping theatre professionals' experiences, were indicated during the analysis as areas of strain in theatre professionals' experience and warranting of future investigation.

uncertainty and vagueness for theatre professionals and policy administrators was peer jury operations. Here, linkages indicating tensions around this domain emerged late in data analysis. There were not enough resources remaining in terms of time and participant engagement to collect additional data and pursue this inquiry line.

9.4   Chapter Summary

Conflicts in ideological and experiential ways of knowing are present within the cross-sector relationship between Nova Scotia's professional theatre and provincial governments. While the two sectors engage in the relationship, they participate for distinct reasons. The governing discourse falls short in recognizing the complexity of professional theatre work. The cross-sector relationship suffers from an insufficiency of language. This insufficiency propagates theatre professionals to adopt a complex and adaptive narrative to describe their work, tangling public policy expectations with their lived experiences. This disjuncture between ideological and experiential ways of knowing maintains policy implications on theatre work and the theatre sector's relationship with the provincial government.

Text-action-text processes shape Nova Scotia's provincial policy's position as a governing discourse over the professional theatre sector activities. Theatre professionals enter the relationship wanting to make theatre. They take up the related policy expectations as codes of conduct guiding sector activities and engagement to access associated policy support. Theatre professionals' work enacting these policy-coordinated behaviours affirms the textually-mediated relationship as governing sector relations and activities. Public policy textually-mediates the relationship between the two sectors.

Policy texts shape the associated sector activities to fit within funding program

guidelines, criteria, and reports. As these texts maintain the governing discourse, they suffer an insufficiency of language. Institutional language does not reflect the lived experiences of theatre professionals appropriately nor effectively. Theatre professionals frame their experiential understanding in the context of their lived experience yet moderate it through ideological values.

Further, this value translates to the areas of the work which receive funding.

Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector's size, capacity, and organizational values are products of the province's arts policy framework. Project proposals that receive public support are experientially understood as institutionally valued. The funding framework systematically encourages theatre professionals to create and incorporate theatre companies as a legal business early in their careers to access the granting programs. The policy processes then devalue the administrative work associated with these companies. Company administrative operation is invisible within the governing discourse. This omission encourages formal company structures yet rebukes organization investment through a lack of value towards artistic and managerial activities.

These institutional processes shaping theatre sector work also hinder the growth of these companies and the broader sector. Nova Scotia's provincial policy framework looks to hold up the province's theatre sector yet is inadvertently obstructing it. The governing focus remains on the theatre product and its associated public value. Theatre professionals, living and working within the policy structures, internalize this value set as their lived experience. It becomes a double-edged sword to knowing and doing professional theatre within the region.

This study found the relationship between theatre professionals and the public

sector to be institutional. Rules and hierarchies are maintained, which influence ways of knowing and the social patterns of the work. By flipping the institutional relationships to position the individual as an expert in their own experience, this study highlights rules and hierarchies as contributing tensions to the institutional exchanges. The consequences of these tensions include a contrast of institutional distrust yet reliance toward those in governing roles, an insufficiency of language when communicating the lived experiences of theatre professionals, and a hindering reliance on invisible work for sustaining Nova Scotia's professional theatre sector. Consequently, Nova Scotia's public policy discourse shapes and, in many ways, undermines how theatre professionals understand, do, and value their work.

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Appendix A   Arts Activities Attributing Economic and Social Benefits

Source. Adapted from Basting, 2013; Headlines Theatre, 1998; MT Space, The, 2011; Puentetheatre.Ca, 2011; Manchester Bidwell Corporation, 2016; Manchester Craftsman Guild, 2009; Mello & Voigts, 2012; National Centre for Arts and Technology, 2016; Strickland, 2002, 2009, 2013.

MT Space Waterloo, ON	Headlines Theatre Vancouver, BC	National Centre for Arts and Technology Pittsburgh, PA, USA
Brings together communities at the local, national, and international levels to explore "cultural intersections amongst people, their histories, and their forms of expression"	Engages their work as a public forum for collaboration, "dialogue creation and conflict resolution," in addition to "community development."	Under the direction of CEO Bill Strickland of the Manchester Bidwell Group, NCAT blends the social impacts of the arts with economic development for the area. They offer arts programs to youth and provide skills-based training opportunities to adults for improved employment opportunities. The centre addresses prevalent and systematic issues of poverty and racism With international recognition for its success, the Pittsburgh model is now being replicated in other countries.
Puente Theatre Victoria BC	**The Penelope Project Wisconsin, USA**	
Founded by one newcomer to Canada to addressed the lack of space she experienced for sharing her stories and connecting other immigrants in her community; a company now used as a tool for both self-representation and community inclusion.	The initiative began in the Fall of 2010. Researchers and theatre artists entered an assisted living home, Luther Manor, to collaborate with residents in producing their own adaption of Homer's Odyssey. The project reported a multitude of health gains for the residents who took part.	

Appendix B   List of Interviewees

1. Amy. (2015, June 3).
2. Anita. (2015, June 9).
3. Anita. (2015, June 9).
4. Anton. (2015, June 17).
5. Brad. (2015, July 23).
6. Carlene. (2015, August 25).
7. Caroline. (2015, July 27).
8. Colin. (2015, September 17).
9. David. (2015, June 11).
10. Diana. (2015, August 14).
11. Erin. (2015, June 29).
12. Glenn. (2015, June 10).
13. Gregg. (2015, June 11).
14. Janice. (2015, June 1).
15. Jean. (2015, July 3).
16. Jennifer. (2015, September 15).
17. Joanne. (2015, September 5).
18. Kate. (2015, June 11).
19. Kelly-Ann. (2015, June 16).
20. Marla. (2015, July 28).
21. Mary. (2015, July 28).
22. Matthew. (2015, July 30).
23. Melanie. (2015, June 23).
24. Meredith. (2015, June 3).
25. Michael. (2015, September 16).
26. Michelle. (2015, August 14).
27. Nora. (2015, July 23).
28. Patricia. (2015, September 16).
29. Rebecca. (2015, August 18).
30. Samantha. (2015, August 11).
31. Sandra. (2015, June 11).
32. Sarah. (2015, June 17).
33. Stephanie. (2015, August 21).
34. Steve. (2015, June 4).
35. Tony. (2015, June 12).

Figure   *18*
Number of interviewees engaged across each locale
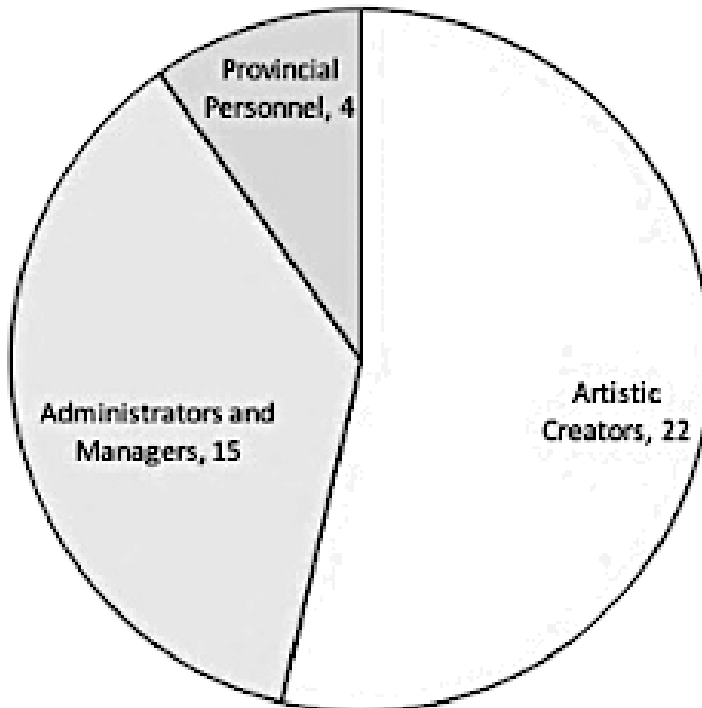
Appendix C   Invitation to Participate in Research Study

Note. This invitation was sent through email to participants.

Dear Mr./Ms. **[potential participant name]**,

You are invited to participate in a research study to examine the relationship of Nova Scotia theatre professionals and government officials in terms community engagement and a broader regional development process. The study is titled ***Performing Public Policy: An Institutional Ethnography of the Relationship between Nova Scotia's Provincial Government and Professional Theatre Sector*** and is part of my dissertation research in Dalhousie University's Interdisciplinary PhD program.

With a growing interest in culture's contribution to regional vitality and economic sustainability, there is a need for a deeper conversation surrounding the relationship between theatre and policy within Nova Scotia. I am conducting research interviews with various stakeholders within the theatre sector and provincial government across the region in terms of interests, activities, experiences, and goals.

Would you be interested in participating in this study through an interview sometime between **[dates]** and/or recommending people you feel would be interested in interviewing? The semi-structured interview will be approximately 60 minutes in length and may take place in an office on Dalhousie campus or a location of your choosing. Questions will pertain to your experience with Nova Scotia's theatre sector, with the theatre sector and government relationship, and the contribution of theatre to community and regional development.

I would be grateful for your participation in this research. Your knowledge and perspectives will be a valuable contribution. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Catherine   MacKeigan,   MPA
Interdisciplinary   PhD   Candidate
Dalhousie   University
camackei@dal.ca

Appendix D   Researcher's Biography Accompanying Research Invitation

Catherine MacKeigan is a PhD Candidate in the Interdisciplinary program at Dalhousie University. She holds a Master's in Public Administration (Dalhousie University) and Bachelor of Arts Honours in Theatre (Bishop's University). Catherine has considerable practical theatre knowledge, having worked as a practitioner, administrator, and consultant with various companies within Nova Scotia and across Canada's East Coast. She has also worked for the Halifax Regional Municipality in community planning, strategy building, and funding policy revision and administration. Recently, she finished an Instructor teaching term at Acadia University as the Technical Director for the Department of English and Theatre. Additionally, she works as a Research Associate and Teaching Assistant with Dalhousie University's Faculty of Management. Catherine sits as Chair on the Strategic Arts Management (SAM) board of directors, is a SAM service provider, and Communications Director on the Luna Sea Theatre Company board of directors. She has experience with developing methodologies, data collection, analysis, report writing, and information dissemination on cultural and economic development strategies and public policy reports. She has presented her work nationally and internationally.

Appendix E   Study Information Package and Consent Form

This document was mounted on Dalhousie letterhead before being circulated.

Performing Public Policy: An Institutional Ethnography of the Relationship between Nova Scotia's Provincial Government and Professional Theatre Sector

For additional study information or question, please contact:

Researcher: Catherine MacKeigan
Interdisciplinary PhD Candidate
Faculty of Graduate Studies
Dalhousie University
camackei@dal.ca

Supervisors: Dr. Marguerite Cassin
Assistant Professor
School of Public Administration
Dalhousie University
902-494-1641
marguerite.cassin@dal.ca

You are invited take part in a research study being conducted by Catherine MacKeigan who is a graduate student at Dalhousie University, as part of her Interdisciplinary PhD program. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time. Your academic (or employment) performance evaluation will not be affected by whether or not you participate [where applicable]. The study is described below. This description tells you about the risks, inconvenience, or discomfort which you might experience. Participating in the study might not benefit you, but we might learn things that will benefit others. You should discuss any questions you have about this study with Catherine MacKeigan.

Purpose of the Study

With a growing interest in culture's contribution to regional vitality and economic sustainability, there is value in cultural public policy initiatives as supporting regional development strategies. Cultural industries contribute to socio-economic growth, with theatre practice exemplifying this. Policy activity, in its relation to arts funding and programming, contributes to the development of a region's cultural landscape, influencing and affecting stakeholder relationships, experiences, and associated socio-cultural practices and long-term sustainable development.

There is a need for a deeper conversation surrounding the relationship between theatre and policy within Nova Scotia in terms of stakeholder interests, activities, experiences, and goals. The study aims to identify and understand the relationship between and amongst Nova Scotia theatre practitioners and government officials in terms community

engagement and a broader regional development process. To do so, the study focuses on the experiences, interest, and activities of those contributing to Nova Scotia's theatre sector.

Study Design

The research will be conducted through a series of interview-based case studies in Fall 2013 with results to be available in 2014. The case studies will be divided into stakeholder representative/affiliate classifications of theatre society (professional and community), venue, theatre professional, and government. Understanding that some research participants may identify in multiple categories, you will be asked to self-identify in the most applicable category. Interviews will be approximately 60 minutes in length between the principal investigator, Catherine MacKeigan, and the participant. Data collected will be used to map stakeholder relationships, interests, experiences, and goals with regards to theatre activity in terms community engagement and a broader regional development process.

Who can Participate in the Study

You can participate in this study if you self-identify as a theatre stakeholder in one of the four categories (professional/community theatre company/festival representative, performance venue representative, theatre practitioner, or government representative/affiliate).

Theatre Company/Festival Representative - You self-identify as part of the leadership and/or administrative team of a theatre company/festival. The company/festival has a recognizable organizational structure and board of directors. Members may be paid or volunteer. The company has produced at minimum 3 productions since forming and is currently active in production and/or rehearsal. The society may be a housed (visiting, resident, or permanent) within a theatre venue or affiliated with venues based on production. You may also be a venue representative and/or practitioner and choose to identify predominately as a society representative.

Theatre Venue Representative – You self-identify as part of the ownership, leadership and/or administrative team of a non-profit performance venue used as a theatre performance space at minimum 25% of operating time. This may be a found space, retrofitted, or one purposely designed for theatre production. You may also be a theatre company/festival representative and/or practitioner and chooses to identify predominately as a venue representative.

Theatre Practitioner - You generally work with various theatre societies throughout the year, have been involved in a minimum of 3 theatre productions over your career, and continue to be active within the locale theatre scene, having been engaged in a theatre production within the past year. You may also be a company/festival representative and/or venue representative and choose to identify predominately as a practitioner.

Government and/or Non-government organization (NGO) representative – You self-identify as having an active role in influencing public and cultural policy development and activity within the region. This may be through advocacy, legislation, policy development and implementation, funding provision and advisory roles. You may also be a theatre practitioner and choose to identify predominately as a government representative.

Who will be Conducting the Research

Research will be conducted by:

Catherine MacKeigan
Interdisciplinary PhD Candidate
Faculty of Graduate Studies
Dalhousie University
camackei@dal.ca

What you will be asked to do

You will be asked to participant in one semi-structured interview, approximately 60 minutes in length. Interviews will take place either in your own office, an office provided by the researcher or an alternative location of your choice. With consent, you may be contacted for any follow up questions (via email, telephone or in person).
Possible Risks and Discomforts

Nova Scotia's theatre sector is interconnected in terms of stakeholder roles and involvement. Participants may not be inclined to be critical of those in power due to familiarity, employment and/or funding. Recognizing this, the researcher will be sensitive to requested anonymity of participants to avoid any negative repercussions for individuals and their affiliations. Risks associated with this research are minimal, no greater than those that are related to common experiences of everyday life.

Possible Benefits

While there are no anticipated direct personal benefits to participants, this study aims to map theatre activity within the region as it relates to community engagement and regional development. Understanding stakeholder interests, experiences and goals and the link of these to public policy can contribute to capacity building for the region's cultural sector and long-term economic sustainability.

Compensation / Reimbursement

Participation in this research is voluntary and participants are not compensated
Confidentiality & Anonymity

It is the responsibility of the researcher to safeguard the anonymity of participants and the confidentiality of the information that they provided.

Anonymity
Interview quotes will be used in the final document, identified by case study category heading. You have three choices as how a quote is attributed:

1. You may remain unidentified, where neither your name nor organization title (as applicable) will be used. Instead, the interview excerpt will be attributed to "case study category heading" participant.

2. You can have quotes attributed to you with review. In this case, direct interview excerpts to be included in the final document will be forwarded to you, including context in use, for approval. At this stage, you have the option to approve the quote as attributed to you or remain unidentified.

3. You can have quotes attributed to you without review. Direct interview excerpts may be included in the final document without you needing to approve them.

Interviews will be audio recorded unless otherwise requested and written notes will be made. Participants can request the audio recording or a written transcript of the interview. Participation in this study is voluntary. Quote attribution choice can be changed within 30 days of the interview. Agreement to participate may be removed at any time with all associated data withdrawn.

Confidentiality:
Data collection instruments (audio recordings and notes taken during the interview) will be stored by the Researcher in a locked file cabinet and will not-be shared with any third parties. Data will be securely maintained for a minimum five-years post publication. The researcher may draw on data collected at any time for this or future studies. If requested, a draft of the study results will be forwarded to you for review in advance of publication and/or a final document forwarded.

Questions

Any questions about the study may be directed to Catherine MacKeigan by email at camackei@dal.ca.

Participants are assured that they will be provided with any new information which might affect their decision to participate in the study. Participants will receive a copy of the consent form for their records and information at the outset of the study. If you have any difficulties with, or wish to voice concern about, any aspect of your participation in this study, you may contact Catherine Connors, Director, Research Ethics, Dalhousie University at (902) 494-1462, ethics@dal.ca. Participants who live at a distance from Halifax may call collect.

Consent Signature Page

Performing Public Policy: An Institutional Ethnography of the Relationship between Nova Scotia's Provincial Government and Professional Theatre Sector

I, _____ (participant name) have read the explanation about this study. I have been given the opportunity to discuss it and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I hereby consent to take part in this study. However, I realize that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study within at any time and have all data relating to my participation withdrawn.

For the purpose of this study, I choose to self-identify as a:
       Theatre Company/Festival Representative
       Theatre Venue Representative
       Theatre Practitioner
       Government/NGO Representative and/or Affiliate

I consent to an audio recording of my interview for transcription purposes.
       Yes   No

I consent to being contacted for any follow up questions.
       Yes   No

I understand excerpts of my interview may be included in the final document. I would like my participation and any associated quotations treated as:
       Autonomous – non attributable
       Attributable – with review
       Attributable – without review

I would like the opportunity to review the final study results prior to publication.
       Yes   No

I would like to receive an electronic copy of the final document.
       Yes   No

_____   _____
Research Participant   Date

_____   _____
Researcher   Date

Appendix F   Governing Text Funded by The Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage as Included in This Study

Reports

Canadian Culture Satellite Account Report (2010)
Creative Economy, The: Key Concepts and Literature Review Highlights (2013)
Nova Scotia Culture Index (2016)

Plans

Statement of Mandate (2010)
Arts and Culture Five-Point Plan (2011)
Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage Business Plan (2016-2017)
Nova Scotia Culture Action Plan (Pending at time of data collection, released 2017)

Acts of Legislation

Creative Nova Scotia Leadership Council Act (2011)
Arts Nova Scotia Act (2011, amended 2012)
Status of the Artist Act (2012)

Programs

Creative Industries Fund (2016)
Support4Culture*
Access Support - Supplement*
Grants to Individuals*
Grants to Organizations and Small Groups*
Operating Assistance to Arts Organizations*
Art Bank*
Artists in the Schools programs*
The Nova Scotia Talent Trust*
The Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia
     Masterworks Award*
Community Arts and Culture Recognition Award*
Established Artists Recognition Award
Portia White Prize*
Prix Grand-Pré*

Diversity and Community Capacity Fund
Mi'kmaq Cultural Activities Program
Heritage Development Fund (Built Heritage)
One-time Emerging Culture and Heritage
     Initiatives Program
Arts Equity Funding Initiative*
artsVest*
Atlantic Artist Residency Program*
Creative Collaborations*
Artistic Innovation Program*

programs funded through Department Of Communities, Culture And Heritage and administered by Arts Nova Scotia

Appendix G   Nova Scotia Arts Council Office Closure Signage

Data source: *Fuse Magazine*, 2002.
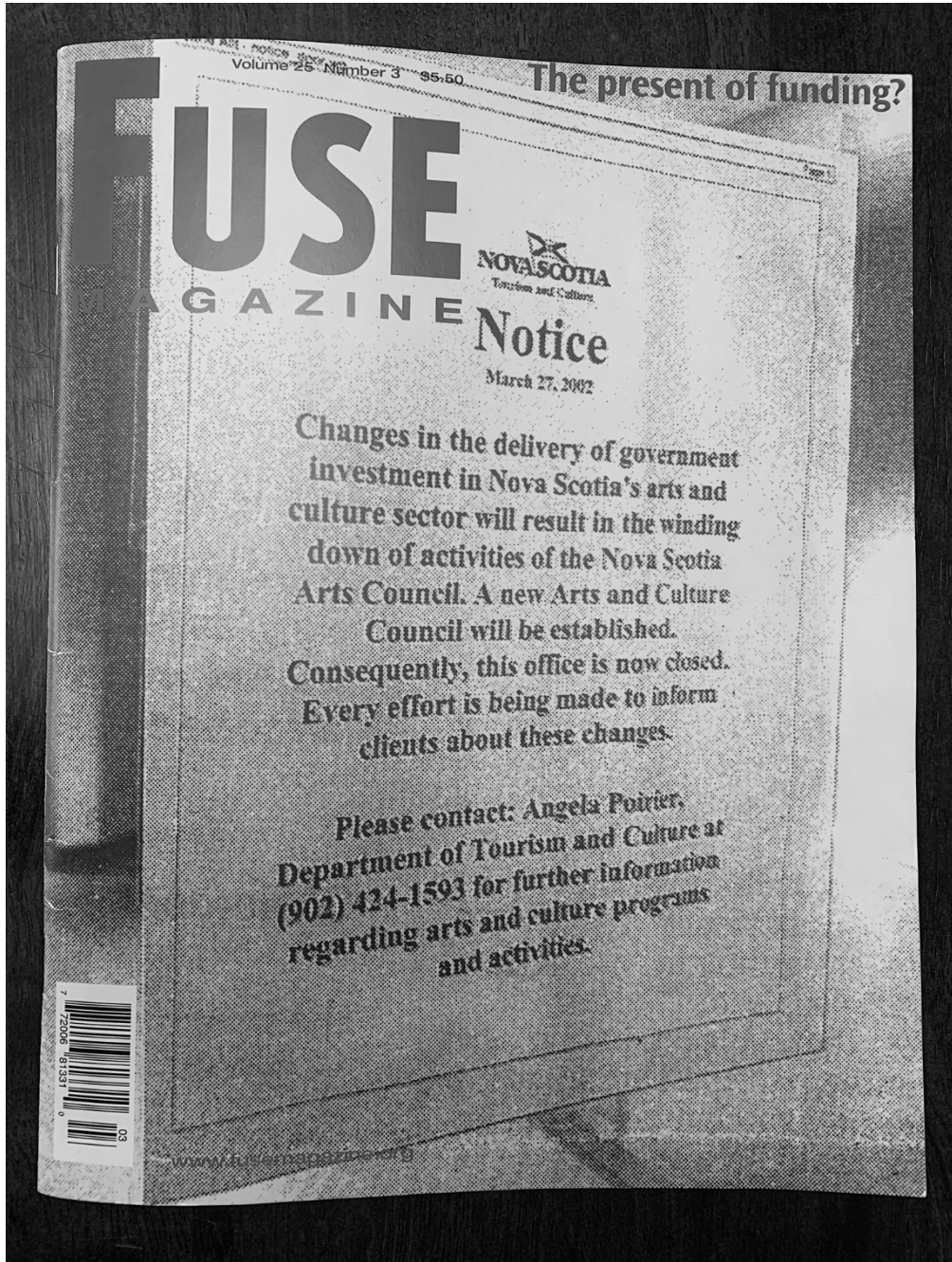
Appendix H   Detailed Linear Map of Nova Scotia's Arts Funding Process

A descriptive map of Nova Scotia's arts funding process as experienced by theatre professionals working in the province is included in this appendix. The first map is the full image on one page, while the following pages highlight the individual phases.

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Phase 1: Enter relationship

Legend:
- Terminator
- Action
- Decision
- Document - accessing or filing
- Action elsewhere
- coordinating text
- Preparation (steps before action)
- Multiple documents
- ways of knowing

Action / Governing Text / Action / Governing Text

Phase 2: Authorize relationship

Legend

Shape	Meaning
	Action elsewhere
	coordinating text
	ways of knowing
Legend	
	Action
	Decision
	Preparation (steps before action)
	Terminator
	Document – accessing or filing
	Multiple documents

Action

- from Phase 1
- Review submissions
- Set up peer review panel
- Distribute applications to peer panel

Governing Text

- Formalized package contents
  - Base qualifications
  - Full forms filled
  - Meet the deadline
  - Total applications submitted
- Program officer
  - Peer Review Policy
  - Peer interest
  - Peer availability
  - Conflicts of interest
  - Status of the Artists Act
- Arm's length adjudication
  - Sector recognition for selection
  - Jury of peers

Action

- to Phase 3
- Prepare and mail notification letter

Application above or below line?

Above: receive funding

Below: does not receive funding

Governing Text

- Administrative processing time
  - Template letter
  - Canada Post

Peer adjudication

- Review applications in advance
- Meet with peer review panel
- Collectively discuss applications

- Artistic merit
  - Project viability
  - Peer recognition
  - Status of the Artists Act

- Artistic merit
  - Professional standing
  - Peer recognition
  - Financial viability

- Score applications
- List applications by score
- Allocate funding
- Draw red line when all funding allocated

- Previous individual review
  - Peer discussion

- Original ask
  - Funding available
  - Application score
  - Red line

- Top score on top
  - Numerical order

- Fiscal budget
  - Sums requested
  - Final scores
  - Number of submissions

Phase 3: Validate relationship

Action (from Phase 2 → Receive notification → Awarded funding? → Can project still go ahead? → Cancel or postpone production → Accept funding (as applicable))

Governing Text
- Letter content
- Previous granting experience

- Staff/Cast Size
- Dept. budget amounts
- Timeline
- Venue
- Administration Costs

- Template form
- Accountability
- Categorizing

Action (to Phase 4 → Increase professional standing → Produce project → Receive funding → Await funding receipt)

Governing Text
- Peer recognition
- Pay for work
- Validating work
- Awards

- Processing Times
- Upfront Expenses

Legend
- Action elsewhere
- coordinating text
- ways of knowing
- Action
- Decision
- Preparation (steps before action)
- Terminator
- Document - accessing or filling
- Multiple documents

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Phase 4: Report on relationship

Action

Governing Text

from Phase 3

Artist Final Reporting

Complete final report forms
- Formal document
- Financial need

Submit final reports
- Template content
- Audience size
- Financial outcomes
- Policy alignment

Review report
- Template forms
- Policy directive

Release final funding portion
- Complete report
- Alignment to original grant

Close file
- Complete report
- Administrative processing time
- Finance processing time

Legend

Terminator

Action

Action elsewhere

Document - accessing or filling

Decision

coordinating text

Multiple documents

Preparation (steps before action)

ways of knowing

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Appendix INova Scotia Registry of Joint Stocks Society Incorporation Forms

Data source: Registry of Joint Stock Companies: Service Nova Scotia, 2019

NOVA SCOTIA

Service Nova Scotia

Registry of Joint Stock Companies

Society Incorporation Forms
Societies Act
Page 1 of 13

Society Incorporation Forms

CHECK LIST FOR INCORPORATING A SOCIETY

For background and assistance, please see our website (www.rjsc.ca) and follow the links to "forms and information" and then to "societies". We encourage you to download "Societies Incorporation: Overview and Instructions" as an important addition to this package of forms.

On the following pages are all of the forms required to incorporate a society once your group's name has been reserved. To reserve a name, either call your local Access Centre or use the phone numbers at the bottom of this page. Alternatively, you can use the "Name Reservation Form", which is available at www.rjsc.ca by following the links to "forms and information" and then to "societies". Once the name is reserved, use the following forms to register and incorporate your society.

☐ Name on reserve (free) *
☐ $43.60 *incorporation fee, payable to the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies*

☐ Page 1:   Check List
☐ *Pages 2-3:   Memorandum of Association*
☐ *Page 4:   Society Classification*
☐ Pages 5-9:   By-laws
☐ *Pages 10-11: Notice of Directors and Officers*
☐ Page 12:   Appointment of Recognized Agent
☐ *Page 13:   Notice of Registered Office*

* You must use the exact name that has been reserved with the Registry of Joint Stock *Companies for your society's use on all of these forms. Submit the original forms (no* faxes or emails are acceptable) with the incorporation fee of $43.60 to your nearest Access Centre or to the mailing address below.

Nova Scotia Registry of Joint Stock Companies, PO Box 1529, Halifax, NS, B3J 2Y4

Need help? Contact us at 902-424-7770 (toll-free in NS: 1-800-225-8227) or email at rjsc@novascotia.ca

Rev 04/15

Memorandum of Association
For a Non-Profit Society

The name of the Society is _____

<div align="center">(society name)</div>

On a volunteer and non-profit basis the objective/s of the society is/are:

-

-

To acquire by way of grant, gift, purchase, bequest, devise or otherwise, real and personal property and to use and apply such property to the realization of the objects of the Society;

To buy, own, hold, lease, mortgage, sell and convey such real and personal property as may be necessary or desirable in the carrying out of the objects of the Society.

Provided that:

• The society shall not carry on any trade, industry, or business;
• All funds shall be used solely for the purposes of the Society and the promotion of its objects;

Upon dissolution of the society and after payment of all debts and liabilities, its remaining property shall be distributed or disposed of to:

○ qualified donees described in subsection 149.1(1) of the Income Tax Act ("charitable purposes").

○ non-profit organization in Canada having objects similar to those of the society.

The activities of the Society are to be carried on in . _____

_____

<div align="center">(civic number and street)</div>

<div align="center">Nova Scotia</div>

_____	_____	_____
(city or town)	(province)	(postal code)

_____

We, the 5 persons whose names, addresses and occupations are subscribed, desire to be formed into a society in pursuance of this memorandum of association.

1. Member:_____ _____ _____
                  (name)   *(occupation)*   *(signature)*

     Address:_____
                             (civic number and street)

                _____ _____ _____
                     (city or town)   *(province)*   *(postal code)*

2. Member:_____ _____ _____
                  (name)   *(occupation)*   *(signature)*

     Address:_____
                             (civic number and street)

                _____ _____ _____
                     (city or town)   *(province)*   *(postal code)*

3. Member:_____ _____ _____
                  (name)   *(occupation)*   *(signature)*

     Address:_____
                             (civic number and street)

                _____ _____ _____
                     (city or town)   *(province)*   *(postal code)*

4. Member:_____ _____ _____
                  (name)   *(occupation)*   *(signature)*

     Address:_____
                             (civic number and street)

                _____ _____ _____
                     (city or town)   *(province)*   *(postal code)*

5. Member:_____ _____ _____
                  (name)   *(occupation)*   *(signature)*

     Address:_____
                             (civic number and street)

                _____ _____ _____
                     (city or town)   *(province)*   *(postal code)*

Witness to the above signatures: _____

Witness: _____ _____
                         (name)   *(signature)*

Address: _____
                             (civic number and street)

            _____ _____ _____
                 (city or town)   *(province)*   *(postal code)*

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Rev 04/15

Society Classification

_____
(society name)

Please review the following list and check off the classification that best describes the main activities of your organization. To gain a better understanding of the nature of non-profit societies, and as part of efforts to understand the overall impact of volunteerism in the Province, we are asking that groups classify their main activities using the International Classification of Non-Profit Organizations. Additional information can be found at www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/13-015-XIE/2005000/icnpo.htm

- [ ] Culture and Recreation
  Media and Communications
  Visual/Ceramic arts and architecture
  Performing arts
  Historical, literary and humanistic societies
  Museums
  Zoos and aquariums
  Sports
  Recreation and social clubs
  Service clubs
- [ ] Education and Research
  Elementary, primary and secondary education
  Higher education
  Vocational/technical schools
  Adult/continuing education
  Medical research
  Science and technology
  Social sciences/policy studies
- [ ] Health
  Hospitals
  Rehabilitation
  Nursing homes
  Psychiatric hospitals
  Mental health treatment
  Crisis intervention
  Public health and wellness education
  Health treatment, primarily outpatient
  Rehabilitative medical services
  Emergency medical services
- [ ] Social Services
  Child welfare, child services and day care
  Youth services and youth welfare
  Family services
  Services for the handicapped
  Services for the elderly
  Self-help and other personal social services
  Disaster/emergency prevention and control
  Temporary shelters
  Refugee assistance
  Income support and maintenance
  Material assistance

- [ ] Environment
  Pollution abatement and control
  Natural resources conservation/protection
  Environmental beautification
  Animal protection and welfare
  Wildlife preservation and protection
  Veterinary services
- [ ] Development and Housing
  Community and neighborhood organizations
  Economic development
  Social development
  Housing associations
  Housing assistance
  Job training programs
  Vocational counseling and guidance
  Vocational rehabilitation
- [ ] Law, Advocacy and Politics
  Advocacy organizations
  Civil rights associations
  Ethnic associations
  Civic associations
  Legal services
  Crime prevention and public policy
  Rehabilitation of offenders
  Victim support
  Consumer protection agencies
  Political parties and organizations
- [ ] Philanthropic Intermediaries and
  Voluntarism Promotion
  Grant-making foundations
  Volunteerism promotion and support
  Fundraising organizations
- [ ] International
  Exchange/friendship/cultural programs
  Development assistance
  International disaster and relief
  International human rights and peace
- [ ] Religion
  Congregations
  Associations of congregations
- [ ] Business and Professional Associations
  Business associations
  Professional associations
- [ ] Not elsewhere classified   *(please specify)*

_____

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BY-LAWS FOR A NON-PROFIT SOCIETY

Definitions

1. In these by-laws:
    (a) "Society" means _____
         (society name)
    (b) "Registrar" means the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies appointed under the Nova Scotia Companies Act.
    (c) "Special Resolution" means a resolution passed by not less than three-fourths of such members entitled to vote as are present in person or by proxy, where proxies are allowed, at a general meeting of which notice specifying the intention to propose the resolution as a special resolution has been duly given.

Membership Rights and Responsibilities

2. The Society is ultimately accountable to the members of the Society.

3. Every member is entitled to attend any members' meeting of the Society.

4. Every member may vote at any members' meeting of the Society after they have attended at least one previous members' meeting.

5. Any member of legal age, or with their guardian's written consent, is entitled to hold any office.

6. Membership in the Society shall consist of:
    (a) the minimum of 5 subscribers to the Memorandum of Association,
    (b) those who support the objects of the Society,
    (c) those whose name and address is written in the Register of Members by the secretary,
    (d) those who pay an annual fee in an amount to be determined by the Society, and/or
    (e) those who reside in the geographic area of _____, and/or
    (f) other:_____

7. Membership in the Society is not transferable.

8. Membership in the Society shall cease:
    (a) upon death, or
    (b) if the member resigns by written notice to the Society, or
    (c) if the member ceases to qualify for membership in accordance with these by-laws, or
    (d) if, by a vote of the majority of the members of the society or a majority vote of the Directors of the Society at a meeting duly called and for which notice of the proposed action has been given, the Member's membership in the Society has been terminated.

9. The members may repeal, amend or add to these by-laws by a special resolution. No by-law or amendment to by-laws shall take effect until the Registrar approves of it.

10. No funds of the society shall be paid to or be available for the personal benefit of any member.

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Members' Meetings

11.   Every member, subject to by-law 4, shall have one vote and no more and there
shall not be proxy voting

12.   A general or special meeting of the members may be held at any time and shall be called:
    (a)   if requested by the chair, or
    (b)   if requested by a majority of the directors, or
    (c)   if requested in writing by _____   of the members.

13.   Notice to members is required for general or special meetings. The notice must:
    (a)   specify the date, place and time of the meeting,
    (b)   be given to the members seven (7) days prior to the meeting,
    (c)   be given to the members by newsletters, newspapers, television, radio, e-mail,
            telephone, fax and/or other electronic means,
    (d)   specify the nature of business, such as the intention to propose a special resolution, and
    (e)   the non-receipt of notice by any member shall not invalidate the proceedings.

14.   An annual general meeting shall be held within three months after every fiscal year end and
notice is required which must:
    (a)   specify the date, place and time of the meeting,
    (b)   be given to the members thirty (30) days prior to the meeting,
    (c)   be given to the members by newsletters, newspapers, television, radio, e-mail,
            telephone, fax and/or other electronic means,
    (d)   specify the intention to propose a special resolution, and
    (e)   the non-receipt of notice by any member shall not invalidate the proceedings.

15.   At the annual general meeting of the Society the following items of business shall be dealt with
and shall be deemed ordinary business and all other business transacted shall be deemed
special business:
    (a)   minutes of the previous annual general meeting,
    (b)   consideration of the annual report of the directors,
    (c)   consideration of the annual financial report of the Society,
    (d)   the appointment of auditors for the ensuing year, and
    (e)   election of directors,

16.   Quorum shall consist of _____   of members. No business shall be conducted at any
meeting unless a quorum is present to open the meeting and, upon request, before any vote.

17.   (a)   If a meeting is convened as per by-law 12(a) or 12(b) and quorum is not present within
            one-half hour from the time appointed for the meeting, it shall be adjourned to such time
            and place as a majority of the members present shall decide. Notice of the new meeting
            shall be given and at the adjourned meeting the members present shall constitute
            quorum only for the purpose of winding up the Society.
    (b)   If a meeting is convened at the request of the members as per by-law 12(c) and quorum
            is not present within one-half hour from the time appointed for the meeting, it shall be
            dissolved.

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18. The President, or in his/her absence, the Vice-President, or in the absence of both of them, any member appointed from among those present, shall preside as Chair at members' meetings.

19. Where there is an equality of votes

   the motion shall be lost.

20. The Chair may, with the consent of the meeting, adjourn any meeting. No business shall be transacted at the subsequent meeting other than the business left unfinished at the adjourned meeting unless notice of such new business is given to the members.

21. At any meeting a declaration by the Chair that a resolution has been carried is sufficient unless a poll is demanded by at least three members. If a poll is demanded it shall be held by show of hands or by secret ballot as the Chair may decide.

Directors

22. Any member of the society shall be eligible to be elected a director of the Society and a director of the society shall be a member.

23. The number of directors shall be _____ *(not less than 5)*. The subscribers to the Memorandum of Association of the Society shall be the first directors of the Society.

24. Directors shall retire from office at the end of each annual general meeting at which their successors are elected. Retiring directors shall be eligible for re-election. Directors shall be elected to

   two year terms, with one-half of the directors elected each year.

25. If a director resigns his/her office or ceases to be a member in the Society, his/her office as director shall be vacated and the vacancy may be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the board of directors from among the members of the Society.

26. The members may, by special resolution, remove any director and appoint another person to complete the term of office.

27. The management of the Society is the responsibility of the directors. In particular, the directors may engage a General Manager, and determine his/her duties, responsibilities and remuneration.

28. The directors may appoint an executive committee and other committees as they see fit.

29. Directors who have, or could reasonably be seen to have, a conflict of interest have a duty to declare this interest. The declaration should be made to the members
   (a)   upon nomination, and
   (b)   if serving as a director, when the possibility of a conflict is realized.

30. A conflict of interest does not prevent a member from serving as a director provided that he/she withdraws from the decision making on matters pertaining to that interest. The withdrawal should be recorded in the minutes.

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Directors' Meetings

31. The board of directors shall meet no less than _____ times each year.

32. A meeting of directors may be held at the close of every annual general meeting without notice for the purpose of electing officers. For all other board meetings, notice is required and must:
    (a) specify the date, place and time of the meeting,
    (b) be given to the directors seven (7) days prior to the meeting,
    (c) be given to the directors by newsletters, radio, public bulletin boards, e-mail, telephone, fax and/or other electronic means,
    (d) the non-receipt of notice by any director shall not invalidate the proceedings.
    (e) Notice can be waived for board meetings with the unanimous approval of the Board.

33. Quorum shall consist of _____ of the directors. No business shall be conducted at any meeting of the board of directors unless a quorum is present to open the meeting and, upon request, before any vote.

34. The President or, in his/her absence, the Vice-President or, in the absence of both of them, any director appointed from among the directors shall preside as Chair of the Board.

35. At directors' meetings, where there is an equality of votes

    the motion shall be lost.

Officers

36. The officers shall be elected by the directors and shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Treasurer and a Corporate Secretary. The offices of Treasurer and Corporate Secretary may be combined.

37. One of the officers shall be the President. The President shall be responsible for the effectiveness of the board and shall perform other duties as assigned by the members or the directors.

38. One of the officers shall be the Vice-President. The Vice-President shall perform the duties of the Chair during the absence, illness or incapacity of the President, or when the Chair may request him/her to do so.

39. One of the officers shall be the Corporate Secretary. The Corporate Secretary shall:
    (a) have responsibility for the preparation and custody of all books and records including:
        1. the minutes of members' meetings,
        2. the minutes of directors' meetings,
        3. the register of members, and
        4. filing the annual requirements with the office of the Registrar, and
    (b) have custody of the Seal, if any, which may be affixed to any document upon resolution of the board of directors, and
    (c) file with the Registrar:
        1. within fourteen (14) days of their election or appointment, a list of directors with their addresses, occupations, and dates of appointment or election

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2. a copy of every special resolution within fourteen (14) days after the resolution is passed, and

(d) have other duties as assigned by the board.

40. The directors may also appoint a Recording Secretary
(a) who is responsible for taking minutes of all board and members' meetings, and
(b) who need not be a director.

41. One of the officers shall be the Treasurer. The Treasurer shall have responsibility for the custody of all financial books and records of the Society, and carry out all other duties as assigned by the board.

42. Contracts, deeds, bills of exchange and other instruments and documents may be executed on behalf of the Society by the President or the Vice-President and the Corporate Secretary, or otherwise as prescribed by resolution of the Board of Directors.

Finance

43. The fiscal year end of the Society shall be the last day of December .
(month)

44. The directors shall annually present to the members a written report on the financial position of the Society. The report shall be in the form of:
(a) a balance sheet showing its assets, liabilities and equity, and
(b) a statement of its income and expenditure in the preceding fiscal year.

45. A copy of the financial report shall be signed by the auditor or by two directors.

46. A signed copy of the financial report shall be filed with the Registrar within fourteen (14) days after each annual meeting.

47. An auditor of the Society may be appointed by the members at the annual general meeting and, if the members fail to appoint an auditor, the directors may do so.

48. The Society may only borrow money as approved by a special resolution of the members.

49. The members may inspect the annual financial statements and minutes of membership and directors meetings at the registered office of the Society with one week's notice. All other books and records of the Society may be inspected by any member at any reasonable time within two days prior to the annual general meeting at the registered office of the Society.

50. Directors and officers shall serve without remuneration and shall not receive any profit from their positions. However, a director or officer may be paid reasonable expenses incurred in the performance of his/her duties.

51. The Society shall not make loans, guarantee loans or advance funds to any director.

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Notice of Directors and Officers for

_____
(society name)

Appointment date: _____

Please check one: *(yyyy/mm/dd)*

☐   The following are to serve as the first directors and officers* from the date of incorporation until the close of business at the first annual general meeting.

☐   The following is the updated list of directors and officers* as of the appointment date.

*The Societies Act requires that a notice of Directors be provided. Information regarding appointment of officers is supplementary.

Director or Officer _____   _____
                              (print or type name)   *(signature)*

Date signed: _____
                       (yyyy/mm/dd)

Check one or both: ☐ Director   ☐ Officer

Name: _____   _____
           (first name and middle initial)   *(last name)*

Residential address: _____   _____
           (civic number and street)   *(apt / suite / unit)*

                   _____   _____
           (town or municipality)   *(province or state)*

                   _____   _____
                   (country)   *(postal code)*

                   _____   _____
                  (occupation)   *(position held if officer)*

Check one or both: ☐ Director   ☐ Officer

Name: _____   _____
           (first name and middle initial)   *(last name)*

Residential address: _____   _____
           (civic number and street)   *(apt / suite / unit)*

                   _____   _____
           (town or municipality)   *(province or state)*

                   _____   _____
                   (country)   *(postal code)*

                   _____   _____
                  (occupation)   *(position held if officer)*

Registry of Joint Stock Companies   PO Box 1529   Halifax, NS   B3J 2Y4
Need help? Contact us at 902-424-7770 (toll-free in Nova Scotia: 1-800-225-8227) or at www.rjsc.ca
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Check one or both: ☐ Director   ☐ Officer

Name: _____   _____
                (first name and middle initial)   *(last name)*

Residential   _____   _____
address: *(civic number and street)*   *(apt / suite / unit)*

              _____   _____
                   (town or municipality)   *(province or state)*

              _____   _____
                         (country)   *(postal code)*

              _____   _____
                       (occupation)   *(position held if officer)*

Check one or both: ☐ Director   ☐ Officer

Name: _____   _____
                (first name and middle initial)   *(last name)*

Residential   _____   _____
address: *(civic number and street)*   *(apt / suite / unit)*

              _____   _____
                   (town or municipality)   *(province or state)*

              _____   _____
                         (country)   *(postal code)*

              _____   _____
                       (occupation)   *(position held if officer)*

Check one or both: ☐ Director   ☐ Officer

Name: _____   _____
                (first name and middle initial)   *(last name)*

Residential   _____   _____
address: *(civic number and street)*   *(apt / suite / unit)*

              _____   _____
                   (town or municipality)   *(province or state)*

              _____   _____
                         (country)   *(postal code)*

              _____   _____
                       (occupation)   *(position held if officer)*

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Regis ID#: [   ]   Date filed: [   ]

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Appointment of Recognized Agent

Societies incorporated in Nova Scotia must appoint an agent. All correspondence from the Registry will go to that agent unless the Registry is given written instructions to the contrary. The Recognized Agent must be resident in Nova Scotia. Service upon the Recognized Agent of any writ, summons, process, notice or other document shall be deemed to be sufficient upon the society, and this appointment shall remain in force until notice in writing by the society that the individual has ceased to be the Recognized Agent is filed with the Registry.

Pursuant to the Societies Act, _____
(society name)

appoints as Recognized Agent _____ _____
(first name and middle initial) (last name)

Civic address in Nova Scotia: _____ _____
(civic number and street) (apt/suite/unit)

_____ NS _____
(city or town) (province) (postal code)

Mailing address:
(if different from above) _____ _____
(civic number and street, P.O. box, etc.) (apt/suite/unit)

_____ NS _____
(city or town) (province) (postal code)

Signatory   For and on behalf of all Directors

_____
(name of director)

_____
(signature of director)

Date: _____
(yyyy/mm/dd)

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Regis ID#: _____   Date filed: _____

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Notice of Registered Office

Information

Society name: _____

as of _____ the registered office is situated at:
(yyyy/mm/dd)

_____
(civic number and street)   *(apt / suite / unit)*

_____
(city or town)   *(province)*   *(postal code)*

Mailing address
(if different
from above): _____
(civic number and street)   *(apt / suite / unit)*

_____
(city or town)   *(province)*   *(postal code)*

Attention: _____
(first name and middle initial)   *(last name)*

Enter a phone number where you can be reached: _____
(telephone number)

_____
(fax number)   *(E-mail address)*

☐ Please check here if you want all correspondence from the Registry of Joint Stock Companies directed to the mailing address indicated above, as opposed to being directed to the Recognized Agent.

Signatory

_____
(name of officer or director)

_____
(signature of officer or director)

_____
(yyyy/mm/dd)

For office use only

Regis ID#: _____   Date filed: _____

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Need help? Contact us at 902-424-7770 (toll-free in Nova Scotia: 1-800-225-8227) or at www.rjsc.ca
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Appendix J   Arts Nova Scotia Project Funding Application

Note. The budget section of this document did not include reference to administrative fees. Application was sourced from Arts Nova Scotia, 2014b

Grants to Organizations and Small Groups

Application

Bi-Annual Application Deadlines: March 15 and October 15

Organization: _____

NS Joint Stock
Registration #: _____ Ad Hoc Group □

Date Established: _____

Contact Person/
Signatory: _____

Contact Position: _____

Name of Chair: _____
(if applicable)

Mailing Address:_____

_____ Postal Code: _____

Phone: _____ Fax: _____

E-mail: _____ Web: _____

Artistic Discipline: (check only one)

Craft □   New Media □
Dance □   Theatre □
Literary □   Visual Arts □
Music □   Media □
Other: _____

Grant Program: (check only one program type)

□ Production & Presentation ($15,000 maximum)

□ Commissioning ($5,000 maximum)

□ Professional Development ($3,000 maximum)

Project Name: _____ _____

Location of Activity:_____

Project Start Date: _____/_____/_____   End date: _____/_____/_____
                    (month/day/year)   (month/day/year)

Amount Requested: _____ Total Expenses: _____

Application is for which deadline (check one): Mar. 15 ☐   Oct. 15 ☐

Application must be signed

_____   _____   _____
       Signature   Position   Date

_____   _____
   Board Chair (if applicable)   Date

Contact Us:

Send materials to: For further information

Arts Nova Scotia   Mireille Bourgeois, Program Officer
PO Box 456   Telephone: (902) 424-3422
Halifax, NS B3J 2R5   E-mail: Mireille.Bourgeois@novascotia.ca
                                      Web: www.artsns.ca/

This Section Must Be Completed

All information must be provided on white, letter-size (8½ x 11) paper, printed on one side only, except previously created support material. Use black ink. Please number all pages and identify them with the name of the organization. All material must be <u>unbound</u>. Do <u>not</u> staple or bind.

Synopsis of Project/Activity:

Check one:

☐ I wish to have my support materials returned to me and have enclosed a self-addressed stamped envelope with sufficient postage to cover the cost of the return of my support material.

☐ I **do not** wish to have my support materials return to me and understand that these materials will be destroyed after the application process.

Application Requirements

1. **Description of Project:** Describe the project or activity you would like funded. This should include details and background information about the project or activity, its purpose, where it will take place, the key artists involved, etc. (Maximum 2 pages)

2. **Applications from ad hoc groups** must include a one paragraph statement from each of the principal artists detailing their artistic participation in the project and a synopsis of the group.

3. **Schedule of Work:** Provide the time frame during which the project will take place and provide a schedule of work leading up to the project and through to its completion.

4. **Background Information about the Applying Organization and Recent Artistic Activities**: Describe the organization and its recent artistic activities. If the project involves artists outside the organization, include descriptions of their recent work as well. Short résumés or bios of key participating artists should also be included.

5. **Financial Information:** Complete the attached Budget Summary Sheet on page 5 and include a detailed budget for the project. If you have confirmed funding from other sources, please indicate it on both the Budget Summary and your detailed budget.

Support Material

Support material can include any material relevant to the application, such as promotional materials, reviews, catalogues, sound recordings, video recordings, film, scripts, scores, etc. Short résumés or bios of key participating artists should be included. VHS format and slides are not accepted.

Annotations that alert the Peer Selection Committee to specific aspects of the support material are encouraged.

The **name of the organization** must appear on all support material.

List all support material included with the application.

Title	Type of Item

Arts Nova Scotia is not responsible for the loss of any material

Budget Summary

- This Sheet Must Be Completed –

It is for the convenience of the Peer Selection Committee members.
You are encouraged to include a more detailed budget with your application

Expenses

Item	Amount
Artists Fees	
Project Costs – specify:	
Promotion and Publicity	
Other – specify	
Total Expenses[2]	

Revenues[1]

Item	Amount
Organization's Contribution	
Earned Revenue	
Canada Council (if applicable)	
Other Federal Agencies	
Other Provincial Agencies	
Corporate Sponsorships	
Other Sources – specify	
Subtotal	
Amount Requested from Arts Nova Scotia	
Total Revenues [3]	

Notes:

(1)   *Please indicate which revenues, if any, are confirmed*
(2)   *Total Expenses and Total Revenues (including amount requested) must balance*

Appendix K   Nova Scotia Culture Satellite Account 2010

Note. Sourced from Statistics Canada, 2014a