

Economies of Worth: A Critical and Reflexive Perspective on EDI in the Cultural Sector

Ökonomien der Wertschätzung: Eine kritische und reflexive Perspektive auf EDI im Kultursektor

JULIE BÉRUBÉ*, JACQUES-BERNARD GAUTHIER**

Université du Québec en Outaouais

Abstract

Cultural organizations must address issues related to equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI). In this perspective, we used the critical theory *On Justification Economies of Worth* of Boltanski and Thévenot (1991; 2006) to understand the role of cultural organizations in relation to these EDI issues. We found during a reflective methodology exercise that the way researchers use this theoretical framework to code their interviews perpetuates oppositions and fosters group conflicts. We reevaluated the coding strategy for our data, leading us to adopt the compromises between worlds. Our contribution is to propose a novel coding strategy for EDI research when using this framework. With this strategy, researchers can foster collaboration in existing group dynamics to transcend internal oppositions and establish inclusive practices.

Kulturelle Organisationen müssen sich mit Fragen der Gleichberechtigung, Vielfalt und Integration (EDI) auseinandersetzen. Zugrunde gelegt wird die kritische Theorie über Rechtfertigungsökonomien von Boltanski und Thévenot (1991; 2006), um die Rolle von Kulturorganisationen in Bezug auf diese EDI-Themen zu verstehen. Im Rahmen einer methodischen Reflexion wird untersucht, wie die Forschung diesen theoretischen Rahmen zur Kodierung von Interviews verwendet, Widersprüche aufrechterhält und Gruppenkonflikte fördert. Wir haben die Kodierungsstrategie für unsere Daten neu bewertet, was uns dazu veranlasste, die Kompromisse zwischen den Welten anzunehmen. Unser Beitrag besteht darin, eine neue Kodierungsstrategie für die EDI-Forschung zu entwickeln. Mit dieser Strategie können Forscher die Zusammenarbeit in bestehenden Gruppendynamiken fördern, um interne Widersprüche zu überwinden und integrative Praktiken zu etablieren.

Keywords

Diversity/Diversität, Arts organization, cultural organization/Kulturorganisation, methods development/Methodenentwicklung, management

* Julie.berube@uqo.ca

** Jacques-bernard.gauthier@uqo.ca

1. Introduction

Equity, diversity and inclusion (EDI) are of interest for all spheres of society, including the cultural sector (VAN EWIJK 2011). Indeed, these three concepts are represented in the literature in the cultural sector suggesting the presence of systemic discrimination (EIKHOF & WARHURST, 2013). Several studies focus on artists, but few address EDI issues in relation to cultural organizations. To address this gap, we used the theoretical framework of Boltanski and Thévenot (1991, 2006)—*On Justification, Economies of Worth* (henceforward, *Economies of Worth*) to understand the role of cultural organizations in EDI matters. We conducted 65 semi-structured interviews, including 40 with artists and 25 with individuals working in Canadian cultural organizations.

Boltanski and Thévenot's theoretical framework (2006) takes a critical perspective on the way in which theories have conceptualized how people manage to coordinate when different value systems conflict. Thus, it can be used to help grasp EDI issues such as when dominant groups oppress minority groups (hegemony). However, during the analysis of the 65 interviews, we realized that this framework created a division by establishing rigid categories rather than promoting inclusion (it maintains the dominance relationship between groups of individuals).

In this article, we present the reflective methodological exercise that we undertook to analyze and interpret our research findings in order to move beyond the categories induced by Boltanski and Thévenot's critical theory. This reflective exercise revealed that it is not the theoretical framework that creates these categories, but rather the way researchers code their data when using this framework (BÉRUBÉ/DEMERS 2019; BÉRUBÉ/GAUTHIER 2023; GOND et al. 2016; PATRIOTTA et al. 2011; POHLER 2020). Our contribution is thus methodological in nature, proposing a new way of analyzing interview content using the *Economies of Worth* framework, particularly in EDI research within the cultural sector. The next section explains this theoretical framework.

2. On Justification, Economies of Worth

According to Boltanski and Thévenot (2006), legitimacy is grounded in various *orders of worth*, in other words, higher-order normative principles. These orders of worth represent a unique interpretation of the common good. Actors justify their actions by referencing these overarching

principles, a practice particularly evident in disputes, controversies, and tension. Each order of worth is underpinned by a specific value system that governs what is named a particular social common world (BOLTANSKI/THÉVENOT 2006).

The common worlds arise from what Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) have termed *cités*.

The *cités* refer to some core values in our Western societies, such as creativity, productivity, freedom, reputation, solidarity, among others, which, although grounding the diffuse background of our common sense, refer to certain structured conceptions of political bonds, i.e. of the common agreement. (SILVA CORRÊA/DE CASTRO DIAS 2020: 725).

Since *cités* are abstract concepts, Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) developed a grid which defines each of their six worlds (inspired, domestic, world of fame, civic, market and industrial) according to 13 characteristics. Lafaye and Thévenot (1993) proposed, as well, the green world. However, they pointed out that this world is still too abstract to be employed for justifications and tests. Boltanski and Chiapello (2007) subsequently introduced the projective world. Table 1 presents the common world analysis grid with the 13 categories, as well as each of the worlds.

Characteristics	Description	Inspired	Domestic	Of fame	Civic	Market	Industrial	Projective
Higher common principle	Allows qualifying and comparing the beings, objects, subjects. 'convention for establishing equivalence among beings' (p. 140)	Outpouring of inspiration	Engenderment according to tradition	Reality of public opinion	Pre-eminence of collectives	Competition	Efficiency	Activity, projects
State of worthiness	Represents what is important, admired, expected. 'Worthy beings are guarantors of the <i>higher common principle</i> ' (p. 141)	Inexpressible and ethereal	Hierarchical superiority	Fame	Rule governed and representative	Desirable	Efficient	Engaged, engaging, mobile
Human dignity	Allows beings to rise in the common good 'must be inscribed in human nature, and they must anchor the order of worth in a particular aptitude possessed by human beings' (p. 142)	Anxiety of creation	Poise of habit	Desire to be recognized	Aspiration to civil rights	Interest	Work	The need to connect
List of subjects	'For each world, it is possible to establish a <i>list of subjects</i> , most often qualified by their state of worth' (p. 142)	Visionaries	Superiors and inferiors	Stars and their fans	Collective persons and their representatives	Competitors	Professionals	Mediator, project head
List of objects and arrangements	Can be linked to subjects and help determine their worth 'All objects can be treated as the trappings or mechanisms of worth, whether they are rules, diplomas, codes, tools, buildings, machines, or take some other form' (p. 142)	Waking dream	Rules of etiquette	Names in the media	Legal forms	Wealth	Means	All the instruments of connection

Characteristics	Description	Inspired	Domes-tic	Of fame	Civic	Market	Indus-trial	Projective
Investment formula	'by tying access to the state of worthiness to a sacrifice, it constitutes an <i>economy of worth</i> in which benefits turn out to be "balanced" by burdens' (p. 142)	Escape from habits	Rejection of selfishness	Giving up secrets	Renunciation of the particular	Oppor-tunism	Progress	Adapt-ability
Relation of worth	'specifies the relation of order among <i>states of worth</i> by spelling out the way in which the state of worthiness, because it contributes to the <i>common good</i> , encompasses the state of deficiency' (p. 143)	Universal value of uniqueness	Respect and responsibility	Being recognized and identifying	Relation of delega-tion	Possess	Control	Redistri-bution of connec-tions
Natural relation among beings	Link subjects and objects together according to their worth 'Some natural relations entail worths of equal importance, while others indicate a hierarchical distribution' (p. 143)	Alchemy of unexpected encounters	Company of well-brought-up people	Persua-sion	Gathering for collective action	Interest (to)	Function	Conne-c-tion
Harmonious figure of the natural order	'are invoked as realities that conform to the principle of equity' (p. 143)	Reality of the imaginary	Soul of the home	Public image	Democ-ratic republic	Market	Organiza-tion	The network
Model tests	Represents a strong, important moment 'whose outcome is uncertain, a test that entails a pure and particularly consistent arrangement of beings from a single world' (pp. 143-144)	Vaga-bondage of the mind	Family ceremonies	Presentation of the event	Demon-stration for a just cause	Deal	Trial	End of a project and the beginning of another
Mode of expression of judgment	'ratifies a test (...) characterizes the form in which the higher common principle is manifested' (p. 144)	Stroke of genius	Knowing how to bestow trust	Judgment of public opinion	Verdict of the vote	Price	Effective	Being called on to participate
Form of evidence	'modality of knowledge appropriate to the world under consideration' (p. 144)	Certainty of intuition	Exem-pleary anecdote	Evidence of success	Legal text	Money	Measure	Inserting, Causing to participate
State of deficiency and decline of the polity	Negating the state of worthiness can be more difficult to qualify than the state of worthiness. Represents that which is decried, devalued. 'when beings are on the point of being denatured' (p. 144)	Tem-p-tation to come down to earth	Lack of inhibition	Indiffer-ence and banality	Division	Enslave-ment to money	Instru-mental action	Unem-ployable closure of the network

Table 1: Common Worlds Analysis Grid
All quotes in Table 1 are from Boltanski and Thévenot (2006)

Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) argue that an intricate entity cannot be confined to a single world but can be seen instead as embodying a combination of worlds. Tensions arise between the value systems coming from the higher common principle of each world, leading to a clash. In fact, when two worlds meet, a critique of one world emerges from the other, which is the source of the value tension. To avoid the clash, Boltanski and Thévenot suggest that a

compromise between the worlds may be reached. “In a compromise, people agree to come to terms, that is, to suspend a clash—a dispute involving more than one world—without settling it through recourse to a test in just one of the worlds” (BOLTANSKI/THÉVENOT 2006: 277). They further propose illustrations of compromise between the worlds as presented in Table 2.

	Domestic world	World of fame	Civic world	Market world	Industrial world	Projective world
Inspired world	The initiatory relation of master to disciple	The hysteria of fans	Man in revolt, the gesture of protest, collective genius	The creative market, do something crazy, the sublime is priceless	The passion for hard work, creative techniques, inventors	Collective creation
Domestic world	–	Maintain good contacts	Behave properly toward civil servants, the extension of civil rights, the public school community	Trust in business, personalized service, alienable property	The spirit and know-how of the home, the effectiveness of good habits, the competence of the professional, traditional quality, the supervisor's responsibility, human resources	The family spirit or atmosphere in the company
World of fame	See domestic/of fame	–	Touching public opinion, Putting one's name at the service of a cause, official sanction, campaign for support	Brand image	Methods for implanting an image, the measure of opinion, an objective opinion	Individual reputation; public memory
Civic world	See domestic/civic	See of fame/civic	–	Business in the service of the community	Workers' rights, effective methods of mobilization, the increased productivity of motivated workers, working in group, certifying competency, the imperative of safety, the efficiency of public service	The links between collectives
Market world	See domestic/market	See of fame/market	See civic/market	–	A salable product, control of demand, methods for doing business, utility between desire and need	Business trust; reputation; 'coopetition'
Industrial world	See domestic/industrial	See of fame/industrial	See civic/industrial	See market/industrial	–	Adaptable or changing work methods tailored to each situation/organization

Table 2: Illustrations of Compromise

In Table 2, unless otherwise stated, compromises are copied from the notes presented in the margins of Boltanski and Thévenot (2006). Compromises proposed are from Bérubé (2015); they are not directly stated by Boltanski and Chiappelo (2007) or Boltanski and Thévenot (1991).

The issues surrounding EDI involve the confrontation of different value systems, and since cultural organizations coordinate many stakeholders around common projects (another theme at the heart of the Economies of Worth theory), we have chosen this theoretical framework to study the role of cultural organizations in addressing EDI issues. The next section provides an overview of research on EDI in the cultural sector, particularly those focusing on cultural organizations.

3. Literature Review

3.1 What is EDI in the Cultural Sector?

EDI concepts are polysemous because they are social constructs (VAN EWIJK, 2011). To define equity in our research, we refer to a Canadian research granting agency, the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (2017); among the definitions we have reviewed to date, their definition appears to best convey the concept of equity:

Equity means fairness; people of all identities being treated fairly. It means ensuring that the processes for allocating resources and decision-making are fair to all and do not discriminate on the basis of identity. There is a need to put measures in place to eliminate discrimination and inequalities which have been well described and reported and ensure, to the best degree possible, equal opportunities. (*Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada 2017: 3*)

For inclusion, we turn to Dobusch who refers to it, among other things “as a process and condition where people gain access to areas from which they were formerly un/-intentionally excluded” (DOBUSCH 2014: 220). In practical terms, this means ensuring that people’s input is recognized and that all have access to the same opportunities (*Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council 2023*). For diversity, some define the concept narrowly, referring to race, gender, ethnicity, age, national origins, religion and disability (VAN EWIJK 2011). We prefer a more comprehensive definition: diversity includes all the ways in which individuals differ from one another and includes the characteristics that make an individual or group of individuals different from one another (CUYLER 2013; VAN EWIJK 2011; WENTLING/PALMA-RIVAS 1997).

3.2 Cultural Organizations Facing EDI Issues

Cultural funding organizations are increasingly attentive to EDI issues when granting subsidies to artists. Most of these funding organizations have established grant programs specifically designed to include artists

from underrepresented groups, but cultural organizations receive little emphasis in the granting criteria. These cultural organizations are typically non-profit entities that support artists and structure the sector. Indeed, they play an important role in shaping policies specific to the cultural sector (ACOSTA 2016). Therefore, we assumed that cultural organizations would play a central role in managing EDI. Published research that specifically addresses this role seems to be rare, if it exists at all.

Indeed, research suggests that systemic discrimination in this sector is exacerbated by the policies implemented for their promotion (OAKLEY 2006; EIKHOF/WARHURST 2013). Research also reveals gender and ethnicity-based discrimination, as well as discrimination based on physical abilities, age, and location (EIKHOF 2017; EIKHOF/YORK 2015; TANDLE/HARDY 2016). EIKHOF (2017) reports that studies on this theme in the cultural sector primarily focus on the exclusion of women and ethnic minorities (GILL 2002; RANDLE et al. 2014), implications related to hiring and working practices (EIKHOF/WARHURST 2013; RANDLE/HARDY 2016), and sexism and ageism (DEAN 2008; EIKHOF 2017; EIKHOF/YORK 2015; GILL 2002). These studies examine the specificities among workers that contribute to discrimination.

Other studies on EDI focus on consequences resulting from the structure of the sector; the majority delve into the importance of the sector's social and professional networks (GRUGULIS/STOYANOVA 2012; SIEBERT/WILSON 2013). Eikhof (2017) proposed a theoretical framework in which she examined, on one hand, individuals working in creative and cultural industries and their decisions, and on the other hand, decision-makers and the context in which they make EDI-related decisions. However, she did not consider the role of cultural organizations. Consequently, we conducted research to understand the role of cultural organizations in addressing EDI issues in the sector (BÉRUBÉ/DORIS/POULIOT 2024). The next section presents 1) the methodology to understand the role of cultural organizations and 2) reflexive methodology to move beyond the categories induced by Boltanski and Thévenot's critical theory.

4. Methodology

To understand the role of cultural organizations in matters of EDI, we conducted a survey using semi-structured interviews with two groups of participants selected by purposive sampling (SCHWANDT 2015), conforming to the following criteria: 1) participants must work in

one of the following Canadian cities: Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, or the National Capital Region; 2) be a professional artist or have worked for at least one year for a cultural organization. In total, we recruited 40 artists and 25 cultural organization workers.

We addressed the following themes during the semi-structured interviews: the participants' identity, the policies and resources structuring EDI, the role of cultural organizations, and the participants' practices related to EDI. Drawing on authors (NYBERG/WRIGHT 2013, PATRIOTTA et al. 2011), we coded the interviews using grammar describing the worlds of Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) as presented in Table 1. We then performed comparative analyses of participants' statements, highlighting elements of convergence and divergence.

Following data analysis, we felt uncomfortable about how the theory guides the categorization of the data into opposing groups. We had the feeling that this approach was contrary to the very principles of EDI that we were studying. We wanted to probe the cause of this discomfort, and to do so, we turned to reflexive methodology.

4.1 Reflexive Methodology

In their study concerning gender—a component of EDI, Alvesson and Billing (2019) advocate for an evaluation process in the practice of social science to achieve a reflexive reorientation. According to Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2018) and Alvesson and Deetz (2020), having a critical theoretical orientation does not exempt researchers from engaging in reflexive exercises about their research practices. Drawing inspiration from Alvesson (2011), Alvesson and Kärreman (2011), Alvesson and Sandberg (2013), Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2018), Cunliffe (2003; 2009), Harbour and Gauthier (2017), we distinguish between two orders of reflexivity: the first order involves interpreting social researchers' practices to better understand these practices, and the second order involves interpreting the interpretations that researchers make of their practices.

To conduct reflexive exercises on our own practices of social research on EDI in the cultural sector, we adapted the frameworks proposed by the above authors. The first order of reflexivity consists of four levels of interpretation. It is important to document the interpretations made at each of these four levels.

The first level concerns our interpretations of the literature review on EDI in the cultural sector. These interpretations led us to the specific research question: what is the role of cultural organizations

The present article details the third level of interpretation and its degree of reflection. We conducted a retrospective examination of the interpretations while analysing the interview transcripts based on the grammar of Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) as shown in Table 1. This review created discomfort for us because the use of this grammar to interpret the data creates a hermetic categorization of participants. For example, this pitted artists from visible minorities against artists from the dominant group. However, we initially believed that employing a critical theory, meant adopting a perspective aligned with the principles of EDI. Instead, this interpretation of data, using Boltanski and Thévenot's grammar (2006), divided participants creating opposition between them, and excluded them from each other, which inhibits an appreciation of diversity among all participants. Specific examples are given in the next section. We demonstrate how this hermetic categorization underlies interpretations when mobilizing the grammar of Boltanski and Thévenot (2006).

4.2 Second Order of Reflexivity

The second order of reflexivity is a retrospective examination of the interpretation resulting from Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) grammar. Our goal in this section is not to review all the retrospective examinations (second order of reflexivity) that we conducted on the interpretation of data (transcripts), but rather to illustrate the process that we followed. We will engage in a third level of reflection on each of the components of EDI, namely equity, diversity, and inclusion. To do so, we present a significant citation from the transcript that illustrates the creation of hermetic categories for each component of EDI when interpreting the data according to Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) grammar.

4.3 Reflexive Methodology on Equity

Following the Economies of Worth theory, researchers coded transcript excerpts according to a single world (GOND et al. 2016; PATRIOTTA et al. 2011).

The first transcript excerpt is from an interview with an artist who identifies as an Algonquin descendant (an Indigenous nation in Canada) but who is not recognized as an Indigenous person under Canadian law. He was responding to a question regarding his identity.

Well, I'm a Quebecer of French and Algonquin descent. The Framework Agreement on First Nation Land Management Act [a Canadian law] tells me that I'm not Indigenous because someone from the government said that after so many generations, you're no longer Indigenous. Well, that's the very technical side of the law, but they forgot people like me, who are convinced that somewhere in me, my Indigenous roots, the spirit that inhabits me, is Algonquin. That's how I see myself; I'm an Algonquin, born on Algonquin territory, and the Algonquin elders have confirmed that I'm right. When I talk with the elders from the Algonquin territories, the spiritual guides, no one can contradict that. (participant A2)

We coded this excerpt during the coding exercise of this interview with the Legal text code from the civic world (Form of evidence), given the reference to the law. Indeed, the artist is not recognized under Canadian law as an Indigenous person, so he is not eligible to apply for grants or programs intended solely for Indigenous people in Canada. However, as we reflected on this initial interpretation, we noted that the civic world does not consider the individual's identity dimension. In this case, the artist's Indigenous identity comes from deep intuition, which instead is under the inspired world. *Certainty of intuition* is the form of evidence in the inspired world.

Assigning a code from the civic world reflects the association with legal text but does not capture the equity issue. Canadian law excludes him from the group with which he identifies, thereby denying him access to programs and grants. Indeed, the civic world (Canadian law) does not recognize his Algonquin identity. Conversely, if our interpretation had focused on the artist's identity and we had coded for *certainty of intuition* from the inspired world, we would not have been able to highlight the equity issue on the legal level. In sum, neither the civic world nor the world of inspiration—taken individually—allows for consideration of this artist's dual identity as an Algonquin Canadian artist. The civic world deprives him of the rights granted to Indigenous people, while the world of inspiration ignores the Canadian law to which the artist must adhere.

4.4 Reflexive Methodology on Diversity

Similarly, we found problems with interpretations relating to individuals from invisible minorities. An individual from an invisible minority is associated with the dominant group, but possesses distinctive characteristics that are not readily visible such as sexual orientation, an invisible disability, or others. An example is the case of an artist from an invisible minority who uses social media to share his experience.

I'm a queer, hard of hearing, Jewish person. (...) Having an invisible identity, we now have more methods of communicating with each other and communicating our own experiences to each other via social media. There's always been the need, a lot of people are more aware of things that are happening and wouldn't have necessarily had access to that before. (...) I just want everyone, especially marginalized people, to have the freedom to connect. (participant A24)

Using the Economies of Worth theory, our initial interpretation of this quote assigned it to the civic world. We coded it: *gathering for collective action*, which represents the *natural relation among beings* in the civic world. Indeed, the participant discusses how his presence on social media (collective action), enables him to share his experience as an artist who identifies as an invisible minority (queer, hard of hearing, and Jewish person).

Coding with the civic world allows us to demonstrate how social media reveal characteristics that are invisible to the public. However, the civic world only presents the various forms of diversity (visible minority, invisible minority, as examples), particularly invisible diversity in this case. On reflection, the participant's statement goes further as he explains that social media also allow him to establish connections with other individuals, especially marginalized people.

A dimension of connection between individuals is not accounted for when coding the participant's statements with the civic world. To capture the dimension of relationship-building, it would be necessary to code the excerpt according to the projective world. The code associated with the category *list of objects with arrangements* for the projective world is *all the instruments of connection*. Coding with the projective world thus demonstrates the creation of links and connections between individuals but lacks the emphasis on diversity available with the civic world. In sum, neither the civic world nor the projective world, taken individually, allow for the recognition of the full reality of this artist from the invisible minority.

4.5 Reflexive Methodology on Inclusion

For inclusion, we selected an excerpt from an interview with a non-white artist discussing his experience with grant-funding organizations.

Of course, I feel that one of the most challenging aspects is that the impact and evaluation are done according to the terms of the funders. These terms are often very restrictive because they are based on a bureaucratic, white supremacist institution founded on specific ideas of artistic excellence that fundamentally exclude non-white individuals. It is built on peer review systems that have good intentions but, from

what I understand, often perpetuate harmful stereotypes in the assessment of grant applications and project proposals. Historically, I believe this has devalued organizations' relationships with the communities they serve. (participant A5)

According to our initial interpretation, the dominant world in this quote is the industrial world. We coded with the higher common principle in the industrial world, which is *efficiency*. Indeed, the quote highlights that to efficiently assess artistic excellence, funding organizations establish an evaluation process based on criteria of excellence and individuals who embody those criteria (peer review). The industrial world reveals the technical aspects of the evaluation process of funding organizations but does not show the exclusionary aspect of this process, as explained by participant A5.

The evaluation process is therefore based on the concept of excellence designed by the dominant group. On reflection, this implies that one collective (the dominant group) is favored over another collective (marginalized group). The *pre-eminence of the collective* of the civic world is the higher common principle. Indeed, the civic world aims at the well-being of all collectives and not of a particular collective.

Coding with the civic world would highlight the dominance of collective well-being, which is the goal of grants from funding organizations. However, the civic world does not reveal how the operation of the evaluation process excludes certain groups of artists whose work is not harmonized with criteria of excellence.

5. Discussion: Methodological Issues and Proposition

As shown in the three examples, the codification of data with the critical theory, Economies of Worth, poses a problem. Indeed, it is tempting for researchers to seek the simplest solution, to assign the most obviously relevant code to associate the speaker with a single world. For example, in our initial coding, the dominant world took precedence over the minority. And since we want to analyze for EDI solutions, this mode of coding does not give equal weight to the whole statement. Subsequently, researchers bring out tensions between the worlds, and the analysis highlights a compromise. This methodological approach creates divisions and pits groups against each other, whereas critical theories, particularly those related to EDI, aim to transcend these divisions and oppositions.

To counter our problem, the simplest solution might be to code the excerpts with more than one world. However, this approach reproduces the issue, and the worlds still end up in opposition. To move beyond dualism and strive for integration in this case, we propose coding directly with the compromise, and to compare the different compromises in the analysis. To illustrate this approach, we use the three examples presented in the previous section.

For the first example on equity, we could have coded the participant's statements with both the civic world (to represent the legal aspect related to the Framework Agreement on First Nation Land Management Act) and the inspired world (to represent the uniqueness of individual identity). This approach highlights the opposition between the artist and the legal system. Indeed, for this artist, art reflects Indigenous values and customs, but he is not legally recognized as an Indigenous person. Coding with both worlds would demonstrate that the artist's values and identity are challenged by the law. The compromise proposed by Boltanski and Thévenot between the civic world and the world of inspiration is *man in revolt, the gesture of protest*. That compromise represents the real message conveyed by the artist who senses that his identity is being violated by the law. Thus, the gesture of protest would target the law that should be amended to recognize the artist's identity. By coding with both worlds, we were challenging the identity of the artist, whereas by coding with the compromise, we challenge the law. This compromise is truly rooted in critical theories that expose the hegemony of institutions, in this case, legal institutions.

For the example on diversity, we would have coded according to the civic world (to showcase diversity on social media) and the projective world to illustrate connection instruments. By coding with both worlds, there is no integration between diversity and connection; these two concepts evolve in parallel. Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) and Boltanski and Chiapello (2007) do not present compromises between the world of projects and other worlds. As shown in Table 2, we have adopted compromises proposed by Bérubé (2015). Thus, the compromise between the civic world and the world of projects would be *the links between collectives*. The compromise better represents the participant's lived experience, his desire to expose his invisible diversity and contribute to the creation of a network of marginalized individuals through social media.

In the example for inclusion, we proposed coding using the industrial world to illustrate the evaluation process and criteria prioritizing excellence in the granting systems of funding organizations. To demonstrate that

one collective is favored over another in this system, we added the civic world. By coding according to these two worlds, the duality of concepts of excellence between marginalized and dominant groups (representing the funding organizations) is exposed. This emphasizes exclusion rather than inclusion. The compromise between the industrial world and the civic world is *certifying competency*. A certification process involves recognition of the different expressions of competence in a field. In the case of arts funding organizations, it would involve acknowledging and including the competencies (represented by excellence) of artists belonging to marginalized groups. This approach reflects the participant's comments criticizing the current system based on the excellence criteria established by dominant groups.

In summary, all three examples depict situations in which a participant identifies with a marginalized group: Indigenous communities, invisible minorities, and visible minorities. We anticipated that by using the critical theory Economies of Worth we would transcend divisions and oppositions. However, the conventional coding approach with this theory places marginalized groups in opposition to dominant institutions (law, Western society, funding organizations).

Our contribution focuses on research on EDI when using Economies of Worth theory. The use of compromises to code with this theory allows for a shift in the research perspective by focusing on EDI practices that condemn injustices and suggesting ways to overcome them.

As an example, consider the work of Randle and Hardy (2016), cited earlier, which investigates systemic discrimination against women and people with disabilities in the UK film and television industry. Their article proposed a long-term solution by changing sectorial hiring practices, but it situates these marginalized groups against dominant groups. The issue concerns hiring criteria (referring to the industrial world) that favor one collective over another (civic world). Recall that the compromise between the industrial world and the civic world is *certifying competency*. If they had coded by using the compromises of the Economies of Worth theory, they would have been able to identify other potential solutions to revise current practices of project teams. This case recalls the example from our research that we provided regarding inclusion. Thus, in Randle and Hardy's case, it would be necessary to reassess current performance measurement criteria (which favored the dominant group) and acknowledge the distinctive competence of marginalized groups. This change would lead to a better appreciation of their work, resulting

in more equitable and inclusive teams. In the longer term, the sector will recognize the benefit of having a broader pool of competence.

6. Conclusion

In this article, we re-examine the initial results of a study on EDI issues in the cultural sector obtained by employing the theoretical framework of *On Justification Economies of Worth*. Usually, researchers code their material using the grammar of the worlds of Boltanski and Thévenot (2006). Using this coding strategy, we observed that instead of overcoming oppositions, our analyses were creating or sustaining them. We did a reflexive exercise that prompted us to question our coding strategy, aiming to truly resolve these oppositions. We turned to the compromises proposed by Boltanski and Thévenot (2006). Our contribution is to propose a new way to use the Economies of Worth theoretical framework when conducting research on EDI in the cultural sector. This approach enables analysis to go beyond the opposition formed by the current composition of groups (marginalized versus dominant groups) to establish equitable and inclusive practices.

This research presents some limits which suggest avenues for further research. First, this exploratory exercise focused on a single study. The reflexive exercise and this new coding strategy should be replicated using data from other research on EDI, as well as address other themes within the field of the cultural sector. Additionally, we conducted this reflective exercise using only Boltanski and Thévenot's theory. It would be interesting to replicate this exercise with other critical theories to see if other theories also perpetuate issues such as the creation of hermetic groups that oppose minority groups and dominant groups.

References

- ACOSTA, Javier Hernandez (2016): The Role of Arts Organizations in Cultural Policy: The "Cultural Return" Analysis. – In: *International Journal of Arts Management* (Special Edition), 56–83.
- ALVESSON, Mats (2011): *Interpreting interviews*. London: SAGE.
- ALVESSON, Mats/BILLING, Due Yvonne (2009): *Understanding Gender and Organizations*. London: SAGE.
- ALVESSON, Mats/DEETZ, Stanley (2020): *Doing critical research*. London: SAGE.

- ALVESSON, Mats/KÄRREMAN, Dan (2011): *Qualitative research and theory development: mystery as method*. London: SAGE.
- ALVESSON, Mats/SANDBERG, Jorgen (2013): *Constructing research questions : doing interesting research*. London: SAGE.
- ALVESSON, Mats/SKÖLDBERG, Kaj (2018): *Reflexive methodology : new vistas for qualitative research*. London: SAGE.
- BÉRUBÉ, Julie (2015): *La gestion du travail créatif dans les petites agences de publicité situées en périphérie des grands centres urbains*. Montréal: Ph.D., HEC Montreal.
- BÉRUBÉ, Julie/DEMERS, Christiane (2019): Creative organizations: when management fosters creative work. – In: *Creative Industries Journal* 12(3), 314–340 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/17510694.2019.1621619>>.
- BÉRUBÉ, Julie/GAUTHIER, Jacques-Bernard (2023): Managing projects in creative industries: a compromise between artistic and project management values. – In: *Creative Industries Journal* 16(1), 76–95 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/17510694.2021.1979278>>.
- BÉRUBÉ, Julie/DORIS, Julien/POULIOT, Alexis (2024): The role of cultural organisations in matters of equity, diversity, and inclusion. – In: *Cultural Trends*, 1–16 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2024.2387771>>.
- BOLTANSKI, Luc/CHIAPELLO, Ève (2007): *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Verso.
- BOLTANSKI, Luc/THÉVENOT, Laurent (1991): *De la justification : les économies de la grandeur*. Paris: Gallimard.
- BOLTANSKI, Luc/THÉVENOT, Laurent (2006): *On Justification: Economies of Worth*. New Jersey: University Press.
- CUNLIFFE, Ann L. (2003): Reflexive Inquiry in Organizational Research: Questions and Possibilities. – In: *Human Relations* 56(8), 983–1003 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/00187267030568004>>.
- CUNLIFFE, Ann L. (2009): Reflexivity, learning and reflexive practice. – In Armstrong, Steven, J./Fukami Cynthia V. (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of management learning, education and development*. London: SAGE, 405–418.
- CUYLER, Antonio (2013): Affirmative Action and Diversity: Implications for Arts Management. – In: *Journal of Arts Management, Law & Society* 43(2), 98–105 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10632921.2013.786009>>.
- DEAN, Debora (2008): No Human Resource is an Island: Gendered, Racialized Access to Work as a Performer. – In: *Gender, Work & Organization* 15(2), 161–181 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2007.00389.x>>.
- DOBUSCH, Laura (2014): How exclusive are inclusive organisations? – In: *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal* 33(3), 220–234 <<https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/EDI-08-2012-0066>>.
- EIKHOF, Doris Ruth (2017): Analysing decisions on diversity and opportunity in the cultural and creative industries: A new framework. – In: *Organization* 24(3), 289–307 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508416687768>>.
- EIKHOF, Doris Ruth/WARHURST, Chris (2013): The promised land? Why social inequalities are systemic in the creative industries. – In: *Employee Relations* 35(5), 495–508 <<https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/ER-08-2012-0061>>.
- EIKHOF, Doris Ruth/YORK, Charlotte (2015): ‘It’s a Tough Drug to Kick’: A Woman’s Career in Broadcasting. – In: *Work, Employment and Society* 30(1), 152–161 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017015601859>>.

- GILL, Rosalind (2002): Cool, Creative and Egalitarian? Exploring Gender in Project-Based New Media Work in Euro. – In: *Information, Communication & Society* 5(1), 70–89 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/13691180110117668>>.
- GOND, Jean-Pascal/CRUZ, Luciano Barin/RAUFFLET, Emmanuel/CHARRON, Mathieu (2016). To Frack or Not to Frack? The Interaction of Justification and Power in a Sustainability Controversy. – In: *The Journal of Management Studie*, 53(3), 330–363. <<https://doi.org/10.1111/joms.12166>>.
- GRUGULIS, Irena/STOYANOVA, Dimitrinka (2012): Social Capital and Networks in Film and TV: Jobs for the Boys? – In: *Organization Studies* 33(10), 1311–1331 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840612453525>>.
- HARBOUR, Michelle/GAUTHIER, Jacques-Bernard (2017): *Complex polysemy and reflexivity in organizational research*. – In: H. O. Science <<https://hal.science/hal-01543416>>.
- KÖHLER, Tine/RUMYANTSEVA, Maria/WELCH, Catherine (2023): Qualitative Restudies: Research Designs for Rethorizing. – In: *Organizational Research Methods* 0(0). <<https://doi.org/10.1177/10944281231216323>>.
- LAFAÏE, Claudette/THÉVENOT, Laurent (1993): Une justification écologique? Conflits dans l'aménagement de la nature. – In: *Revue Française de Sociologie* 34(4), 495–524.
- Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (2017): *Guide for Applicants: Considering Equity, Diversity and Inclusion in your Application*. <https://www.nserc-crsng.gc.ca/_doc/EDI/Guide_for_Applicants_EN.pdf>.
- NYBERG, Daniel/WRIGHT, Christopher (2013): Corporate corruption of the environment: sustainability as a process of compromise. – In: *The British Journal of Sociology* 64(3), 405–424 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12025>>.
- OKLEY, Kate. (2006). Include Us Out—Economic Development and Social Policy in the Creative Industries. – In: *Cultural Trends* 15(4), 255–273 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960600922335>>.
- PATRIOTTA, Gerardo/GOND, Jean-Pascal/SCHULTZ, Friederike (2011): Maintaining Legitimacy: Controversies, Orders of Worth, and Public Justifications. – In: *The Journal of Management Studies* 48(8), 1804–1836 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6486.2010.00990.x>>.
- POHLER, Nina. (2020): Evaluation and the tension between generalization and particularity: The negotiation of supplementary child allowance in a collective firm. – In: *Ephe-mera: Theory & Politics in Organization* 20(3), 123–152.
- RANDLE, Keith/FORSON, Cynthia/CALVELEY, Moira (2014): Towards a Bourdieusian analysis of the social composition of the UK film and television workforce. – In: *Work, Employment and Society* 29(4), 590–606. <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017014542498>>.
- RANDLE, Keith/HARDY, Kate. (2016): Macho, mobile and resilient? How workers with impairments are doubly disabled in project-based film and television work. – In: *Work, Employment and Society* 31(3), 447–464 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017016643482>>.
- SCHWANDT, Thomas. A. (*2015): *The SAGE dictionary of qualitative inquiry*. London: SAGE.
- SIEBERT, Sabina/WILSON, Fiona (2013): All work and no pay: consequences of unpaid work in the creative industries – In: *Work, Employment and Society* 27(4), 711–721 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017012474708>>.

- SILVA CORRÊA, Diogo/de CASTRO DIAS, Rodriogo. (2020): The critique and its critical moments: The recent pragmatic turn in French sociology. – In: *Current Sociology* 68(6), 721–737 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392120914702>>.
- Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (2023): *Best practices in equity, diversity and inclusion in research practice and design* <<https://www.sshrc-crsh.gc.ca/funding-financement/nfrf-fnfr/edi-eng.aspx>>.
- VAN EWIJK, Anne (2011): Diversity and diversity policy: diving into fundamental differences. – In: *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 24(5), 680–694 <<https://doi.org/10.1108/0953481111158921>>.
- WENTLING, Rose Mary/PALMA-RIVAS, Nida (1997): *Diversity in the workforce: a literature review* (Diversity in the Workforce Series Report No.1, Issue).