# Film Distribution and The Process of Institutional Entrepreneurship

A Case Study on Institutional Entrepreneurship in the Ghanaian Film Industry



**Supervisor: Thilde Langevang** 

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In other words, this is Ghana for you.

## **Abstract**

Technological disruption and the following advent of streaming platforms have changed the film industry definitively. Therefore, this study seeks to uncover the phenomenon of streaming and the changes of institutional arrangements it might entail. Since the area has received little attention in the academic literature, this study aims to contribute to filling the gap of knowledge through a case study on the process of institutional entrepreneurship following the inaccessibility of film distribution in Ghana. Twelve interviews were conducted with filmmakers and additional stakeholders within the Ghanaian film industry. Based on Battilana et al.'s (2009) Model of the process of institutional entrepreneurship and Scott's (2014) institutional pillars, the empirical findings suggest opportunity for institutional entrepreneurship and the implementation of divergent change. Thus, the study also finds the inherent distrust among Ghanaian filmmakers to be a possible constraint to the diffusion of divergent change, the study provides fertile ground for future research.

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## 1. Introduction

Technological disruption and the following advent of streaming platforms have changed the film industry definitively. Yet, the phenomenon of streaming still remains relatively uncovered within academic literature. Accelerated by the global Covid-19 pandemic, streaming platforms have challenged previous means of distribution and consumption of films. In conjunction with technological disruption and development, filmmakers and their audiences all over the world have shifted their focus in order to cope with the new reality of streaming.

Following a desire to acquire deeper knowledge on the phenomenon of streaming, this study was initiated to understand how streaming platforms might have affected emerging film industries, specifically in Ghana. Albeit, Ghana is not the cultural epicenter in West Africa, Ghana inherits a fascinating cultural heritage with numerous stories to tell Ghanaians and the rest of the world. On the one hand, the advent of streaming platforms has made film distribution more convenient than ever, since filmmakers are able to meet their audiences wherever they might be. On the other hand, it has predominantly made the way most Ghanaian filmmakers used to distribute obsolete, while highlighting the challenges related to polarization of quality standards, absence of copyright enforcement, and distrust among filmmakers.

The advent of streaming platforms has presented a new reality for Ghanaian filmmakers entailing both challenges and opportunities. Whereas streaming might lead to challenges for some, it might lead to opportunities for others, and therefore potential opportunity for institutional entrepreneurship, since streaming involves a reconfiguration of existing institutional arrangements. Hence, this study aims to contribute to the understanding of streaming platforms through the process of institutional change and institutional entrepreneurs in Ghana.

## 1.1 Problem field and research question

The study navigates the intersection of institutional entrepreneurship and film distribution within the Ghanaian film industry. Following our MSc in Management of Creative Business Processes, we have become acquainted with the film industry and thereby acquired valuable insights on the realm of film distribution.

Throughout the past decade, streaming platforms have challenged the norms of film distribution and have developed from a nice-to-have feature, to a need-to-have necessity. This development was later accelerated by the global Covid-19 pandemic that turned the film industry upside down, since audiences were no longer allowed to gather in large assemblies, such as going to the cinema.

Moreover, we wanted to further explore the main consequences of this new reality, in order to understand how filmmakers adapted to these new challenges and opportunities of film distribution. In addition to our fascination with filmmaking, we have traveled through many countries in Africa and therefore it seemed like an obvious choice to seize the opportunity of getting to explore the Ghanaian film industry from an academic point of view. The literature on film distribution is predominantly focused on the Western film industries, while issues pertaining to filmmaking often have global consequences. Hence, it is important to examine how filmmakers in other parts of the world navigate in the realm of film distribution situated in different institutional environments. We decided to write our study as a collaborative work in conjunction with a research unit at Copenhagen Business School in Denmark, by the name of Advancing Creative Industries for Development in Ghana (ACIG), because their aim aligns with our interest in coping with the dynamics of creative industries in Africa.

By leveraging our educational background, our fascination with films, and our preliminary knowledge of African cultures, we aim to study how Ghanaian filmmakers act as institutional entrepreneurs in order to investigate how institutions rise and fall, by answering the following research question:

How do Ghanaian filmmakers attempt to create divergent institutional change through streaming platforms?

## 1.2 Scope and delimitations

The study is oriented towards the process of institutional entrepreneurship performed by Ghanaian filmmakers. The units of analysis are three Ghanaian filmmakers who act as institutional entrepreneurs defined as "Actors who initiate changes that contribute to transforming existing, or creating new, institutions" (Battilana, Leca, and Boxenbaum, 2009, p. 66). The process of institutional entrepreneurship is relevant to understand because it unveils how individuals or organizations contribute to the change of underlying institutional structures. During a field trip to Accra and Kumasi in Ghana in February 2022, twelve interviews were conducted. The twelve interviewees represent a relatively diverse pool of stakeholders of the Ghanaian film industry, including filmmakers, lectures, and businesspeople. Thus, the Ghanaian film industry is frequently mentioned throughout the study, the interviewees were predominantly residing within Greater Accra and Greater Kumasi, hence it is important to underline that the empirical findings are a representation of the film circles in Accra and Kumasi, and therefore not of the Ghanaian film industry as a whole. In other words, whenever the Ghanaian film industry is mentioned, it is a reference to the film circles in Accra and Kumasi.

Moreover, since the field trip to Ghana only lasted for two and a half weeks, it can be questioned whether the timeframe was sufficient in order to understand the individuals' social positions in depth, because getting acquainted with the informal networks of the filmmakers most likely required a deeper understanding of their interpersonal relations, than a field trip of two and a half weeks allows.

## 1.3 Case justification

The study will focus on the case of institutional entrepreneurship in the Ghanaian film industry. The combination of theories of institutional entrepreneurship and of film industries is not a rather occupied field of study from an academic point of view. Therefore, the study intends to contribute to the gap in both the academic literature and the empirical gap in Ghana. The findings from this study aims to provide a deeper understanding of how institutional entrepreneurs in the Ghanian film industry challenge institutional arrangements, and thereby attempt to implement divergent change in the field. Furthermore, the recommendations provided help to enlighten and possibly solve some of the challenges the institutional entrepreneurs are facing in attempting to conduct institutional change.

#### 1.4 Outline of the structure

The study consists of nine chapters. These chapters present the introduction, literature review, conceptual framework, methodology, context, analysis, discussion, conclusion, and recommendation, respectively.

The introductory chapter will begin with the problem field and presentation of the research question, followed by scope and limitations and a case justification and lastly the outline of the structure of the study. Then, the literature review will provide a review of parts of the literature concerning creative industries and film industries in general, creative and film industries in Africa, theories concerning institutions and institutional entrepreneurship and lastly literature on streaming. The conceptual framework will explain the Model of the process of institutional entrepreneurship by Battilana et al. (2009) and W. Richard Scott's (2014) definition of institutional pillars. Henceforth, the methodology used throughout the study and during the field trip in Ghana will be elaborated. The context will provide a brief overview of geographical and economic information about Ghana as well as a brief overview of the history of film in Ghana. The following chapter analyzes the empirical findings, in relation to the conceptual framework. Subsequently, the conceptual framework, methodology, and the empirical findings are discussed. The final chapters include the research conclusion and recommendation from the empirical findings.

## 2. Literature review

This chapter of the study provides a review of relevant literature in the fields of creative industries and institutional entrepreneurship. The literature review is divided into sections concerning creative industries including film industries, creative and film industries in Africa, institutional entrepreneurship and streaming. These different sections are considered significant in order to understand the context of the Ghanaian film industry but also the concept of institutional entrepreneurship.

#### 2.1 Creative industries

In this section we will give a review of part of the literature and research about creative and cultural industries. In the literature both the terms creative and cultural industries are used by different scholars. In the below sections cultural and creative industries will be used interchangeably.

#### 2.1.1 What are creative industries?

Creative industries are industries that encompass cultural industries and industries that are creative in nature. David Hesmondhalgh is one of the most notable scholars in creative industries research. He defines cultural industries as *texts*. Texts describe cultural products such as films, books, recordings, images and the like (Hesmondhalgh, 2019, p.5). The term cultural industries derive from a chapter in the book "Dialektik der Aufklärung" by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer (1944; Hesmondhalgh, 2019). The term was crafted since the authors reasoned that culture had lost its ideal state as an extraordinary form of human creativity. Culture had fallen victim to capitalism and become a commodity like in the industrial sector hence they put the two words together and defined Culture Industries (Hesmondhalgh, 2019). According to Hesmondhalgh (2019) the core creative- or cultural industries are *television and radio*, *film*, *music*, *print and electronic publishing*, *video and computer games*, *advertising*, *marketing and public relations* and lastly *web design*.

Some common denominators for the above mentioned industries is that they all face the same problems (Hesmondhalgh, 2019). Some of these problems involve that the cultural industries entail a certain level of risk-taking, since it is very hard to predict, what will become a success and what will fail. This inherent risk is named the *nobody knows* property by Richard E. Caves (2002) taken from a Hollywood observer. The concept of 'nobody knows' refers to that no one knows whether a cultural product will be adopted and celebrated by consumers even if prior research has been done. With this goes also the dialectic between creativity and commerce which also creates tension between the autonomy of the creator and the commercially viable product. Lastly, cultural products often have a high production cost but low costs of reproduction, meaning that it involves a lot of time and financial costs to record a film for example but once the it is done, reproducing it in copies are relatively cheap (Hesmondhalgh, 2019).

It is important to study creative industries because of their impact on society. The cultural products we consume are helping to shape our knowledge of the world we live in and increase our understanding of what it is like to be a human being. In addition to this the management of creative labor and the products that derive from that labor is of importance. It is important to study which products get a better head start and why some artists are treated as creative gods, where others are not. Lastly, the creative industries also play a big part in the economy. Creative industries hold an increasing source of wealth and employ many millions of people around the globe, making it interesting to study also from the point of economics (Hesmondhalgh, 2019). The importance of studying the impact of creative industries and their power to change processes across the entire economy is described by Jason Potts and Stuart Cunningham (2008). In their study they investigate the impact of value from the creative industries from an economic perspective. They propose four different models to examine how the creative industries impact the overall economy; the welfare model, the competition model, the growth model and the innovation model. The results of the study show that the growth model and the innovation model are the two models contributing most to the economy. Especially the innovation that stem from the creative industries have a major effect on the rest of the economy. The authors conclude that the creative industries are a dynamic factor contributing to the overall growth of the economy above and beyond the contribution to culture and society.

## 2.1.2 Film industry

Moving from the cultural industries as a broad term, we will now look closer into the film industry, which is our field of study. Creating a film requires a lot of diverse creative inputs. A cinema film needs both actors, screenwriters, a director, composers and many other positions to be filled (Caves, 2002). The film industry has undergone a big transformation from when it first began and up until today. After World War I the studio system developed and controlled the industry until the 1940's (Caves, 2002). In the studio system a few players dominated like Paramount, Twentieth Century Fox, and Warner Bros. The old studios are still connected to this day as distributors of feature films, but now the films are produced as one-off deals and few long-term contracts exist (Caves, 2002). After the dismantling of the studios the functions of film production were not integrated in-house but were coming together in what Caves (2002) calls "flexible specialization", where the inputs, (e.g. actors, videographers, directors etc.) required to produce a film are coming together only for a one-shot deal. This dismantling of the dominance of studios is also displayed in the article by Jon Silver and Frank Alpert (2003) "Digital Dawn: A revolution in movie distribution". In this the authors elaborate on whether new digital technology such as Video on Demand (VOD) will undermine the century old dominance by the major studios and give rise to the independent film sector. The impact and consequences of digital distribution will be further elaborated in the section of the literature review concerned with streaming.

So far, the literature review has been occupied by literature with an understanding of creative and film industries from a Western perspective. More and more scholars are also concerned with the film industry outside the borders of Europe or the United States of America. This increased interest in the creative industries in other parts of the world will be displayed in the following section concerning creative industries in Africa.

#### 2.1.3 Creative industries in Africa

When studying creative industries, it is important to take into account the context of the studied environment. In this section we will guide the reader through theories with a special focus on the creative industries in Africa.

According to the "Creative Economy Report 2008" from The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development: "The creative industries in Africa are generally fragmented" (United Nations, 2008, p. 43). Whereas in the Western world there is a long tradition for cultural policy and formal institutions, in Africa there predominantly is not. Nonetheless, increasing focus has been put on this. More and more governments have opened their eyes to the creative industries as a way to alleviate poverty (United Nations, 2008).

The international entertainment economy is a way for creatives in the developing nations to integrate their cultural products into. But this is not the only way. Roman Lobato (2010) argues that there already exist various efficient industry models in the emerging markets for creative industries. These models are often informal in nature and have only little connection to the intellectual property trade. Even though creative industry policy tries to formalize these models, this might not be the way forward. Lobato argues that policy makers in the West need to acknowledge that the informal economies just have their own potential, and that the Western world can learn as much from the Global South about the creative industries as the other way around.

## 2.1.4 The Ghanaian film industry

Since this study is exploring the field of the Ghanaian film industry it is important to give a review of part of the existing literature concerning film industries in Africa. Most studies concerning the creative industries in Africa take their starting point in industry analysis of either Nigeria (Nollywood) or South Africa. Especially the studies of the film industry is often conducted with Nollywood as a case. Some of these studies include Ramon Lobato's (2010) study of the rise of Nollywood and how informal economies play an important part in the creation of an efficient media industry. The study of how informal economies shape the creative industry is also extended through research by Uchenna Uzo and Johanna Mair (2014), who conducted an investigation of why organizations adopt informal rules through an in-depth study of four different organizations embedded in the Nigerian film industry. In the case of Ghana not a lot of research has been conducted on the matters of film production. Few articles have been written but often with a

conclusion and a request for more theoretical research to be conducted about the creative industries in Ghana.

A significant work concerning the film industry in Ghana is the book "African Video Movies and Global Desires" by Carmela Garritano (2013). The book takes the reader through the history of Ghanaian film. But more than that it also analyzes individual videos and explores how films (or movies as the author calls them) are contributing to the discourse regarding globalization, gender and consumerism to name a few.

## 2.2 Institutional entrepreneurship

Few scholars have connected research on institutional entrepreneurship with that of institutional behavior. An important contribution to this is that of Alvarez, Mazza, Strandgaard and Svejenova (2005) in their study of European filmmakers and their solutions to deal with isomorphic pressures. The study informs the reader of how three different directors have managed to escape the iron cage and create divergent change in their field.

This study informs the field of how the film industry can be investigated with a focus on the underlying institutional structures that shape behavior. Before exploring what it means to be an institutional entrepreneur we will look into the fundamental unit behind institutional entrepreneurship; institutions. In order to define institutions we have looked to W. Richard Scott (2014). Richard Scott defines institutions as consisting of "regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements that together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life" (Scott, 2014, p. 56). Through these three elements institutions become meaning-making properties which ultimately steers behavior, change and opportunities (Scott, 2014). Scott proposes these three elements to be what makes up or supports institutions. First, the *regulative pillar*. The regulative pillar in an institution is what regulates behavior and constrains action through sanctions and rule-setting. But it is not all negative. The regulative pillar is also capable of empowering actors through special benefits for some actors or enabling factors e.g. licenses. The institutional logic which underscores the regulative pillar is that of instrumental logic. This means that individuals make rules that they believe will advance their interest, whereas

individuals again cohere to that law in order to avoid punishment (Scott, 2014). Second, the normative pillar deals with the appropriateness of behavior. This pillar deals with norms and values of institutions. Values being the preferred objective, which behavior can be assessed against, and norms making specific the way behavior should be conducted in order to be a legitimate method for pursuing the desired values (Scott 2014). Behavior is both restricted, but as seen in the regulative pillar, also enabled through this pillar. Lastly, the *cultural-cognitive pillar* is attentive to how symbols and meaning-making happens within the individual and is used cognitively to attach meaning to the world, but also to the behavior and structure of it. Cultural systems work on many different levels not only for the individual but also inform organizational culture and ideologies on a national or international level (Scott, 2014). Individually these three pillars may take up more or less space in an institution, but they all work towards creating order and legitimacy. Legitimacy is a condition, which relies on compliance with relevant rules, norms and cultural-cognitive foundations (Scott, 2014). Not only Scott is concerned with the institutional structures. The academic scholar Douglass C. North has also conducted extensive research upon the nature of institutions and how they influence behavior. This research is exemplified in an essay concerning institutional change and its effects on economic history (North, 1989).

The study of institutions and their effects on behavior is furthered by DiMaggio and Powell (1991). They extend the study of institutions to that or organizations and seek to explain the variation among organizations in structure and behavior, or more importantly, the lack of variation. They ask, why there is such startling homogeneity of organizational forms and practices, by seeking to explain homogeneity, not variation: "In the initial stages of their life cycles, organizational fields display considerable diversity in approach and form. Once a field becomes established, however, there is an inexorable push toward homogenization." In other words, strategies might be rational for individual organizations but may not be rational if adopted by large numbers. Organizations may change their goals or develop new practices, and new organizations enter the field. But in the long run, organizational actors making rational decisions construct themselves around an environment that constrains their ability to change further in later years. Thus, organizations may try to change constantly; but after a certain point in the structuration of an organizational field, the aggregate effect of individual change is to lessen the extent of diversity within the field. Organizations in a structured field, respond to an environment that consist of other organizations responding to their environment, which consist of organizations responding to an environment of organizations'

responses. According to DiMaggio and Powell (1991), the greater the dependence of an organization on another organization, the more similar it will become in structure, climate, and behavioral focus.

A particular strand of research in institutions focuses on people that go against institutions. These are referred to as institutional entrepreneurs. Following the study of institutional fields and isomorphic pressures that organizations navigate in, it is of importance to focus on the organizations and/or individuals who break out of the "iron cage" and create change in their institutional fields. These actors are called *institutional entrepreneurs* by DiMaggio (Battilana et al, 2009). They can be both organizations, or groups of organizations but also individuals or groups of individuals. Battilana et al (2009) argues that not all creators of change are institutional entrepreneurs. They must fulfill two conditions which are to "initiate divergent change and actively participate in the implementation of these changes" (Battilana et al, 2009, p. 68). Divergent change meaning changes that break with the institutionalized template for organizing (Battilana et al, 2009). But must the change actors have a goal to actively change the existing field? No, not necessarily. Actors might not have the intent to create change but end up doing it anyway and thereby be named institutional entrepreneurs if they fulfill the above conditions. Likewise, actors who succeed in introducing a new managerial practice but fail to persuade the allies in changing their routines would also still be institutional entrepreneurs according to Battilana et al (2009). The intention will be to discover what kind of enabling conditions, both field-level characteristics and actor's social position, have led institutional entrepreneurs to emerge in the field of film distribution.

Research on institutional entrepreneurship focuses on how organizations and individuals can challenge the status quo and thereby create divergent change. But Battilana's research (2006) shows that the individual's social position is not given enough attention. Through the use of Bourdieu's concept of "fields", Battilana suggests looking at how an individual's social position may enable them to act as social entrepreneurs. These six positions are: Organization's status, social group(s)' status, Inter-organizational mobility, informal position, formal position and tenure in a position. The positions might count as enabling conditions for becoming an institutional entrepreneur and can all determine how small or big the likelihood for an individual to act as an institutional entrepreneur (Battilana, 2006).Battilana critiques the late 1980s neo-institutional theorists who started to incorporate individuals in institutional change, yet, she believes, they did not manage to solve the

inherited controversy, also defined as the paradox of embedded agency (Battilana, 2006). The paradox of embedded agency is concerned with the lack of analysis on the individual level. Neoinstitutional theorists have been too focused on the organizational and societal level of analysis and have left out the individual level. Yet organizational, societal and individual logics are linked (Battilana, 2006). In solving this paradox, it is critical to reinstate the individual in the process of divergent institutional change.

## 2.3 Streaming

The phenomenon of streaming is multifold and can be argued to challenge creative industries (e.g. film industries) in many different ways. From a practical point of view, streaming entails the flow of content connecting the database with the device and software through which the user gains access to his or her desired piece of content. In return for access, the user compensates the streaming provider by providing a valuable asset (Colbjørnsen, 2020). The common model is by paying a monthly subscription fee, and another form of compensation from the user is the contribution of user data, which feeds into the streaming provider's business model by enabling more precise recommendations, functionalities that enable discovery, and feedback on how the cultural products fare with users.

From an academic point of view, the phenomenon of streaming is still a rather new field of study, yet Lotz' (2017, p. 37) subscriber model and definition of streaming captures many of its central characteristics, albeit mostly confining herself to the television industry:

"The subscriber model is characterized by a user paying a fee for access to a collection of cultural goods. The subscriber [...] typically enjoys unlimited access to the collection of goods held in the library for the duration of the subscription. Media operating within this model curate a collection of goods according to a strategy based on providing a particular value proposition to subscribers"

As Herbert, Lotz, and Marshall (2018, p. 8) also notes "licensing all television and film would thus be prohibitively expensive for video services". Thus, they make their own films, they have also become familiar with the challenge of curation of films, by allowing the films of other filmmakers

into their respective platforms. Moreover, as Herbert et al. (2018, p. 8) explains "streaming services do not strictly sell items of films but build and sell access to a library". Also, the relationship between filmmakers and streaming platforms relates to the notion of *exclusivity*, that refers to films that competing platforms do not have licenses to stream. Lotz (2017) sees the drive toward exclusivity as central to the subscriptions model as opposed to the linear model for television, in particular because exclusivity was limited in the linear context. Lotz points to the fact that exclusivity not only affects the relationship of streaming platforms to filmmakers but also their connection with users. Streaming platforms have a crucial sway over users, as the subscribers cannot access exclusive content unless they continue subscribing. Whereas exclusivity also can be perceived as a means of gaining autonomy, and thereby power, in the streaming network.

In order to cope with the (new) realm of streaming platforms, Colbjørnsen (2020) argues that the phenomenon of streaming, herein streaming platforms, must be understood in relation to the network in which it exists, defined as *the streaming network*. The streaming network consists of *nodes* (e.g. users, filmmakers, and streaming platforms) that exercise power by bringing about or restricting action by setting terms for how resources are deployed and distributed" (Colbjørnsen, 2020). The advent of streaming platforms can be seen as contesters of existing institutional arrangements by challenging the existing configuration of power relations between users, filmmakers, and distributors (Colbjørnsen, 2020). The conceptualization of the streaming network enables a deeper understanding of the relationships between the nodes, and of how the shift from ownership to access involves a reconfiguration of power, also defined as network power by Castells (2011). Since Lotz' definition does not account for the specifics of access in streaming, this will be elaborated by using Castells' (2013) notion of *network power*. The shift from physical copies (e.g. CDs, VCDs, and DVD's) to streaming also entails a shift in power from filmmakers to streaming platforms or platform owners (Colbjørnsen and Sundet, 2021).

In his network theory, Castells defines network power as "the relational capacity to impose an actor's will over another actor's will on the basis of the structural capacity of domination embedded in the institutions of society" (Castells, 2011; Colbjørnsen, 2020, p. 1270). According to Castell (2013), network power is exercised through standards of communication, in regard to how social interaction is coordinated in the networks, such as the requirements of streaming platforms. More importantly, network power is exercised "not by the exclusion from the networks but by the

imposition of the rules of inclusion" (Castell, 2013; Colbjørnsen, 2020, p. 1270). The rules of inclusion can be through the establishment of standards. The institutional entrepreneurs establish standards to include (or exclude) and hereby exercising their power in the network, a power that used to preserve within the institutional arrangements of the cinemas and the selling and buying of physical copies.

Two mechanisms define the terms for network power: *programming*, the ability to constitute and to program and reprogram networks, and *switching*, the ability to connect and enable cooperation within and between networks (Castells, 2011). It is important to note that power is not equally distributed across the network but favors certain social actors at the source of network formation and of the establishment of the standards (Castell, 2013). Consequently, the key to understanding power in communication networks, streaming networks included, is to identify the actors that benefit from the established standards and protocols and how rules of inclusion are negotiated (Colbjørnsen, 2020).

According to Colbøjrnsen (2020), streaming power is exercised through relationships of access, control, and exposure. A critical point in the network's power configurations is the control over one or more the relationships that can generate revenue. The central resources here are content, data, and devices, but for these to be profitable assets, they need to be linked with users, meaning that the ability to join users with other nodes is the truly powerful asset. Streaming providers are specifically well positioned in the network to make these connections. The final version of the network indicates how the streaming provider is on the receiving end of payments from users and advertisers and controls the database. By controlling the database, streaming providers effectively control the protocols of communication and users' interactions, enabled by device and software affordances. As such, streaming providers perform the programming aspect of network power, but also facilitate cooperation within and between networks, thus performing the switching aspect of network power (Castells, 2011). Equally, Evens and Donders (2018) argue that platforms can create asymmetrical relationships and exert power through critical structures.

Streaming is a dynamic and multifaceted concept hovering in between a vast number of industries, particularly in the production of media goods within the cultural and creative industries. Initially, streaming can be defined as a way of transmitting and receiving digital data over the internet,

characterized by the end-user being able to watch, listen or read content while it is being transmitted (Andersen and Lüders, 2021). As a mode of distribution, streaming "mediates and intervenes in the relationship between media producers and media users, where a streaming platform can bypass traditional distribution patterns and reconfigure the use of media content" (Andersen and Lüders, 2021, p. 1).

The emergence of many new streaming services from global players as well as national streaming providers and small local services, makes streaming research an often complex field to study. Streaming has long been praised to have profound effects for the cultural and creative industries, albeit affecting different industries differently. Raats and Evens (2021) argues that subscription-video-on-demand (SVOD) streaming services such as Netflix, Amazon Prime, and Disney+ have fundamentally disrupted production, distribution and consumption of film content. In short, SVODs have shifted audiences from broadcasting to easy-to-use, non-linear services that offer binge-worthy titles based on personalized user preferences entailing new institutional perimeters for most actors involved.

SVODs build and sell access to a library and succeeds when users derive value from the library rather than from transacting particular goods (Herbert et al., 2019, p. 356; Miège, 1989). Previously, film relied primarily on theatrical box office revenues and license fees as well as revenue from home video and cable (Herbert et al., 2019). Normally, revenue depended on the consumption of specific goods, such as the sale of a theater ticket or rental/sale of a movie. According to Lotz (2017), the prevalent strategy of building and selling access to a library can be seen as a response to heterogeneous taste, the risk averseness of audiences to try new content, and the marketing costs associated with single good transactions. The value of bundling over transaction derives from bundling's greater efficiency in predicting consumer value of a collection of goods as opposed to single goods.

Moreover, SVODs have created an additional revenue stream, also referred to as subscriber revenue (Lotz, 2017). The growing importance of subscriber revenue in these industries masks a significant divergence of business models and practices across the sectors. Beyond the revenue stream, a subscriber model differs from other media transactions by relying on bundling, which has been a common practice in media industries. Recognizing the different protocols enabled by internet

distribution also reveals opportunities for new strategies and new ways of thinking about media's economic exchange (Lotz, 2017).

The audio-visual sector is centered around a myriad of small services catering to specific genres and niche forms of content (e.g. MUBI and Shudder) of which there is virtually no equivalent in music. The audio-visual sector is dominated by services that achieve scale by targeting many different viewer tastes: Netflix, Amazon Prime, and Hulu.

For film the streaming market remains in its early stages and it is unclear which services compete or function as complements (there is much more change of an individual subscribing both to Netflix and HBO Now). Netflix and other SVODs have to pay in advance for a license to stream media (Intellectual property rights). Television services pay up front for exclusive rights. Licensing 'all television and films' would be prohibitively expensive for SVODs.

# 3. Conceptual framework

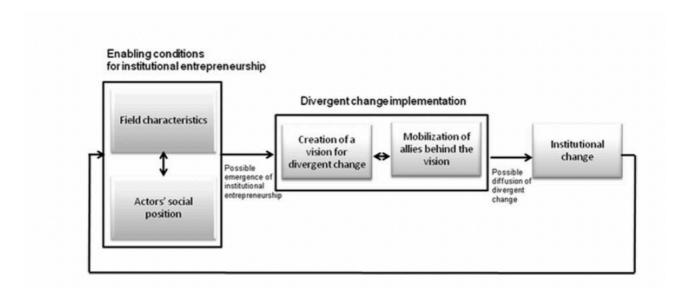
In the following chapter the conceptual framework will be introduced. The conceptual framework will be used to analyze the data in order to answer the research question: *How do Ghanaian filmmakers attempt to create divergent institutional change through streaming platforms?* The conceptual framework guiding the analysis builds on Battilana et al.'s (2009) Model of the process of institutional entrepreneurship, as well as Scott's (2014) three pillars of institutions, both described in the literature review.

Following the conceptual framework, we aim to investigate how the field characteristics of the Ghanaian film industry, as well as the social position of the actor, have an effect on the willingness and ability of the Ghanaian filmmakers to create a vision for divergent change, as well as mobilizing allies in support of the institutional change.

Battilana et al. (2009, p. 68) argues that not all change initiators act as institutional entrepreneurs, since institutional entrepreneurs must "initiate divergent change and actively participate in the implementation of these changes". Divergent change reflects changes that challenge institutional arrangements within a field. Although individuals might not intentionally aim to create divergent change, their actions might be characterized as such and therefore be characterized as institutional entrepreneurs (Battilana et al., 2009). In contrast, individuals might intentionally aim to challenge the institutional arrangements, but their attempts are not successfully implemented, yet they can also be characterized as institutional entrepreneurs (Battilana et al., 2009). In other words, individuals who initiate and participate in divergent change can be perceived as institutional entrepreneurs, independently of their initial intentions and how successfully these were implemented.

Battilana et al.'s (2009) model for the process of institutional entrepreneurship, illustrates the iterative progression of institutional change. The individual steps of the process will be elaborated underneath.

Figure 2: Model of the Process of Institutional Entrepreneurship



Enabling conditions for institutional entrepreneurship

The first part of the model refers to the enabling conditions for institutional entrepreneurship. Overall, Battilana et al. (2009) defines two different enabling conditions, namely *field* characteristics and actor's social position. Field characteristics include *jolts and crisis*, degree of heterogeneity, and degree of institutionalization.

Jolts and crises refer to "social upheaval, technological disruption, competitive discontinuity, and regulatory changes" that might disturb underlying configurations of society and invite the introduction of new ideas (Battilana et al., 2009, p. 74). The degree of heterogeneity defines the variance in the institutional arrangements. If a field is heterogeneous it is likely that it is linked to institutional incompatibilities, which can lead to internal contradictions and create instability. These internal contradictions potentially make actors more reflective of their surroundings and enable them to take a critical stance towards existing institutions and thereby lead to the creation of institutional change (Battilana et al., 2009). Another field characteristic is the degree of institutionalization. The degree of institutionalization indicates to what extent a field is influenced by rules and procedures. A low degree of institutionalization often entails higher levels of uncertainty, which might provide opportunity for institutional entrepreneurship (Battilana et al., 2009). Moreover, it is important to underline that institutional entrepreneurship can occur in fields with both high and low degree of institutionalization (Battilana et al., 2009).

Besides field characteristics, actors' social positions can also determine whether individuals or organizations attempt to conduct institutional entrepreneurship. The actor's social position entails their position within a field and their access to resources. These resources include financial resources, but may also include formal authority and social capital, which can provide legitimacy and help to bridge diverse stakeholders. Since different actors perceive fields differently, these factors influence the likelihood of an actor to initiate divergent change (Battilana et al., 2009). Yet, actors' social position is not restricted to individuals, since also organizations can initiate divergent change. According to Battilana et al. (2009), both the status of the organization in which the individual is embedded and the individual's status can be beneficial in terms of being considered legitimate in the field and thereby more easily being able to bridge the gap in order to mobilize potential allies (Battilana et al., 2009). While the Model of the Process of Institutional Entrepreneurship emphasizes the importance of the social position of the actor. A more thorough development of actors' social position is conceptualized by Battilana (2006).

According to Battilana (2006) It might not be straightforward to determine potential institutional entrepreneurs, since it might not be the individual who is the most eager or the individual who holds the best abilities. Albeit, the likelihood for them to act as institutional entrepreneurs is a derivative of their willingness and ability, since not all individuals are equally likely to conduct divergent institutional changes, even when they are embedded in the same environment (Battilana, 2006). Hence, for an individual to act as an institutional entrepreneur, one must have an interest in doing so, while also having enough resources. According to Battilana (2006), willingness depends on interest, while interest is partly determined by their resources – either their own or to which they have access to – and by their institutional embeddedness. Although individuals may not be willing to change their institutional environment or may not be aware that their actions are changing their it, they have to actively take part in the implementation of changes that break with the institutional forces and thereby promote sufficient alternatives. Moreover, they must contribute to the institutionalization of new or alternative practices, albeit these practices do not have to become successfully implemented for them to qualify as institutional entrepreneurs (Battilana, 2006).

Battilana (2006) uses the conceptualization of incumbent-challenger building on the works of Neil Fligstein (1997) and Manuel Hensmans (2003). The *incumbent* are individuals that by belonging to a certain organization or group are favored by the existing institutional structure. They are said to be

Hence, the incumbents often have an easier access to resources. Contrary to the incumbents are the *challengers*. Challengers are often not favored by the current institutional arrangements and therefore are more likely to try to challenge the structures. Whether an individual is an incumbent or a challenger will have a significant effect on their likelihood for either trying to preserve the existing institutions or trying to change them (Battilana, 2006).

Battilana (2006) differentiates between three levels of constraint: the individual, the organizational, and the institutional, and thereby emphasizes the importance of incorporating all levels of human agency, in order to adequately understand the tenets of institutional entrepreneurship, since these are all interrelated. Compared to the individual, the organizational and institutional represent progressively higher levels of constraint. Yet, both low and high levels of constraint represent enabling conditions for individuals to perform institutional entrepreneurship.

This first part of the conceptual framework will be used to examine what kind of enabling conditions, both field-level characteristics and actor's social position, have led institutional entrepreneurs to emerge in the field of the Ghanaian film distribution. Accordingly, during the first part of the analysis jolts and crises, degree of heterogeneity and institutionalization in the Ghanaian film industry as well as the social position of the filmmakers engaged in institutional change will be investigated. Additionally, Battilana's (2006) assumptions and considerations of social positions of both the individual actors, but also their organizations and the connection of the two will be studied. The aim will be to explore how the position and perceptions of institutional entrepreneurs in the film industry and their belonging organizations have on their willingness and ability to implement divergent institutional change but also how this same position might restrict their behavior. Having analyzed the conditions, both in the field but also with the actor's social position, that enable institutional change, the process of implementation of the divergent change as well as the mobilization of allies will be developed.

## Divergent change implementation

To be an institutional entrepreneur the actor has to implement divergent change. This consists of different activities; *developing a vision, mobilizing people and motivating others to achieve and* 

sustain the vision of the institutional entrepreneur (Battilana et al, 2009). Institutional entrepreneurs have to develop a vision for the change they want to create, explain the problem their solution helps to solve and how it is superior to existing solutions and lastly do so with compelling reasons (Battilana et al, 2009). Achieving this can be done through three different types of framing: Diagnostic framing, prognostic framing and motivational framing. Diagnostic framing is used by institutional entrepreneurs to present the faults of existing institutions and of the field. Prognostic framing casts the new solution or project superior as to those existing. This de-legitimizes the existing solutions and creates attention for potential supporters. The last dimension, motivational framing, provides arguments to rally potential supporters (Battilana et al, 2009).

## Mobilizing allies

Mobilizing allies is important for an institutional entrepreneur, due to the natural hardship of creating change alone. The institutional entrepreneur has to define potential supporters and opposers of the desired change project. "The aim is to coalesce allies and reduce inherent contradictions in the coalition, and at the same time exacerbate contradictions among opponents by emphasizing the failings of existing institutionalized practices and norms and demonstrating that adoption of the proposed vision will assure improvement" (Battilana et al, 2009, p. 81). Mobilizing allies can be helped by the use of discourse of the institutional entrepreneur but also in their ability to mobilize resources (this is not only pertaining to financial means but could also be intangible means). This resource mobilization can be promoted by an actor's social position but also their formal authority or attachment to others' social position or formal authority (Battilana et al., 2009).

In the second part of the analysis the vision of the institutional entrepreneurs of the Ghanaian film industry will be presented. It will be analyzed how they frame their arguments in order to make their change project known and how it diverges from the existing solutions of the field. Lastly, it will be studied how the institutional entrepreneurs used their framings of their change as a means to mobilize allies as well as their social position in the field.

The last part of Battilana et al.'s (2009) model is concerned with the institutional changes attempted by the institutional entrepreneurs. But before the institutional change is implemented in the field, there is the possible diffusion of divergent change. It is not certain that institutional change will take

place, this is merely a possibility (Battilana et al., 2009). For this possible diffusion to take place the institutional entrepreneurs must have been able to create a compelling vision for their change project as well as have framed it in a way that resonates with the possible allies they are trying to mobilize. Only then if they prove to be successful will institutional change happen across the organizational field (Battilana et al., 2009).

## 3.2 Institutional pillars

Having explained the steps that the institutional entrepreneur goes through, consciously or subconsciously, to implement divergent change in their given field, we will add Scott's (2014) conceptualization of institutional pillars in order to understand the underlying structures of society that enable or restrict behavior. Institutions are intangible, hence, to make the analysis more operationalizable we will utilize Scott' (2014) framework of pillars to understand the underlying structures that restrict or enable behaviors of the institutional entrepreneurs and their journey towards implementing divergent change.

In short, "Institutions work to constrain and regulate behavior" (Scott, 2014, p. 59). Institutions prompt constraints in terms of behavior and provide legitimacy to both individuals and organizations (Scott, 2014). The definition of institutions for the purpose of this analysis will follow that of Scott (2014) as described above. The chosen definition and the three different pillars will also be used to analyze how the institutional entrepreneurs act as institutional entrepreneurs and which institutions they are seeking to change. The three pillars will be used to analyze how the institutional entrepreneurs operate within institutions and what institutions they are trying to change.

From Scotts (2014) definition of institutions it is relevant to analyze how the institutional pillars, namely the regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive pillars, relate to activities and individuals existing within institutional arrangements of the Ghanaian film industry.

Firstly, the regulative pillar involves rulesetting by the rewarding and sanctioning of rules to control behavior, but, at the same time, also empowers social action (e.g. through licenses) (Scott, 2014). This is typically through formal rules and regulations. Secondly, the normative pillar deals with

values and norms in relation to evaluating behavior. Whereas some can be applied to all individuals of an organization or a field, others are only applicable to single individuals. This gives rise to roles that outline what is appropriate for certain groups or individuals within the field (Scott, 2014). Thirdly, the cultural-cognitive pillar assigns meaning to the world, by the shared conception of reality. Cultural systems work at many different levels from local voices to nationwide ideologies that shape economic or political systems (Scott, 2014).

These three pillars provide the base of the underlying structures which the institutional entrepreneurs act upon. Throughout the analysis we will return to these different pillars and analyze how each of them enable and restrict the behaviors of the Ghanian filmmakers but also how the institutional entrepreneurs address them in order to create and implement divergent institutional change.

In sum, the framework of the process of institutional entrepreneurship (Battilana et al., 2009) and the institutional pillars by Scott (2014) will be used to analyze the institutional entrepreneurs' willingness and ability to create divergent change. Following the explanation of how the conceptual framework will aid in the analysis of the empirical data collected, it is significant to look at how the data was collected and how different methods and considerations about conducting research shaped the process.

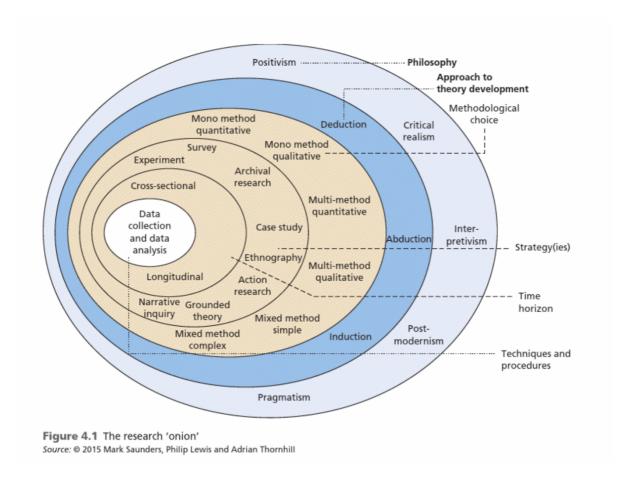
# 4. Methodology

In this section we will describe our methodological reasoning and choices that have formed the study. First, we will describe the research philosophy and research design that has informed this study, then we will elaborate on the process of data collection and the following data analysis. Lastly, we will discuss reliability and validity in qualitative studies and how to approach research ethics.

# 4.1 Research philosophy

We will start the methodology with the outermost circle of the research onion, as illustrated (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2016, p. 124).

Figure 2: The Research Onion



The outermost circle deals with research philosophy. Research philosophy is referring to "a system of beliefs and assumptions about the development of knowledge" (Saunders et al., 2016, p. 124). But before diving into the research philosophy it is important to reflect the different assumptions these are built upon.

There exist three types of research assumptions: *ontology, epistemology, and axiology*. Ontology concerns the assumptions you have about the nature of the reality you are studying. This assumption shapes the way you see your objects of research (Saunders et al., 2016). Epistemology deals with assumptions about knowledge and what knowledge is considered acceptable and legitimate (Saunders et al., 2016). This means that in business and management research different forms of knowledge are considered legitimate ranging from numerical data to narratives told by the research participants can be considered legitimate. Even though there exist a wide range of acceptable knowledge, this variety of knowledge entails certain limitations. As an example, the assumption that numerical data gives you the best knowledge and evidence leads to the choice of a quantitative method approach. Axiology deals with the role of values and what is considered

important during the research process (Saunders et al., 2016). The values researchers have served to guide the way research will be conducted. For example, choosing one topic of research instead of another gives hints to what the researcher finds important. Or if one finds it valuable to get firsthand knowledge from the respondent through personal interaction, interviews would be the telltale sign of personal values.

As described, ontology, epistemology, and axiology represent underlying assumptions of different research philosophies, including the one that we adhere to. As we have just learned in the previous section, research assumptions inform research philosophies. Many different philosophies exist in business and management studies.

The philosophy that informs our study is *critical realism*. Critical realism sees reality as something that is "external and independent, but not directly accessible through our observation and knowledge of it" (Saunders et al., 2016, p. 139). Critical realists claim that what we experience is empirical, since it is manifestations of the real world, but not the actual reality. Furthermore, they also claim that understanding the world is a two-step process. Firstly, there are the things and events we experience. Events refer to what we experience through our perception. This could be experiencing a ritual involving dancing. We might experience the dancing, but not the underlying structures for why the movements of the ritual is the way it is. In this study, it could be the battles fought by the institutional entrepreneurs. Secondly, we will first be able to reach the underlying structure through the second step that is the processing that happens, when we post-rationalize what we have experienced to the underlying structures that have caused them (Saunders et al., 2016). This is also known as retroduction (Reed, 2005; Saunders et al., 2016). As critical realists you believe that you only see a small part of the reality that exists, but you need to investigate the bigger picture behind the events and experiences in order to be able to explain them. By bigger picture it is implied that we need to look at the social structures that bring about the events we are experiencing. Social structures could be the underlying institutions that restrict or enable behavior. As mentioned for this study the battles fought by the institutional entrepreneurs would refer to the empirical. This is an experienced event, but in order to truly understand the world of our interviewees we need to look to the underlying institutions that shape their words and ideas that come forward in the interviews. Through theories and methods of social science we will be able to uncover the mechanisms that shape organizations (Saunders et al., 2016). As critical realists we will use the

theory of institutional entrepreneurship to understand the bigger reality of what we have only seen a small part of.

## 4.2 Research approach

After having defined the research philosophy we will be looking at the research approach. There exist three different approaches to theory development: *deduction, induction*, and *abduction*. Deduction takes its starting point in the general and then moves to the specific. Or said in another way, moving from theory to data. In a deductive approach you test hypotheses, making it a popular approach within natural sciences. In deductive reasoning if the premises are true, the conclusion must also be true. When using a deductive approach your research must be very methodologically structured, in order to facilitate replication (Saunders et al., 2016). The opposite research approach of deduction is induction. Induction had its starting point with the emergence of social sciences, where a critique of deductive reasoning's tendency to create a cause-effect link between variables without taking into account the human interpretation of their social world (Saunders et al., 2016). Induction moves from data to theory. Induction is more of an exploratory approach where "data collection is used to explore a phenomenon, identity themes and patterns and create a conceptual framework" (Saunders et al., 2016, p.145). Findings from the data are used to generate or build theory.

The last approach to theory development is abduction. Instead of moving from theory to data as deduction does or from data to theory as induction, abduction moves back and forth between the two. Abducting starts with a surprise that could be a surprising fact found in the data leading to new plausible theories being generated to possibly explain this surprising fact (Saunders et al., 2016). This new modification or generation of theory would then once again be tested with additional data, hereby creating an alternation between theory and data.

Having defined the three research approaches we will now look at them through our project. The three approaches can appear final, yet this is not true. It is possible to combine the different approaches. Through this project we have applied both a deductive and inductive research approach. We initiated the project with a theory and based the questions in the interview guide of

that theoretical standpoint but as our method for data collection we made use of semi-structured interviews, hereby not being too stringent on preconceived ideas but being open to pursue other interesting strands of information. Same goes for our data analysis. Here we have analyzed after certain topics but also kept our analysis open for interesting themes or topics to emerge. This will be further elaborated in the section concerning data analysis but goes to show our mixed research approach of deduction and induction.

#### 4.3 Research design

Having dealt with the two outermost parts of the research onion, we will now examine the research design. Research design deals with how you plan to conduct your research and answer your research question (Saunders et al., 2016). Among other things it entails your choices regarding methodology, recognizing your research design, and what strategy you will use to investigate your chosen research topic. Concerning methodological choice there are different approaches. There is the possibility of qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods.

For this study we have worked with a qualitative approach. The qualitative approach seeks to investigate the research participants meaning making and the relationship between them. The researcher needs to make sense of the interviewees and the underlying social structures (Saunders et al., 2016). The search for meaning and investigation of the implicit structures complements the research philosophy that has informed this study. When applying a qualitative research approach data collection is interactive and may change as other topics emerge (Saunders et al., 2016). We will dive deeper into how using a qualitative approach for data collection has affected our study later in this section. We have conducted an exploratory study. The exploratory study concerns itself with the questions of "What" and "How". These types of questions are often found in a semi-structured interview which is a method within the qualitative approach. An exploratory study is useful if you wish to explore a phenomenon or an issue (Saunders et al., 2016).

This type of study corresponds with our desire to investigate and understand the field of the Ghanaian film industry and how the underlying institutional structures help or restrict the implementation of divergent change for the institutional entrepreneurs. This connects also to the

strategy for achieving the aforementioned goal of understanding the institutional entrepreneur and the institutions that help or restrict them. The optimal research strategy for the purpose of investigating the Ghanian film industry would be that of a case study. The case study is "an indepth inquiry into a topic or phenomenon within its real-life setting" (Yin, 2014 in Saunders et al., 2016). The case study has the potential to gather rich insights from the phenomenon of study. The choice of a case study also corresponds with research philosophy critical realism. According to Geoff Easton (2010 p.127), the combination of critical realism and case studies seems to be "ideally matched" and are particularly useful for the study of "complex, phenomena such as organizations, interorganizational relationships or nets of connected organizations" (Easton, 2010, p. 123). This study is concerned with the complex phenomena of institutional change within fields, which aligns well with the examples given by Easton. As explained, the phenomenon this study is investigating is the process of the implementation of divergent change as conducted by the institutional entrepreneurs in the Ghanaian film industry. The unit of analysis is the institutional entrepreneurs embedded in the film industry in Accra and Kumasi. From a pool of twelve interviews in total, we identified three as institutional entrepreneurs. We identified these three, seeing they all had streaming platforms and thereby were breaking with the traditional methods of distribution as well as having the willingness and ability to conduct divergent change. The remaining nine interviews were chosen for their in-depth knowledge about the Ghanaian film industry and hereby provided a lot of valuable background information of the field to this study.

## 4.4 Research project

Before diving into the section concerning data collection it is important to acknowledge that this study is written as part of a research project at Copenhagen Business School in Denmark. The project is called Advancing Creative Industries for Development in Ghana (ACIG, 2022a). It brings together researchers from Copenhagen Business School, the University of Ghana in Ghana and Loughborough University in England (ACIG, 2022b). The project coordinator Thilde Langevang is the supervisor for this study. The research purpose of ACIG is to generate knowledge regarding creative industries and creative entrepreneurship in Ghana (ACIG, 2022). When in Ghana we were affiliated with the University of Ghana Business School under the supervision of Project Co-

coordinator Mohammed-Aminu Sanda and WP4 Co-coordinator Rashida Resario and benefited from help from post-doc Sela Adjei and PhD student Lilian Ama Afun.

#### 4.5 Data collection

The chosen method for collecting data for this study was through interviews. Interviews provide a way of gathering empirical data of the social world through the lives of the interviewees (James A. Holstein and Jaber F. Gubrium, 2001). The interview is an interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee or interview subject. The interview then serves both as a social interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee but also as vessels for topics for the interviewer to investigate (Carol A. B. Warren, 2012). The research was conducted over a period of two and half weeks on location in Accra and Kumasi, Ghana. In total twelve interviews were conducted. All interviews were conducted in person except for two that were conducted online. One of the two was conducted during our trip in Ghana, but due to time constraints had to be done online and the last was conducted online upon return to Copenhagen. The interviews conducted in person were conducted in different locations. Some were conducted at a film school in Accra, some at hotels or community centers and one was even conducted on a film set. On average the interviews lasted an hour. With the consent from the interviewees, the audio of the interviews was recorded by using a mobile phone and a digital recorder. Almost all the interviews were conducted in English, except for one which was conducted in the local language Twi upon request of the interviewee. The interview conducted in Twi was translated 'live' by Lilian Afun, who also assisted with the following transcription.

As explained previously this study is constructed under the umbrella of a joint research project between the University of Ghana, Copenhagen Business School and Loughborough University, this means that we had access to a pool of possible interviewees, which had previously been in contact with the research project in one way or the other. Despite the fact that we through the research team at Copenhagen Business School and University of Ghana had access to interviewees, we also managed to gather more. We did so through the snowballing technique, where respondents are recommended by initial contacts (Saunders et al., 2016). Meaning that we asked some of our interviewees if they had other people in mind that could be of interest for us to talk to. This led to a

couple of more interviews that we had not anticipated initially. Our main point of contact to the possible interviewees was through the application WhatsApp or by having one of our other interviewees establish contact.

We conducted twelve interviews with different stakeholders within the film industry. The interviewees occupied many different positions ranging from university professors with great knowledge of the creative and film industry in Ghana, to high-ranking members of different associations concerned with film and lastly the filmmakers themselves. The filmmakers occupied diverse functions spanning from actors, directors, producers and owners of streaming platforms. From the pool of the twelve interviewees we have chosen to focus our attention in the analysis on three of them, since they act as institutional entrepreneurs. The remaining nine provide background information but have nonetheless had a significant impact on our knowledge of the film industry and the underlying structures in Accra and Kumasi. The interviews were conducted as semi-structured. The semi-structured interviewer has certain topics he or she wishes to cover but leaves space to pursue other interesting themes that may appear during the course of the interview (Saunders et al., 2016).

Using a semi-structured interview form allowed us to pursue our already prepared topics of interest; institutional entrepreneurship and streaming, but also left us with the freedom to pursue other paths, if the interviews offered us other interesting information. The use of open questions is important when conducting semi-structured interviews, as compared to closed questions, which are more appropriate for quantitative studies. Open questions often include words such as 'how', 'why' or 'what'. This opens up for a discussion and lets the interviewee provide a deeper answer, than simply just 'yes' and 'no' answers (Saunders et al., 2016).

For the study open questions were utilized. These were followed by probing questions. This type of question imitates the wording of an open question but is used to achieve a deeper exploration of a certain topic of interest or indicate a particular direction (Saunders et al., 2016). Examples of the open- and probing questions can be found in our interview guide in Appendix A. The interview guide was created in order to guide and structure our interviews and make sure that we covered all the topics we wanted to cover. In terms of the more practical aspect of interviewing we benefited from being two interviewers and were able to take turns conducting the interviews. The person not

in charge of conducting the interview took notes and asked follow-up questions, hereby making sure we did not forget important topics that should be pursued. From the collection of data, we will now explain how we conducted the analysis of the gathered data.

#### 4.6 Data analysis

After having collected the data in Accra and Kumasi in Ghana, the data analysis was initiated. The interviews were transcribed by first using Otter.ai, a software that converts audio recording into first draft transcriptions. Then the transcriptions were reviewed to correct mistakes (e.g. words and expressions) that the software had not understood correctly. Additionally, words like "ehm" or repetitions of the same word in a row were removed. Albeit, the transcripts were reviewed multiple times, it will never provide a complete representation of the actual interview situation. The transcripts represent texts and therefore exclude speech events, such as change of tone or speed during the interviews. Hence, it was not able to capture what took place, besides what is written in the transcripts, such as facial expression or body language (Barbara Czarniawska, 2014).

Afterwards, the completed transcripts were coded by using NVIVO, a software used for qualitative data analysis. An example of the coding process along with the transcriptions can be found in Appendix N and Appendix B to M, respectively.

For the data analysis two cycles of coding were conducted. From a theoretical point of view, Miles, Huberman and Saldaña (2013) divide coding into two major stages, *first cycle coding* and *second cycle coding*, Saldaña et al. (2013, p. 71) describes codes as "labels that assign symbolic meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study". Codes come in various types and forms and are usually attached to data chunks, such as interview transcripts, field notes, journals, documents, photographs, videos, e-mails, and so on, also described as the critical link between data collection and the exploration of meaning (Charmaz, 2001).

For the data analysis Graham R. Gibbs (2021) concepts of coding are used. Gibbs (2012) defines coding as a means of categorizing texts to establish thematic ideas. For this study, the data consist of interviews and naturally the interview transcripts. In the data analysis, both first and second round cycle coding were conducted. For the first round, the twelve interviews were coded

individually in order to avoid the influence of each other. Throughout the first cycle coding, a combination of *concept-driven coding* and *data-driven coding* was applied (Gibbs, 2012). Concept-driven codes can derive from a mixture of academic literature, similar studies or topics of interest that might influence the coding (Gibbs, 2012). In other words, these codes also represent - to various extent - biased forms of previous knowledge. This view also is encouraged by Jane Ritchie and Adrian Phillips (2003) through their *framework analysis*. In a framework analysis the researcher is encouraged to build key thematic ideas before commencing on the coding of the text (Ritchie et al., 2003; Gibbs, 2012).

In addition to concept-driven coding, data-driven coding entails coding with no previous interpretations, by allowing the data to guide the coding process (Gibbs, 2012). As mentioned previously both approaches were used for analysis. Applying both concept-driven and data-driven coding to the data meant that we both knew what to look for to guide our analysis but also permitted the data to speak and bring up themes that had not been thought of as being significant beforehand. The second round of coding was conducted through both NVIVO and physically on a board (Appendix P). For the second cycle of coding we worked together to compare our codes and group similar codes together under broader themes. From these broader themes we were able to structure our analysis. To sum up, coding assisted the process of deep reflection that was needed to interpret the data from the interviews. Thereby, coding was utilized to give the research an overview and allow for a systematic categorization of the interviews that is then reflected in the analysis.

## 4.7 Ethical considerations and our position

Ethical research concerns a multitude of different considerations to be employed and staying mindful of when conducting research. Amongst other things, informed consent and ensuring confidentiality of interviewees is a part of being an ethical researcher. Informed consent refers to the researcher providing enough information for the interviewees to be fully aware of what their participation entails and being able to consent to this (Saunders et al., 2016).

For matters of this study every interview began with an introduction explaining to the interviewees, what the study was about and what kind of questions they could expect. Furthermore, the interviewees were asked for their consent to the interview audio being recorded in order to facilitate

the later transcription and analysis. By way of this introduction we would also try to build rapport with the interviewee by displaying gratitude by thanking them for taking the time to participate and explaining to them how much of a help it was for us. Ethics were also considered in terms of making sure that our interviewees knew that their identities would be kept confidential as well as their role or formal position within the Ghanaian film industry. Failing to ensure the anonymity of the interviewees can be harmful to their future prospects or security with a network (Saunders et al., 2016). For this reason, the names and positions of the interviewees were made sure to be kept confidential through the data collection itself, but also throughout the data analysis and the rest of the study.

Additionally, it is crucial for the researcher to be mindful of his or her appearance and cultural background when conducting research. Since this study is investigating filmmakers in the Ghanaian film industry cultural distance has likely been a factor along. Coming as two Europeans presumably had an influence as to how we were perceived. Along with this our positions as students conducting research under a research project from Copenhagen Business School have most likely provided us with some formal authority. Our experience as researchers were that the majority of the interviewees were more than willing to share and elaborate on their experience of the Ghanaian film industry. This could be that most of the interviewees had been previously interviewed as part of the formerly mentioned research project at Copenhagen Business School, ACIG. Furthermore, a significant factor could be that we, for some of the interviews, were accompanied by PhD student Lilian Ama Afun. Her position as local could contribute to the interviewees feeling more comfortable and also be of help if a language barrier were to occur.

## 5. Context

This chapter aims to introduce the Ghanaian field context, in which the institutional entrepreneurship within the Ghanaian film industry assumingly has unfolded. A brief overview of the national context will be provided, followed by a more specific presentation of the Ghanaian film industry and its historical prerequisites with an emphasis on the film circles of Accra and Kumasi.

#### 5.1 A brief overview of the Ghanaian context

The country of Ghana is situated in West Africa, bordering Togo, Burkina Faso, and Côte d'Ivoire. The population is a little over 31 million. In total, Ghana consists of sixteen regions, yet this study mainly focuses on the cities of Accra and Kumasi. From 2017 to 2019 Ghana experienced a rapid growth in GDP of 7%, which was halted by the COVID-19 pandemic. Albeit, the set back from the COVID-19 pandemic, Ghana's growth is on the rise again. In 2021 Ghana's economy rose to 4.1% and is projected to reach 5.5% in 2022 (World Bank, 2022). Ghana's economic landscape consists mostly of micro, small and medium companies. According to a report by the World Bank 98% of businesses in Ghana are considered micro or small businesses and 90% are of informal nature (World Bank, 2021a). Digital technologies provide an important avenue for progress and growth in Ghana. Ghana has made significant progress in mobile internet coverage. In 2019, 88% of the population had access to 3G. While 4G had a penetration rate of 68%, which is lower due to an urban divide, with only 41% coverage in rural areas, urban areas had a coverage of 88%. Despite the low numbers, 4G is on the rise. Despite the high coverage only 37% uses mobile internet. Research from Global System for Mobile Communications (GSMA) attributes the low number to lack of digital literacy, digital skills and affordability (World Bank, 2021b). The affordability of data packages has driven an increase in the adoption of mobile internet World Bank, 2021b).

Ghana has a strong democratic tradition and outperforms most West African countries when it comes to political stability and civil liberty (Deloitte, 2017). In contrast, unemployment is rising, especially amongst the youth. Between 2012 and 2016 unemployment rose from 4% to 5.8% with only 12% of the working force occupied in formal employment (Deloitte, 2017). With youth unemployment reaching nearly 12% (World Bank, 2021). Ghana's main exports commodities are

gold, cocoa, and crude oil (Deloitte, 2017). As streaming has now entered the market in Ghana, the adoption of mobile internet is an important factor for the Ghanaian economy but also for this study, which centers around the disruption of digital distribution in the Ghanaian film industry.

## 5.2 The Ghanaian film industry

In recent years, creative industries have gained increased recognition (Hesmondhalgh, 2019). The Government of Ghana officially wrote it in their Shared Growth and Development Agenda from 2014 to 2017 (Government of Ghana, 2015). Among others, they state that they want to enhance competitiveness of the private sector through initiatives aiming to develop a vibrant creative arts industry, such as establishing a Council for Creative Arts to promoting research in the industry as well as "strengthening the Copyright Office and related institutions" (Government of Ghana, 2015, p. 18).

Initially, the Ghanaian film industry was established during British colonial rule, when Ghana's name still was the Gold Coast. Back then, the film industry was perceived as a moral obligation by colonial officials (Garritano, 2013). Film was believed to instill sensibility in Ghanaians towards the Commonwealth, and not as a "service" to Ghanaians (Garritano, 2013). The colonist agenda of the time was set forth by the Colonial Film Unit that believed in a primitive style of film techniques, because Ghanaians supposedly needed simplicity (Garritano, 2013). Film production under colonial rule began in 1946 when the first production team came to the Gold Coast. The two major players were the Gold Coast Film Unit and Ghana Film Industry Corporation (Garritano, 2013). After gaining independence in 1957, film production became nationalized. Ghana's first president Kwame Nkrumah was very aware of the opportunity's films provided in order to build the new nation (Garritano, 2013). In order to educate filmmakers, the National Film and Television Institute was set up in 1979 and followed by the establishment of the Ghana Film Industry Corporation in 1964. The Ghana Film Industry Corporation's purpose was to develop a unified national conscience creating more awareness toward traditional Ghanaian cultures and values, in opposition to the former colonial power (Garritano, 2013). In the late 1990s, the Ghana Film Industry Corporation was privatized, as a consequence of a liberalization of the economy. As a result, 70% of the shares were sold off to TV3, a Malaysian TV network, while the remaining 30% were kept by the

Ghanaian government. TV3 became the first independent television station in the history of Ghana, and also started making films for the Ghanaian population (Garritano, 2013).

Furthermore, the Ghanaian film industry is said to be heavily inspired by the Nigerian film industry, also known as Nollywood. Nollywood films have had huge commercial success outside of Nigeria extending into Ghana, but also into other parts of the world. Nollywood movies are generally described as glamorous, mimicking the successes of the American film industry, Hollywood. This transnational competition from Nollywood and Hollywood has resulted in the making of relatively big-budget English-speaking films in Ghana (Garritano, 2013). The majority of these films have been made in Accra, probably the largest film circle in Ghana. While the film circle within Greater Accra are somewhat on the rise, it was also one of the cities the empirical data was gathered, in addition to Kumasi, probably the second largest film circle in Ghana. Therefore, it is only natural to give an introduction to the context of this city as well as Kumasi, another big hub for film production below.

#### 5.3 The film circles of Accra and Kumasi

As mentioned in the introduction the focus of this study has been on the two cities Accra and Kumasi. The Ghanaian film industry can predominantly be ascribed to the film circles in Accra and Kumasi, the two largest cities in Ghana measured by their populations. By the majority of the interviewees, the film circles in Accra and Kumasi are typically referred to as *Ghallywood* and *Kumawood*, respectively. The term Ghallywood and Kumawood aspires to the names of Hollywood and Bollywood (Garritano, 2013).

The film circles of Accra and Kumasi holds different characteristics. Accra has traditionally been the avenue for filmmaking and distribution. Until 1996 there predominantly was no film production north of Accra according to the dean of a Ghanaian university explained "You know until 1996 I think [...] There was nothing like that in the north, nothing. Yes. I mean, if you're talking about film production, it was just Accra" (Appendix B). But with the advent of video, film production became more democratic by celluloid, which was the previous film format films were in. Filming in video was cheaper and there was no need to process it, as with celluloid. Over the years, this also gave

rise to filmmaking in Kumasi. Whereas the films from Accra had predominantly been English-speaking, the filmmakers in Kumasi used the steppingstone of video to differentiate themselves from the English-speaking films and predominantly started making films in the local language Twi. As the dean of a Ghanaian university explained "people in Kumasi started shooting their own films because those that were made in Accra predominantly used English [...] So the Kumasi people felt a lot we could do this thing in our own Twi" (Appendix B). Twi is another term for the Akan language, which is mainly spoken in the Ashanti region, where Kumasi also is situated. According to Garritano (2013, p. 173), producing films in the local language also "purposefully restricts the movie's audience". Even though the use of the English language gave films from Accra an advantage in terms of distributing to foreign markets, yet the performance of films in local languages should not be neglected (Garritano, 2013).

A significant difference between filmmaking in Accra and Kumasi is the speed of which films are produced and distributed. As a lecturer of a film school described "the Kumasi circle makes films fast. They can take a week to make three films" (Appendix D). This element of speed is also supported by Garritano (2013), who explains that the speed of production is especially native to films originating in Kumasi, whereas the more professional movies produced in Accra take longer.

# 6. Analysis

Following the conceptual framework, the aim of the analysis is to outline the principal findings derived from the empirical data. The findings will be divided into three sections, namely enabling conditions, divergent change implementation, and institutional change. First, the enabling conditions inherent of the Ghanaian film industry will be analyzed, then the process of implementation of divergent change will be examined, and lastly the change the institutional entrepreneurs pursue will be investigated.

The film circles of Accra and Kumasi consist of many different stakeholders and are connected to many different industries in Ghana. Albeit, the group of interviewees only represent a small selection of the Ghanaian film industry, we find three of the interviewees (two in Accra and one in Kumasi) especially relevant in regard to institutional entrepreneurship. The three interviewees are to various degrees - multifaceted in their capabilities within the art of filmmaking (e.g. producer, instructor, and writer) and all have founded their own film production company, while also holding the title of CEO in their organizations. Besides their geographical differences, the interviewees represent different educational and professional backgrounds, and positions within the Ghanian film industry.

These three interviewees will act as the focal point for the analysis, while the remaining nine interviewees predominantly will serve as background information, either to support or challenge the views of the three potential institutional entrepreneurs. These nine interviewees similarly represent a broad range of actors with the industry (e.g. lecturers, distributors, filmmakers etc.).

## 6.1 Enabling conditions for institutional entrepreneurship

The pivotal point of the first part of the analysis entails an investigation of the enabling conditions for institutional entrepreneurship. Enabling conditions are vital in understanding the becoming of institutional entrepreneurs that despite institutional pressures aspire to create divergent institutional change, also characterized as escaping of the paradox of embedded agency. Enabling conditions are defined as field characteristics and actors' social position (Battilana et al., 2009). Moreover, these conditions will be analyzed in conjunction with Scott's (2014) institutional pillars.

#### **6.1.1 Field characteristics**

As the primary enabling condition, field characteristics relating to the Ghanaian film industry will be analyzed in order to understand how films are distributed from an institutional point of view in Ghana. The different field characteristics such as jolts and crisis, degree of heterogeneity, and degree of institutionalization will be investigated in order to shed light on potential opportunities for institutional entrepreneurship.

#### Jolts and Crises

Different forms of field characteristics are often interrelated. Being the first form, jolts and crises include social upheaval, technological disruption, competitive discontinuity, and regulatory changes that might disturb the balance of a field (Battilana et al., 2009). Whereas many of these might have formed the Ghanaian film industry throughout the years, this section will mainly focus on the inaccessibility of film distribution and on the enabling role of streaming platforms following technological disruption.

Cinemas and the selling and buying of physical copies (e.g. CDs, VCDs, and DVDs) used to be the main means of film distribution in Ghana. Being the more affordable alternative to DVDs, VCDs were especially popular among Ghanaians, since many could afford to have a VCD-player at home. From a filmmaker perspective, it was also rather affordable to buy the equipment needed to produce a film, and then later sell it in the marketplace or in small shops. To some extent, everyone could become a filmmaker. Yet, this form of film distribution later became more or less obsolete, since filmmakers were challenged by the invasive degree of copyright infringement. Due to technological development it became (too) easy to copy physical copies, leading to the vanishing of filmmakers' earnings, as emphasized by a filmmaker and cinematographer "So, copies are replicated, and they are sold all over the place" (Appendix H).

Besides physical copies, cinemas are the most desired means of film distribution, while also being the fastest way to recover the costs of production, as a lecture of a film school explained "There is no other way to make quick money back than the cinemas" (Appendix D). Yet, there are only a few

filmmakers who can afford to showcase films in cinemas, due to the inherited costs associated with their use, as a filmmaker argued "I can just count three filmmakers who could fill the cinemas to capacity" (Appendix K). Moreover, the number of cinemas is scarce and the condition of the remaining few are rather deficient. Thus, the exact number varies, there are approximately five cinemas in the whole of Ghana, four in Accra and one in Kumasi, as a filmmaker explained "We do not have many cinemas in Ghana. We have just a couple in Accra and one in Kumasi" (Appendix F). Five cinemas to meet the demand of a population of more than 31 million people is not sufficient, hence it is very difficult to rely solely on cinemas, unless, as Sophia explained "If you want to show films in other parts of the country, you would literally have to carry the cinema to them" (Appendix M).

Lastly, local TV stations (e.g. DSTV and TV3), also serve as a channel of distribution, although their lack of resources (and willingness) to buy and broadcast Ghanaian films is close to nonexistent. Many of the interviewees describe the TV stations' approach to Ghanaian films as rather comical, by offering amounts far from the actual costs of producing a film, as a lecturer at a film school describes "Television is like the death of your film" (Appendix D). Moreover, as the chairman of a film producer association in Ghana explained "if a local TV station broadcasts a Ghanaian film, it is either very old or illegally distributed" (Appendix I).

The challenges of physical copies, the scarce number of cinemas, and the ability and willingness of TV stations underline the broken institutions of the Ghanaian film distribution. In addition, the global Covid-19 pandemic hit in the beginning of 2020, permitting those normally relying on the cinemas to also prevail from using these. The pandemic also applies for Battilana et al.'s (2009) definition of jolts and crises, since COVID-19 restrictions held audiences from gathering in large assemblies, such as going to the cinema. Thus, the sum of these jolts and crises cannot be ascribed to Covid-19 alone, the pandemic accelerated an already existing movement towards digital means of film distribution. Yet, the pandemic highlighted the fragileness of the institutional arrangements within film distribution, as a lecturer of a film school explained "I still do not know how people are making money from films in this country. It's like magic" (Appendix D). Consequently, filmmakers and their audiences had to find other platforms for both distribution and entertainment. Hence, a lot of filmmakers started distributing their films through YouTube and other free ad-driven streaming platforms, but only few Ghanaian filmmakers profits from YouTube due to the necessity of having

a minimum number of views and subscribers to generate any revenue, as described by a filmmaker "On YouTube, you need to have a certain number of subscribers before you start making money" (Appendix F). Therefore, revenues started diminishing and many filmmakers were left optionless.

As a result, a distrust towards streaming platforms, as means of film distribution, started to rise. As described by the chairman of a film producer association "When it comes to new technologies, new ideas, we are conservatives [...] They will see people practicing it, but they will take their time before they accept it" (Appendix I). Also, on YouTube and similar streaming platforms, it is relatively easy to share films illegally, which only accelerated filmmakers' distrust towards these technologies. Concurrently, foreign subscription-based streaming platforms (e.g. Netflix and Amazon Prime) arrived in Ghana, yet the majority of filmmakers could not live up to their requirements. While neither ad-driven nor subscription-based streaming platforms provided the solution, many filmmakers had hoped for, it also created a hesitant attitude towards the phenomenon of streaming. These attitudes and beliefs of distrust constitute a social reality towards streaming platforms also defined as a cultural-cognitive pillar by Scott (2014). The cultural-cognitive pillar displays the structures that permeate society and is hereby an important field characteristic for the Ghanaian film industry.

The jolts and crises (i.e. technological disruption) entailed by the inaccessibility of film distribution in Ghana reflect Scott's (2014) institutional pillars. Besides the scarce number of cinemas, the use of cinemas is also highly dependent on the individual's ability, since the cost of showing films in cinemas is relatively high. Hence, it can be argued that the current institutional arrangements are of a restrictive nature, due to the regulative pillars preventing filmmakers without sufficient financial resources to show films in cinemas. In addition, the filmmakers who used to rely on physical copies were left unprotected by the existing regulatory institutions, and those who turned to free ad-driven streaming platforms were experiencing decreasing profits. In sum, they were predominantly left without any accessible means of film distribution.

Hence, the advent of streaming platforms following technological disruption can be perceived as an enabling condition, because it has enabled the advent of novel film distribution channels and thereby providing opportunity for institutional entrepreneurship, since foreign streaming platforms remain inaccessible to the majority of Ghanaian filmmakers.

## Degree of heterogeneity

Along with jolts and crises the degree of heterogeneity and level of institutionalization present the multiplicity of institutional arrangements and thereby an opportunity for institutional entrepreneurship (Battilana et al., 2009). As described earlier, the degree of heterogeneity defines the variance in characteristics of existing institutional arrangements, whereas the degree of institutionalization defines the institutional order within a field (Battilana et al., 2009). Overall, the relatively high degree of heterogeneity within the Ghanaian film industry proposes an opportunity for divergent institutional change, due to internal contradictions and institutional incompatibilities.

The variance in characteristics will be analyzed in order to understand how technological disruption might have affected the institutional arrangements of the Ghanaian film industry. These variances are referred to as the polarization between filmmakers from an educational point of view, the internal cooperation among filmmakers, and the attitude towards government institutions.

Firstly, the variance in the institutional arrangements can be exemplified through the polarization between filmmakers with formal film education and filmmakers without formal film education. In Ghana there is only one film school, the National Film and Television Institute (NAFTI) in Accra that was established in 1978. Following Scott's (2014) institutional pillars, NAFTI can be defined as an enforcer of regulatory institutions in the Ghanaian film industry due to its capacity to establish rules and inspect filmmakers' conformity to them in order to influence filmmaking. Albeit, predominantly relying on positive means of inclusion, NAFTI educates filmmakers through a formalized rule system consisting of Scott's (2014) three dimensions of obligation, precision, and delegation. Students must obey in order to learn the specifics of a chosen area of study within filmmaking, such as writing, directing or producing. If done successfully, NAFTI provides students with the authority to apply their skills in the field by granting them a formal title once their study has been completed.

NAFTI educates filmmakers in areas such as writing, directing, and producing (i.e. distribution), yet it only enrolls 40 students each year, which is not sufficient, as emphasized by the chairman of a film producer association "How can a school that cannot admit more than 40 (students), take care

of 31 million people" (Appendix I). Formal film education is a concern to the majority of Ghanaian filmmakers, as a lecturer from a film school in Accra explained "I do not want there to be that gap between elite filmmakers, and the filmmakers who are enthusiastic and learning on their own" (Appendix D), since the limited access to creates a gap between filmmakers educated from NAFTI and filmmakers educated solely from their experience in the film industry, also categorized as self-taught filmmakers. Although the overall number of filmmakers in Ghana is unknown, it can be argued that formally educated filmmakers - typically residing within Greater Accra - represent a small and more exclusive circle, compared to self-taught filmmakers - typically residing within Greater Kumasi and northern parts of Ghana. Hence, since art of filmmaking is not rooted in a uniform institutionalized behavior, but entails multiple institutions of behavior, it fuels the polarization between filmmakers due to differences in educational background.

Having acquired different forms of education, filmmakers are provided with different prerequisites to solve challenges such as technological disruption and inaccessibility of film distribution means. Consequently, these can lead to contrasting values and norms of filmmakers, also defined as the normative pillars of institutions by Scott (2014). Hence, when the education of filmmakers resides in different regulative institutions, the normative behavior of filmmakers is equally affected, especially in how goals are pursued, and actions are legitimized. These perceptions or expectations result in different institutional pressures that emphasize the polarization among filmmakers.

Secondly, the internal cooperation among filmmakers is reflected by a certain degree of individualism due to inherited distrust in the Ghanaian film industry. This is exemplified by the vast amount of institutional arrangements such as the number of associations within the Ghanaian film industry, as emphasized by Spencer "We do not have a united industry. It is association, association, and association" (Appendix G)". In a brief overview these associations amount to the Film Distribution Association of Ghana, the Film Directors Guild of Ghana, the Creative Arts Directors of Good, the Film Crew Association of Ghana, and the Film Sellers and Retailers Association. While defraying from diving into the specifics of each association, these associations represent to various degrees different institutionalized arrangements, which highlights the heterogeneity of the Ghanaian film industry. Moreover, this can be exemplified by how the majority of these institutions want to follow their own path and predominantly do not communicate while doing so. The degree of heterogeneity in the Ghanaian film industry can also be elaborated through

the differences between the film circles of Accra and Kumasi. It can be argued that they operate as two different industries, and that there to some extent exists prejudices between them. As Sophia explains, it is evident how Accra can be considered as more elitist and more driven by artistic endeavors, while Kumasi in her opinion predominantly caters to the lowest common denominator "They use Akan language more and their stories are a little different [...] Perhaps you could say that they target the mass market, and that it is more commercialized than it is art" (Sophia, Appendix M).

Distrust and the lack of willingness to cooperate is an important characteristic of the film industry in Ghana. According to an actor and filmmaker, most filmmakers want to do their own thing, since the fear of being cheated permeates the mindset of filmmakers "Our mindset as Africans is different. Assuming I produce a film with another producer, at the end of the day who will claim ownership?" (Appendix L). Arguably, this relates to what the chairman of a film producer association explained "Normally, we do not put terms on paper and if somebody breaches it, it becomes your word against mine" (Appendix I). While maybe not being the only reason, the institutionalized norm of not having written contracts inevitably makes it more difficult to collaborate, because of these informal institutions. It can be argued that the mindset is deeply rooted in the Ghanaian culture, as one filmmaker attributed to the country's colonial history "We always feel we will be cheated. I think it is because of what happened in the past, with the colonial masters [...] Trust started breaking from that point" (Appendix K). From a Scott (2014) point of view, this is an example of a cultural-cognitive pillar, that deals with meaning making and underlying assumptions of the culture, since it can be argued that inherent distrust and lack of willingness to cooperate reflects an institutionalized form of behavior.

Thirdly, the attitude towards government institutions relating to the absence of copyright enforcement also characterizes the Ghanaian film industry. The main copyright enforcement institutions in Ghana amount to the Ghana Copyright Office, a department under the Ministry of Justice, and The National Film Authority, an authority under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Established in 1985, the purpose of the Copyright Office is to promote and protect the rights of creators (Copyright Office, 2022), while the National Film Authority was set up in 2019 with a purpose to enforce and develop the legal framework for film production in Ghana (National Film Authority, 2022). Lastly, the Audiovisual Rights Society of Ghana (ARSOG) was established in

2011. The institution protects the rights of filmmakers by collecting royalties on behalf of respective rightsholders (Audiovisual Rights Society of Ghana, 2022). Thus, the presence of copyright enforcement institutions, filmmakers expressed concern towards these regulatory institutions' ability to protect copyright holders due to the lack of collaboration among filmmakers and government institutions. The chairman of a film producer association argued "The policy makers do not belong to the film industry. So, they will design policies that do not reflect what goes on in the industry [...] So, they become a white elephant, in whatever they do" (Appendix I). Besides government institutions' inability to help filmmakers solve challenges, such as copyright infringements, politicians are also perceived to be rather bureaucratic, as further explained by the chairman of a film producer association "We do not want too much participation from the government" (Appendix I). Hence, the division between government institutions and filmmakers are challenged by the variance of characteristics that results in lack of collaboration and understanding of the counterpart's needs.

Overall, the relatively high degree of heterogeneity provides opportunity for institutional entrepreneurship in the Ghanaian film industry, as emphasized by the absence of uniform institutionalized behavior. These heterogeneous institutional arrangements have led to various challenges in solving jolts and crises from the advent of streaming platforms following technological disruption, because different institutions seek different interests and solutions and thereby impede collaboration Hence, it provides a fertile ground for individuals to use their reflective capacity to break free from these institutional incompatibilities and attempt to unite the heterogeneity of the institutional arrangements in the Ghanaian film industry.

## Degree of institutionalization

The degree of institutionalization of a field is another enabling condition for institutional entrepreneurship. The degree of institutionalization is concerned with how certain the institutional norms are in a given field (Battilana et al., 2009). Thus, both lower and higher levels of institutionalization can be conducive to divergent institutional change (Battilana et al., 2009), it can be argued that the relatively low degree of institutionalization within the Ghanaian film industry provides opportunity for institutional entrepreneurship. Thus, many of the interviewees' question the categorization of the Ghanaian film industry as an actual industry, as the dean of a Ghanaian

university explained "I say we do not have a film industry [...] But if we have to call it the film industry, yes we have a film industry [...] Because when you have an industry, you tend to have certain structures" (Appendix B). As a lecturer from a film school elaborated "A lot of the stuff is scattered. So, if you are looking for a solid industry in a structure that everyone else knows, maybe not, but we work around this by importing and exporting skills" (Appendix D), this section will prevail from diving further into that discussion. Yet, it is evident that the institutional arrangements pose a challenge to filmmakers, especially in regard to film distribution. As the chairman of a film producer association argued "There is no distribution channel because technology has made the way we used to distribute obsolete [...] The demand is there but how to meet the demand has become a problem" (Appendix I).

In the previous section, the Ghanaian film industry has been characterized by many institutional voids, due to heterogeneous institutional arrangements. In this section, the polarization between filmmakers from an educational point of view, the internal cooperation among filmmakers, and the attitude towards government institutions will be further analyzed according to Battilana et al.'s (2009) the degree of institutionalization.

Firstly, the degree of institutionalization of the field can be exemplified through the polarization in filmmakers' educational background. As described in the previous section, NAFTI only enrolls 40 students each year, hence the polarization between formally educated filmmakers and self-taught filmmakers can lead to (at least two) different institutionalized approaches to filmmaking. This emphasizes the relatively high level of uncertainty in the institutional order characteristic of a low degree of institutionalization (Battilana et al., 2009), since filmmakers' educational background stems from various institutional orders. Self-taught filmmakers are also being characterized as misfits, as a lecturer from a film school explained "So, these remain sort of like the misfits, because they never transfer skills" (Appendix D). These self-taught filmmakers seemingly remain separated from the formal educated filmmakers, which results in a rather low degree of institutionalization due to the limited access to formal film education. As the chairman of a film producers association further explained "NAFTI will prefer somebody who has just finished highschool school, to somebody who has got industry experience, they will give the opportunity to that person to go to the film school, than help those who are already in it, to sharpen their skills" (Appendix I), hence NAFTI seems to be favoring candidates with formal education over candidates with experience

from the film industry, and therefore continues to support the polarization leading to multiple institutionalized approaches to filmmaking. Moreover, it can be argued that self-taught filmmakers represent different institutional orders, potentially with higher degrees of institutionalization, thus these might be of a more informal nature. As Spencer described "It is a problem because in every industry, I think there should be major principles. So, the people will adjust to it" (Appendix G). Hence, these might be a result of the absence of common institutional arrangements that filmmakers can adhere to, and hence attempt to fill the institutional void by themselves.

Secondly, the internal cooperation among filmmakers is reflected by a certain degree of individualism due to inherited distrust in the Ghanaian film industry, as described in the previous section of heterogeneity. This individualism and distrust also connect to the relatively low degree of institutionalization by a high level of uncertainty in the institutional order, since it is difficult to rely on institutional arrangements to legitimize higher levels of collaboration among filmmakers (Battilana et al., 2009). As an actor and filmmaker explained "The little effort you put in can make a lot of money, but if there are no measurements there will always be complaints and complaints and complaints" (Appendix L). The lack of measurements refers to the lack of institutionalized means of collaboration that makes it rather complicated to enter into a collaboration when making a film, since conflicts are difficult to solve. As also emphasized by other interviewees, the lack of written contracts easily turns collaborations into conflicts. The norm translates into one of Scott's (2014) institutional pillars, namely the normative, since it predominantly represents an institutionalized approach to filmmaking, due to the lack of effective regulative institutions.

In addition, the amount of associations within the Ghanaian film industry listed briefly in the previous section also points towards the fragmentation of the field characteristic of low degree of institutionalization (Battilana et al., 2009). Instead of having stronger and more united associations, the industry is constituted of multiple associations that each represent different areas of filmmaking. Thus, the majority of the interviewees asked for better rights, such as better copyright enforcement and a more transparent royalty system, the field remains fragmented and unable to cooperate with each other on changing the conditions. Most areas within filmmaking is represented by its own individual association (e.g. Film Directors Guild of Ghana, Film Producer Association of Ghana, and Film Distribution Association of Ghana), yet instead of fighting on behalf of the Ghanaian film industry, most associations are fighting for themselves, as emphasized by the chairman of a film

producer association "I am leading the producers. So, if I should start this fight, it would be cutting my nose to spite my face, because as the directors are being denied, it is the producer who is enjoying it" (Appendix I). The unwillingness to unite and create a united front to fight for the rights of filmmakers is predominantly not existing at the moment, since the ones who are privileged will not share those privileges, hence it can be argued that the filmmakers are not helping each other, more likely the opposite by not collaborating and uniting forces and therefore the institutional arrangements appear weaker than they potentially could, if they could only align their interests.

Thirdly, filmmakers' attitude is predominantly directed towards the absence of copyright enforcement, which is an important part of the regulatory institutional environment. Although the institutionalization of copyright enforcement to some degree exists, it can be argued that the institutions are not powerful enough to overcome the challenges related to copyright in the Ghanaian film industry. These institutional arrangements can also be defined as Scott's (2014) regulatory pillars. The lack of copyright enforcement poses a severe risk to filmmakers, since the Ghana Copyright Office is not effectively preventing or protecting filmmakers against copyright infringements. The chairman of a producer association also raises criticism of these institutions, since "They are not filmmakers, they are not copyright owners, they have just been employed. So, sometimes they do not even understand copyright issues" (Appendix I). In addition, a filmmaker and cinematographer emphasized how the intentions behind the institutions are predominantly well reasoned, yet the challenge lies within their capacity to carry these out "Now they are setting up the National Film Authority [...] But when it comes down to the ground, it does not work" (Appendix H). In the absence of reliable copyright institutions, streaming platforms reflect regulatory pillars that impose restrictions on behavior by distinguishing between acceptable and unacceptable behavior (Scott, 2014). These platforms represent protected systems that exaggerate the current institutions in terms of both rewarding of copyright enforcement and sanctioning of copyright infringement. Copyright infringement does not only impose a challenge to filmmakers through regulatory institutions, the norms and values towards film distribution in Ghana, defined as the normative pillars by Scott (2014), is also a pervasive threat.

Overall, the relatively low degree of institutionalization serves as an enabling condition for divergent institutional change. The deficient institutional arrangements and an institutional order

influenced by uncertainty characterizes the Ghanaian film industry, thus providing opportunity for institutional entrepreneurship.

## 6.1.2 Actors' social position

In this section the social position of Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer, the three institutional entrepreneurs studied, will be addressed in relation to its enabling role for institutional entrepreneurship. Their social position will be analyzed in order to understand the derivative effects of their position within the Ghanaian film industry, following the jolts and crises, degree of heterogeneity, and degree of institutionalization.

#### Individual Status

Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer all have experience from multiple fields, either from the Ghanaian film industry, other film industries, or other fields in Ghana. Thus, it is characteristic for filmmakers in Ghana to partake in a range of different activities associated with filmmaking, from the initial idea to the final distribution, their multifaceted embeddedness might serve as safeguard towards institutional pressures. Also, this connects to the limited supply of formal film education and the inaccessibility of film distribution that demands filmmakers to know about many facets of the film production process.

Departing from the one of the internationally recognized filmmakers, Sophia, founder and CEO of Swan Pictures, Swan Productions, and Swan Station, describes herself as a scriptwriter and director, something she was naturally called upon "From when I was a kid, I knew I was going to exist in this space" (Appendix M). Swan Pictures represents her film studio, while Swan Production and Swan Station embodies her advertising company and streaming platform, subsequently. Yet, she also describes herself as a producer, emphasizing the necessity of being able to manage the strategic, business side of film production, such as handling budgets and distribution, in order to succeed and be able to continue to make films. Hence, the demand of being embedded in multiple fields is present and to some degree crucial. Before being enrolled into NAFTI to study film directing, Sophia was a radio presenter, while moving into event management afterwards. Besides

her high school and college, she also went to film school in Canada. Hence, it is evident that Sophia belongs to the rather educated division of Ghanaian filmmakers.

Moving on to Isaac, founder and CEO of Fairy Movies, Fairy Productions, and Fairy App. Fairy Movies represent his film studio, while Fairy Productions and Fairy App embodies his advertising company and streaming platform, respectively. Isaac too studied film directing at NAFTI and also has experience from multiple fields, including the textile and marketing industry in Ghana. In fact, seeing foreign textile organizations exploit the textile heritage of Ghana, inspired Isaac to search for ways to protect his own creations, as he explained "I started thinking that we were all in the same boat, and we could find a way around it" (Appendix C). Isaac did not start making films, once he graduated from NAFTI, ss he described "At the time I came out of NAFTI, the industry was more or less on its knees [...] So, that is how I ended up in advertising" (Appendix C). Instead, Isaac began working at an advertising company, which opened a lot of different opportunities, eventually leading to the film industry. Specifically, learning about big data and statistics in relation to consumer preferences, gave him an edge in regard to filmmaking, according to himself.

Lastly, Spencer, founder and CEO of Kangaroo TV and Kangaroo App, is the only one out of the three filmmakers who do not hold formal film education, except for a few short courses. Kangaroo TV represents both his film studio and TV channel, while Kangaroo App embodies his streaming platform. Spencer has also learned from multiple fields and thereby benefited from transferring knowledge of other fields to the film industry. Spencer was also once a radio presenter and later became an actor, which eventually opened the door to the film industry. While studying business administration in high school, Spencer does not hold higher levels of formal education. Initially, he learned about the film industry from his experience of being an actor and described himself as a multifaceted individual, by being both an actor, scriptwriter, director, and producer "Essentially, I do everything. I have been in the industry for almost 25 years" (Appendix G). Spencer also emphasizes the need of having to balance both the artistic and the strategic, business side of filmmaking, in order to succeed in filmmaking.

When analyzing Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer it is evident that they are not facing the same challenges. They may face the same inaccessibility of film distribution channels, yet they are facing it to various degrees and from various starting points. In other words, their social positions are

relatively different, while also being highly dependent on their willingness and ability to tackle the challenges of film distribution in Ghana.

For Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer, their willingness and ability vary depending on the distribution channel in question, since their films also cater to different audiences. Sophia's films are more of an artistic nature and Isaac's more of a scientific, while Spencer's films are more influenced by the local culture of Greater Kumasi. Yet, as previously emphasized, the number of filmmakers, to whom cinemas are accessible, can be counted on one hand. Sophia, being one of them, is probably the one most able of the three filmmakers, and also described cinemas as her personal favorite distribution channels "I would have preferred to do it a lot more times in cinemas" (Appendix M), since she can afford to distribute through cinemas while also having a good chance of actually making her money back. Besides Sophia, neither Isaac or Spencer expresses willingness or ability to use cinemas for distribution, since utilizing cinemas as distribution channels is also dependent on the filmmaker's audience. Isaac is targeting younger generations in Ghana; hence he is looking into channels more relevant for the youth, these predominantly not being cinemas. He argued that "The internet penetration in Ghana is quite high. We have 31 million people and we have about 40 million mobile phones, which means that there are more phones than people" (Appendix C). Hence, distributing to handheld devices seems like an obvious choice. Spencer, on the other hand, is facing challenges of a different nature since his audience is different "What we are doing is not easy, it is a gradual process. The majority of them are not on electronics. So, now we are trying to convince them" (Appendix G).

The relationship between the incumbent and the challenger serves as an appropriate way of comprehending the complexity of institutional change in relation to the accessibility of film distribution in Ghana. Incumbents are individuals who are favored by existing institutional arrangements, and therefore constitute a source of power. In order words, they are in a privileged situation "Existing arrangements are a source of power for some people and for others in a given organizational field, depending on the organization and social groups to which they belong" (Battilana, 2006, p. 660). Hence, it is typically in the interest of incumbents to maintain the institutional status quo. As an example, Sophia is not expressing the same degree of willingness to push for alternative distribution channels, compared to Isaac and Spencer. Challengers, such as Isaac and Spencer, are often less favored by the existing institutional arrangement and may

therefore be more likely to challenge or propose alternatives to the existing institutional arrangements. Hence, depending on whether they occupy an incumbent or a challenger position, individuals are likely to have different objectives regarding the transformation or the maintenance of existing institutional arrangements (Battilana 2006). Similarly, they may benefit from different access to key resources, since incumbents are likely to have access to more resources than challengers. In contrast, challengers often have more incentives to attempt to modify the existing institutional arrangements, because they are less advantaged "Individuals who belong to lower status social groups are likely to have difficulties accessing the key resources" (Battilana, 2006, p. 663).

According to Battilana (2006), individuals positioned in the lower end of the hierarchy in organizations are typically less likely to conduct divergent change, since they lack the legitimacy and resources to do so. In contrast, are individuals who are positioned in the higher end of the hierarchy more prospective to create divergent change. Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer are all CEOs of their organizations and as Battilana (2006) argues, CEOs are the ones who are responsible for strategic change, while at the same time knowing a lot about their organizations and its surrounding environments. Thus, the social position of Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer varies (e.g. willingness and ability), it can be argued that their positions can be seen as an enabling condition for creating divergent change within the Ghanaian film industry. Yet, individuals' social position is not solely determined by their position in the field, it is also determined by their position in the organization and the position of these organizations within the field.

## Organization status

In order to assess whether an organization's status has an impact on its likelihood to conduct divergent organizational change, it is necessary to first make a distinction between higher and lower status organizations (Battilana, 2006) According to Battilana (2006), organizations of a lower status are typically more inclined to conduct institutional change, compared to organizations of a higher status, since it is more likely for higher status organizations to aim at maintaining the status quo.

Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer unambiguously represent their organizations, as emphasized by their role as both founders and CEOs. Hence, investigating the actions of their organizations can be

argued to be somewhat similar to analyzing the actions of Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer. Yet, the empirical findings do not support a deeper investigation of the social networks within the Ghanaian film industry, being both formal and informal, hence the remaining analysis will deviate from diving further into these and the organizational status. This gap between the empirical findings and the theory will be elaborated more on in the discussion.

#### 6.1.3 Sub conclusion

In conclusion, the field characteristics and the social position of Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer provides opportunity for institutional entrepreneurship. From the empirical data it is evident that the advent of streaming platforms following technological disruption has had an enabling effect. Moreover, the relatively high degree of heterogeneity and the relatively low degree of institutionalization too provides opportunity for implementing divergent change. However, it can be argued that Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer might hold a relatively high position within the Ghanaian film industry, they are not equally able to seize these opportunities, nor do they share the same degree of willingness, since their individual status might reflect negatively on their ability to do so.

## 6.2 Divergent change implementation

In the second part of the analysis, the emphasis will analyze how Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer attempt to implement divergent change and act as institutional entrepreneurs, in order to change the institutional arrangements related to the inaccessibility of film distribution in Ghana. The implementation of divergent change entails developing a vision, mobilization of allies behind that vision, and motivating others to achieve and sustain it (Battilana et al., 2009).

## 6.2.1 Creating a vision for divergent change

Following the enabling conditions, institutional entrepreneurs must develop a vision for their divergent change implementation. As argued by Battilana et al. (2009, p. 78) "implementing change that builds on existing institutions is challenging, implementing change that breaks with existing institutions more so". In other words, institutional entrepreneurs must develop a vision that sufficiently breaks with existing institutional arrangements by forgoing their institutional

embeddedness, while also gathering support from others. In aggregate, the vision of Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer entails transforming, or creating, new institutions by challenging the institutional arrangements within the Ghanaian film industry. Through the establishment of streaming platforms, they aim to improve the accessibility of film distribution, benefiting themselves as well as other filmmakers.

The reflective capacity of Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer have made them foreseen in acknowledging the inaccessibility of film distribution in Ghana, and therefore made them capable of distancing themselves from the dominant institutional arrangements. That being said, it is also evident that when creating these new distribution channels, the three individuals have found it difficult to transfer their accustomed legitimacy and resource capacity, hence they are facing challenges they are not used to. Prior to launching their streaming platforms, they have all, albeit to various degrees, been successful within other fields such as radio, advertising, and films. Yet, the advent of streaming proposes challenges of a rather different nature, hence they have to come up with new ways of overcoming these challenges, since distribution films through cinemas, physical copies or even television inherits different institutional arrangements compared to streaming.

Moreover, since the organizations of Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer all include both film production and film distribution in-house, they have obtained a rather powerful position in the Ghanaian film industry, since they exercise control over both film production and film distribution, also defined optimal distinctiveness by Alvarez et al. (2005). As a result, the combination of film production and film distribution becomes a means for the organizations to exercise control and protect themselves against the isomorphic pressures of the existing institutional arrangements, in order to shield their idiosyncrasies (Alvarez et al., 2005).

Having emphasized the importance of creating a vision, Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer need to frame it in an appealing manner, in order to sufficiently engage key stakeholders to help them implement their vision and create divergent change (Battilana et al. 2009). This can be achieved by linking their challenges and solutions to the institutional arrangements, in order to align their vision with the belief and interest of other key stakeholders, as a response to current institutional disorder. These appeals are also defined as rhetorical strategies by Battilana et al. (2009) that institutional entrepreneurs utilize to mobilize allies in support of their vision. Battilana et al. (2009)

differentiates between three steps of framing divergent change: (1) the problem, (2) the proposed solution(s), and (3) the motivating reasons. These steps can respectively be translated into three corresponding forms of framing: diagnostic framing, prognostic framing, and motivational framing.

## Diagnostic framing

Firstly, diagnostic framing aims to explicitly expose challenges of institutional arrangements and assign blame to whoever might be responsible (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005; Battilana et al., 2009). In regard to film distribution in Ghana, the challenges are multiple and multifaceted. The interviewees describe a range of broken institutional arrangements that challenge both them and other filmmakers within the film industry.

Being one of the few, to whom cinemas are accessible, Sophia expresses great concerns of the scarce amount and the condition of the few still remaining. According to her, only the cinema in the recently built Accra Mall applies as an actual cinema, whereas the rest are basically just empty venues that entails a lot of planning and resources (Appendix M).

To Sophia, cinemas are still the most profitable means of distribution, thus it is almost impossible to solely rely on the few cinemas in Ghana "When you do a film, you want to show it in your home country first. Unfortunately, we do not have that element and therefore you are forced to take it out almost immediately" (Appendix M). As she explained, lack of cinemas forces her to look for other means of distribution, such as foreign countries, thus it is often more costly.

According to Isaac, Ghana used to have more cinemas, but somehow things went bad and the majority of the cinemas were sold off to pursue other purposes "We do not have exhibition venues for people to watch films, and even those that have not been sold, are so run down that nobody really wants to go and watch a film there" (Appendix C), as also emphasized by Spencer "The distribution channel has broken, it is very difficult to earn your money, because our selling points are gone" (Appendix G).

Besides the shortage of cinemas, the broken distribution channels also link to the absence of copyright enforcement, which is a constant threat to filmmakers and why the selling and buying of

physical copies (e.g. CDs, VCDs, and DVDs) have almost evaporated, leaving almost no distribution channels for the average Ghanaian filmmaker. Isaac expressed his concerns towards physical copies and the absence of copyright enforcement "Now, with CDs, VCDs, and DVDs, what happens is that it is quite difficult to have a physical copy that is not recordable" (Appendix C). Sophia, who has managed to exceed the boundaries of the Ghanaian market, is also challenged by illegal copying of her films "Even the local distributors would take the DVDs and take it abroad [...] And once that happened, the hacking began, because people want to see content even though it is not available" (Appendix M).

The absence of copyright enforcement was a highly potent theme during the interviews and was predominantly ascribed to outdated copyright laws, underfunded copyright enforcement entities, and a norm entailing illegal sharing of films. As Isaac explained "We are not strict on copyright issues, so people just copy work" (Appendix C), while also exemplifying how hackers illegally tried to copy his films by "using their phones to film against the screen" (Appendix C).

Nonetheless, it is evident how absence of copyright enforcement is inherent in the institutional arrangements and challenging filmmakers. In simple terms, the institutional arrangements do not have the capacity to protect copyright owners, predominantly leaving filmmakers to themselves. Hence, the three institutional entrepreneurs explained how they had to come up with solutions that would not only protect their films, but potentially also the films of others, and thereby establish new institutional arrangements that could overcome all of the challenges linked to the absence of copyright enforcement at once.

Polarization of standards in films was also framed as a challenge to the majority of the filmmakers in Ghana. The institutional arrangements in terms of film standards, herein the standards of production quality various streaming platforms accept, is highly dependent on the streaming platform in question, while seldom in favor of lower budget filmmakers. As Isaac explained "Because if we are to subscribe to their foreign streaming platforms, Netflix and the other ones, they have their own standards and not all of us can meet the standards that they have set. So, it makes it almost impossible for us to use those platforms to distribute" (Appendix C).

Besides Netflix, Amazon Prime, and similar SVODs, YouTube and other ad-driven streaming platforms were initially perceived to be the savior of the deficient film distribution in Ghana. Yet, it turned out not to be the case, as explained by Spencer "Yes, you would make money, but it is not enough" (Appendix G). Being located in Kumasi, Spencer is facing challenges of a rather different nature, since his audience are finding it more difficult to access streaming platforms compared to the audiences in Accra "They are finding it difficult to adjust to it, because some do not even use smartphones, while others might be illiterates. So, it is difficult but now they are getting used to it" (Appendix G). Thus, it might not be of the biggest concern to Sophia, her views emphasized the polarization of standards "There is a certain kind of quality that we want to maintain. [...] The quality has to match what you do. And it is honestly not the easiest thing to find that kind of quality easily" (Appendix M).

Overall, the institutional entrepreneurs presented a range of challenges in relation to the existing institutional arrangements within the Ghanaian film industry. These can be ascribed to scarce number of cinemas, absence of copyright enforcement, distrust among stakeholders, and polarization of standards.

## Prognostic framing

Secondly, prognostic framing seeks to highlight the superiority of the solution proposed in comparison to existing institutional arrangements, such as institutionalized practices within an industry (Creed, Scully, and Austin, 2002; Battilana et al., 2009). Besides the superiority of the proposed solution, the goal is to de-legitimize existing institutional arrangements and those who are in favor of them. Moreover, the effort of prognostic framing also implies resonating solutions with the interests, values, and problems of potential allies (Battilana et al., 2009). Prognostic framing translates to how the potential institutional entrepreneurs frame their solutions into revolutionizing film distribution in Ghana, and how other stakeholders, such as filmmakers, might benefit from these.

According to Sophia, Swan Station was predominantly set up to bridge the gap between scarce amounts of cinemas in Ghana and inherited costs linked to distributing films to foreign countries (i.e. foreign audiences, such as Ghanaians living in the diaspora). In addition, using a streaming

platform to distribute films makes it very difficult to illegally share films. Furthermore, as she explained "Once we start putting it out in the cinema, our audiences will start asking, when are we going to see it in New York, London or Amsterdam" (Appendix M). In the past, she would travel to a range of foreign countries with her films, despite the additional costs but "Now, we do not have to go to London to show anything, we just let them know that it is coming on Swan Station" (Appendix M). So, her platform enables her to show films in both Ghana and foreign countries, and at the time, without being limited by the existing institutional arrangements.

In regard to scarce amounts of cinemas and copyright enforcement, Isaac explained how they "managed to create an app (streaming platform) that was able to solve these problems" (Appendix C). Albeit, streaming platforms do not solve all the challenges at once, it is an indication of a brighter tomorrow, with the potential of being a superior alternative than the existing institutional arrangements "If we solve the problem of taking the film to market, and getting the film to the people to watch at a very reasonably cheap cost, we should be able to make enough money to make more films" (Appendix C). Furthermore, he also aimed to legitimize his solution by framing himself as a somewhat neutral broker by pushing the numbers and data in front of him "Everything we did was quite scientific. We knew the number, we knew the population, we knew the dynamics of our population, and we knew that we had access in terms of the internet" (Appendix C). Moreover, prognostically framed his platform as more convenient when it comes to paying for a subscription "Because we knew that they were using mobile money, we made it possible to pay for our services and products by using your phone" (Appendix C). Isaac framed his solution as being superior to other channels of entertainment, because with his digital platform he takes advantage of his target audience being young and internet savvy and speaks right to their mindset. Moreover, his streaming platform would also give other filmmakers a platform to train the art of filmmaking and as he explained "So, if we continue to do films, what will happen in the end is that we will be able to produce Netflix standards. It is a win-win for all of us because it will give us the opportunity to be able to do so" (Appendix C).

Throughout the interviews, it was evident how big of a challenge the absence of copyright enforcement has been and still is today. According to Spencer, many filmmakers in Kumasi have left the film industry, and those who have stayed are predominantly suffering, because of the broken distribution channels and the extensive degree of copyright infringement. Yet, his streaming

platform has potentially brought a solution to these challenges "For the copying, it is not easy to copy from the app. You can download it, but you cannot send it to anybody" (Appendix G). Moreover, his platform is also helping other filmmakers to produce films of a certain standard "We have put in the standard to it. So, if you are shooting and you think that you are shooting for the app, you have a standard that you have to shoot. So, definitely teaching them something. So, I know it is helping them" (Appendix G).

By presenting their streaming platforms as secure and reliable film distribution channels, the institutional entrepreneurs aim to challenge the existing institutional arrangements within the Ghanaian film industry, by prognostically framing their solutions from an educational point of view.

## Motivational Framing

Thirdly, motivational framing entails providing motivating reasons to support the proposed solutions, herein the vision of the institutional entrepreneurs. In motivational framing institutional entrepreneurs must provide convincing arguments and have the ability to relate their vision to the interest of other stakeholders. Hence, sufficient social skills are needed to adequately analyze the social position of themselves and others to secure cooperation (Fligstein, 2001; Battilana et al., 2009). As Battilana et al. (2009, p. 80) argues "Socially skilled institutional entrepreneurs cognizant of and sensitive to the discursive and cultural contexts in which they are embedded can draw selectively from the institutional context in framing their visions".

First of all, Sophia can be described as being rather settled in the Ghanaian film industry and therefore does not have the same need to legitimize her social position or the position of her platform, herein the use of motivational framing. Moreover, Sophia appeared to be not as dependent on films of other filmmakers in order to achieve her goals. Thus, Swan Station does not allow third party content, she explained "For now it is strictly our content that is there, but we expect that to change" (Appendix M).

As Fligstein (1997; Battilana et al., 2009, p. 80) argues "Institutional entrepreneurs can also frame proposed changes as being mutually beneficial and introduce themselves, thereby, as neutral

brokers acting on behalf of the common good". Hence, behavior can be seen as an altruistic attempt to create trust through impersonal standards in order to motivate other stakeholders to mobilize behind their vision. The arguments of Fligstein (1997) aligns with how Isaac impersonally framed his vision to motivate other filmmakers to use his platform as a distribution channel "If somebody watches your film, you will know how much you have made for the day by just clicking on it. So, I will not have to come and tell you any story" (Appendix C). Albeit, it can be argued whether his use of motivational framing can be seen as an altruistic attempt, since it is also in the interest of Isaac if other filmmakers start using his platform for distribution, it can be seen as an attempt to create trust and legitimacy in regards to his platform by establishing transparent bonds between filmmakers and his platform through standard structures and stable rules (Battilana et al., 2009). At the same time, it is clear that Isaac aims at creating a national platform for Ghanaian films "I want this app to become the place where new films, Ghanaian films, are shown. That way we will be able to release new films every week" (Appendix C), which potentially might sound better in the ears of some, than of others.

Spencer also attempts to create trust through standard structures and stable rules, yet it is evident how what he is doing is not enough "Yes, there are a lot of problems, because initially, my people did not understand it. So, they were not in support of this" (Appendix G). Being situated in Kumasi, the base of filmmakers in Kumasi is relatively more reluctant to technological change compared to those in Accra. The exact nature of the differences in the attitudes towards streaming platforms is beyond the scope of this paper, thus it might be rooted in past experiences with YouTube and similar free ad-driven platforms "When YouTube came [...] a lot of people came to collect their content and to upload it on YouTube, but while those people are still enjoying the benefits, the producers do not get anything out of it" (Appendix G). So, filmmakers in Kumasi can be said to be more afraid of streaming platforms, hence Spencer is challenged by the lack of willingness of filmmakers for them to upload their films to his platform, as he explained "I have had problems convincing them (filmmakers) to put their content on it and some also think that when it is coming from one person, and not being a national thing, they are not in support of it" (Appendix G). This links to Battilana et al.'s (2009, p. 80) argument "Projects that depart significantly from existing institutions must thus be characterized as less radical to forestall reactions of fear, incomprehension, or apparent irrelevance that might inhibit potential allies from changing their perspective".

This can be exemplified by Spencer's challenges of motivational framing, since he challenged by a low supply of films from other filmmakers The Kangaroo App is more dependent on films of other filmmakers, which can be extracted from his attitude towards films of other filmmakers "I need people to come in, the door is open to everybody" (Appendix G). Hence, it could be argued that Spencer is less favored by existing institutional arrangements, as he further explained "I have had problems convincing them to put their content on it [...] Also because they think it is coming from one person" (Appendix G).

Institutional entrepreneurs must convince stakeholders embedded in the existing institutional arrangements of the need for divergent change and then mobilize crucial stakeholders behind them. Motivational framing entails providing compelling reasons to support a vision, hence institutional entrepreneurs must be able to relate their interest, and the interest of others, to the challenges inherent of the current institutional arrangements (Battilana et al, 2009). As an example, the three institutional entrepreneurs represent somewhat different social positions and worldviews, hence how are they able to realize their ambitions and align the institutional arrangements of the Ghanaian film industry (e.g. level of formal education), if they are working towards three somewhat similar objectives, yet in three completely different ways.

The institutional entrepreneurs are successfully developing stories, by linking the deficits of for example the distribution infrastructure to past events, also by defining heroes and villains. Thus, the three institutional entrepreneurs are facing somewhat challenges of different natures, it can be argued that Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer are the heroes of the tale of film distribution in Ghana. They are all wanting to tell the Ghanaian story to the world, albeit in different ways, but they are failing to frame their change project in a motivational manner, hence they are having more issues in changing the institutional arrangements than if they united their resources and came up with a solution of a wider reach.

#### 6.2.2 Mobilization of allies behind the vision

Having developed their visions and highlighted the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational dimensions of these, institutional entrepreneurs also need to mobilize allies. As Battilana et al. (2009, p. 81) argues, "Divergent change can seldom be implemented without support", hence

mobilizing allies to collaborate is crucial. Institutional entrepreneurs have to identify protagonists and antagonists, in order to recognize who might be in support or opposition to the implementation of their visions (Battilana et al., 2009). In other words, institutional entrepreneurs must both persuade potential allies and reduce contradictions within the coalition, in parallel with positioning their vision as superior compared to current institutional arrangements (Fligstein, 1997; Battilana et al., 2009). This can be done through different activities that aim to mobilize allies, including use of discourse and resource mobilization.

## Use of discourse

Being a skilled communicator is essential to mobilize allies. The use of discourse is utilized through framing, as emphasized in the previous section, but also through rhetorical strategies (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Battilana et al., 2009). In conjunction with framing, institutional entrepreneurs use institutional logics to arrange their arguments. These logics must draw upon the prominent logics of the field to make it easier for potential allies to resonate with their vision.

This can be exemplified through Isaac, who explained how he recently had done a presentation at the National Film Authority in the hopes of attracting investments to his platform. Throughout his presentation, Isaac aimed to utilize institutional logics that would resonate with the governmental agency by presenting various statistics, such as explaining "In Africa, mobile telephone penetration amounts to 46% of the population" (Appendix C). As a result, Isaac attempted to back his vision with statistical data to gather support from the National Film Authority by using its institutional logics.

Spencer also attempted to utilize institutional logics of governmental agencies when he explained how the government was not overwhelmed with the current fragmentation inherent of the Ghanaian film industry "We do not have a unified one that the government has approved" (Appendix G). Hence, Spencer's vision is to educate filmmakers through the establishment of standards, as described earlier. His vision calls for the filmmakers to be on the same page and adhering to the same principles of organization and quality levels. As he explained "So, if somebody is coming in, as a producer, he has to pass through a certain qualification before, if somebody wants to become a crew member or an actor, there has to be principles that the person has to go through it. But it's not

like that, anybody can just come and become a producer, become an actor" (Appendix G). This vision aligns with the government agency's wish for a united industry, hereby letting Spencer's vision speak into the institutional logic of the government. Ultimately resulting in him mobilizing them as allies through his use of institutional logic in his discourse.

#### Resource mobilization

As mentioned, institutional entrepreneurs do not solely rely on discourses in order to mobilize allies, they also need to mobilize the adequate resources. As Battilana et al., (2009) argues, does financial resources and resources related to social position, such as formal authority and social capital, play a crucial role in helping institutional entrepreneurs mobilize allies. Both financial and social resources are usually more accessible to some than others, since some individuals and organizations can use their formal authority of social capital to implement divergent change more easily by not being as dependent on others (Battilana et al., 2009).

Both Sophia, Isaac, and Ivan have established formal authorities and social capitals from prior success within filmmaking, albeit to various degrees. Sophia is probably known among most Ghanaian, as emphasized by being the only filmmaker of the three institutional entrepreneurs to have her films on foreign subscription based streaming platforms (e.g. Netflix), while also showcasing her films at foreign film festivals from time to time. In other words, Sophia is not as dependent on others to implement divergent change, since her organization holds both adequate financial resources and social capital due to the success of her films. Despite of her success, it is also important to underline that Sophia has also attempted to mobilize formal authority, such as government entities, in order to solve the inaccessibility of film distribution in Ghana, yet without any luck "We have spoken with stakeholders (of the Ghanaian film industry) a million times to stakeholders, such as the government, because the dynamics of distribution in this country definitely needs to change" (Appendix M).

Isaac got his breakthrough following a rather successful YouTube series funded by an American NGO, Jungle Crowd. As a result, he became recognized in the Ghanaian film industry and afterwards started producing more films and series. Following his successful series, Isaac obtained the financial resources to implement divergent change, yet he still lacked sufficient social capital for

others to truly support him, since other filmmakers still questioned the profitability of his streaming platform. Lastly, Spencer is also known for his films and series, yet predominantly within Greater Kumasi. Spencer is currently challenged by both the lack of financial resources and the social capital to attract other filmmakers to his streaming platform.

Both Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer have had meetings with governmental entities or network operators to legitimize their vision by leveraging their position in order to sustain the implementation of divergent change. As an example, Spencer relied on the formal authority of MTN, the largest mobile network operator in Africa (MTN Group, 2022), in order to initially establish Kangaroo App. As he explained "MTN is the mobile network. They organized a forum for the producers and brought a lot of mobile app developers to come and educate us on how to get a mobile app to promote content" (Appendix G). In other words, by developing his streaming platform in conjunction with MTN, Spencer managed to utilize their formal authority in order to enforce its legitimacy. Thus, the streaming platform is currently challenged by the lack of both financial resources and social capital to continue its journey.

From an audience's perspective, the institutional entrepreneurs are trying to change how audiences' value films. Predominantly, the norm has been to not pay for films, particularly when it comes to streaming and physical copies. Consequently, this has led to a rather high degree of copyright infringement in Ghana. Thus, the norm of not paying for films has to change, the audiences will also have to get used to paying for data needed to stream films "We are aware that if you buy if you pay, you also have to pay for data to watch. [...] We are going to have a collaboration with the telco. So, if you pay for the month, you would have data attached to it [...] It is like a promotion" (Appendix C). Hence, Isaac also tries to change this norm by invoking collaborations with telephone networks, so data automatically would be included in the subscription to his platform

In other words, institutional entrepreneurs also attempt to implement divergent change by changing norms and values, defined as normative pillars (Scott, 2014). Changing the norms and values inherited in the Ghanaian film industry is rather complex, since it includes changing both the behavior of filmmakers and their audiences. Traditionally, filmmakers in Accra and Kumasi used to rely on more immediate payments when a film was finished. The filmmaker would normally obtain his or her earnings rather immediately after films had been shown in a cinema or sold as a physical

copy (e.g. CDs, VCDs, and DVDs). With the advent of streaming platforms, the revenue model changed drastically for the filmmakers, by involving a longer time perspective and hence a more variable revenue. To challenge the prevailing norm of revenue acquisition in filmmaking, Isaac proposed a combined solution entailing giving filmmakers a fixed fee for their films followed by a future revenue share dependent on the amount of views "We have created a dashboard where, when you put your film on our app, if somebody purchases your film [...] You would know how much you have made for the day" (Appendix C). With his solution Isaac aims at challenging the normative institutions, yet he also attempts to accommodate the existing norm of filmmakers and film distribution by providing a combined solution.

Furthermore, the good intentions of these streaming platforms are questioned by some of the filmmakers due to their revenue structure, as argued by a filmmaker "It is nonsense to me, because it is a huge investment [...] He comes to you and talks about revenue share, instead of making an offer to buy your film. So, he makes money and your revenue share is very dicey" (Appendix K). Moreover, another filmmaker expressed his concerns of the risk of distributing a film on a streaming platform with a limited number of subscribers "I give it to you, so based on the number of people that watch I get something back, what if you do not have the money to market it and nobody comes to watch? [...] And once your film has been released, the value reduces" (Appendix F). Hence, it can be argued that filmmakers are questioning the legitimacy behind some of these streaming platforms. Filmmaking and distribution of films are delicate matters, since filmmaking entails relatively high financial investments and therefore filmmakers risk lack of exposure if they distribute film through a streaming platform without a sufficient number of subscribers. Moreover, as earlier described the change of norms also includes a behavioral change of the audiences, since illegal sharing of films predominantly has been broadly accepted due to audiences not ascribing the same value to films as filmmakers do.

As an example, Fairy App is trying to circumvent this by building ties with actors of a higher position within the Ghanaian film industry, in an attempt to legitimize the platform and thereby attract filmmakers of a higher status than Fairy App currently holds. As Isaac explained "We found a cast that was quite popular. They have a huge following on Instagram and let us say I put about six cast members together, then I can get about 6 million people. So, you drop those people into

your story" (Appendix C). Hence, strong ties with filmmakers of a higher position might help to legitimize actions and therefore be perceived as an enabling condition (Battilana, 2006).

As a response to the deficit means of film distribution in Ghana, Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer aim at providing filmmakers, both themselves and others, the opportunity to distribute films through their streaming platforms new means of distribution, albeit to various degrees. Overall, it can be argued that the institutional entrepreneurs are more dependent on their social capital, since either Sophia, Isaac or Spencer has sufficient financial resources to implement divergent change solely relying on financial capital. Thus, the financial resources and social capital differ in relation to mobilizing allies, it is evident that the absence of reliable formal authorities, such as government entities, illustrate the need to establish formal authority on their own, or by engaging other stakeholders from the Ghanaian film industry.

#### 6.2.3 Sub conclusion

In conclusion, this section aimed to outline the process of creating a vision for divergent change and mobilizing allies behind that vision. In relation to creating a vision, the empirical data underlines the institutional entrepreneurs' use of framing, by following the steps of diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing. Albeit, Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer sufficiently rely on diagnostic and prognostic framing, does their - to some degree - deficient use of motivational framing illustrate their challenges inherent in the mobilization of allies.

The institutional entrepreneurs predominantly seek collaborations, yet they are experiencing difficulties in framing their streaming platforms as superior alternatives to other film distribution channels through their vision. Mobilizing allies can be done through utilizing institutional logics, aiming to speak into the dominant discourse used by potential allies. Both Spencer and Ivan are relying on the dominant discourse of formal authorities in their attempt to gather support for their visions. Besides formal authority, the institutional entrepreneurs are also attempting to attract other filmmakers by relying on the social capital of prominent actors from the Ghanaian film industry, in order to legitimize their streaming platforms.

#### 6.3 Institutional change

In the last section of the analysis, the institutional changes derived from the interviews of Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer, will be analyzed in conjunction with Scott's (2004) institutional pillars. First and foremost, it is critical to emphasize that the process of institutional entrepreneurship, herein the implementation of divergent institutional change, takes time, therefore the visions of Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer will be the pivotal point for the remaining of the analysis, and thereby not the actual implementation of these. Besides the timeframe for institutional entrepreneurship, is it important to underline that it has been difficult to comprehend to what degree the process of institutional entrepreneurship relies solely on the actions of Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer or can be seen more as a collaborative act of the organizations they represent. Nonetheless, will their actions aimed towards the implementation of institutional change be identified in relation to the regulative, normative, and cognitive-cultural pillars.

Firstly, in relation to Scott's (2014) regulative pillar, the section will take its starting point by investigating how the institutional entrepreneurs proceed to make institutional change at the regulative level by attempting to change the regulatory pillars of the Ghanaian film industry (Scott, 2014).

As earlier described, Ghana has a population of 31 million, hence one film school that only enrolls 40 students each year is not sufficient. Today, the Ghanaian film industry has various inherent approaches to filmmaking due to a polarization between formally educated filmmakers and self-taught filmmakers. Through their streaming platforms, Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer aim to educate filmmakers by making the conduct of filmmaking more accessible, as argued by Spencer "So, if you are shooting and you are shooting for the app. You have a standard that you have to shoot" (Appendix G). These streaming platforms represent regulatory pillars filmmakers must adhere to through positive inclusion of rule-setting and uniform standards (Scott, 2014). Besides ensuring the supply of films for their streaming platforms, these rules and standards represent systems that educate filmmakers within different areas of filmmaking.

Besides the educational perspective, Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer have also set up tangible and transparent revenue structures that allow filmmakers to easily follow the earnings of their films. As Isaac explained "I will not have to come and tell you any story. So, you know how much you have

made" (Appendix C). By formalizing the distribution process of films, the institutional entrepreneurs attempt to enable better cooperation among filmmakers, instead of relying on oral contracts and informal institutions, as described earlier.

Moreover, as a response to the absence of copyright enforcement, Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer all aim to engage at the regulative level by creating a secure film distribution channel through their streaming platforms in order to prevent illegal sharing of films. As earlier described, the existing copyright institutions are not protecting the rights of filmmakers sufficiently. Besides the inherent challenges, the absence of copyright enforcement can also be argued to serve as an opportunity for the institutional entrepreneurs to develop new regulatory institutions by establishing rule-setting, monitoring, and sanctioning activities through their streaming platforms (Scott, 2014). Filmmakers and their audiences are (almost) bound to obey these regulatory forces, at least as long as these platforms remain secure. As Isaac elaborated "We wanted to ensure that people were not able to download screen records and thereby download the work" (Appendix C). By its precision, these rules of copyright enforcement specify the required conduct, while also translating into Scott's (2014) regulatory pillar. These not only protect the films of Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer, they also serve as an opportunity for other filmmakers to rely on their systems, in order to secure their films too.

Secondly, in relation to Scott's (2014) normative pillars, the institutional entrepreneurs also attempt to make institutional change at the normative level, entailing change of social norms, values, and beliefs within the Ghanaian film industry (Scott, 2014).

From a normative perspective, the institutional entrepreneurs are challenging how films are made by attempting to provide legitimate means to pursue the art of filmmaking. Through rules and standards Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer aim to specify normative expectations in relation to the quality of films and how these are best made. In a sense, anybody can become a filmmaker, if only they live up to the rules and standards of the individual streaming platforms. According to Scott (2014), normative imperatives can be viewed as social constraints on behavior, yet they also empower and enable action. Educating filmmakers through rules and standards represent positive means of inclusion by offering an entrance to the field, hence the acts of the institutional entrepreneurs can be

argued to be a way of diminishing the polarization of education among filmmakers in the Ghanaian film industry.

Furthermore, the normative imperatives of Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer also relate to the establishing transparent revenue structures by challenging the informal institutions inherent in the Ghanaian film industry. In brief, it can be argued that many Ghanaian filmmakers are used to certain means of film distribution, hence providing streaming platforms as a means of distribution, the institutional entrepreneurs are trying to change the normative approach residing within cinemas, physical copies, and free ad-driven streaming platforms. In other words, from informal agreements and oral contracts to formally laid out revenue structures entails a normative change among filmmakers to trust the legitimacy of Sophia's, Isaac's, and Spencer's streaming platforms.

In relation to copyright enforcement, the institutional entrepreneurs are attempting to change the behavior towards copyright infringements. Through the institutionalization of new means for copyright protection represented by their streaming platforms, Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer are confronting the norms of copyright enforcement by making illegal sharing of films almost impossible. By not only providing a sufficient alternative to the existing institutional arrangements of copyright enforcement, the aim of their streaming platforms also change the norms related to copyright infringement within the Ghanaian film industry. By diminishing the risks of illegal sharing of films, it can be argued that Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer are communicating to the stakeholders of the industry that the end of illegal film sharing is close.

Thirdly, in relation to Scott's (2014) cultural-cognitive pillar, the last part of the section aims to address how the institutional entrepreneurs attempt to conduct institutional change at the cultural-cognitive level. Scott's (2014) cultural-cognitive pillar entails the shared conceptions that constitute the nature of reality in relation to how meaning is made, herein its symbols (e.g. words, signs, and gestures) constituting the reality of the Ghanaian film industry. Educating filmmakers is first and foremost a cultural-cognitive attempt. Changing the cultural-cognitive pillars of educational institutions involves Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer's ability to challenge the meaning attributed to educational prerequisites of filmmaking. Besides rule-setting and the enforcement of standards linked to the objectives of making a film, the institutional entrepreneurs are also aiming to change the subjective interpretation of how films are made. This also includes how audiences watch films,

since streaming films, in contrast to going to the cinema or buying a physical copy, typically entails that the audience also have sufficient access to the internet.

Institutional entrepreneurs are also challenging the culture of distrust, both among other filmmakers and towards technology, by opening up for other filmmakers to use their platforms as distribution channels by providing transparent, trustworthy revenue structures, in order to reestablish trust. Despite their efforts to try and change the cultural-cognitive institutions of the Ghanaian film industry, change may take longer than first anticipated.

Both Isaac and Spencer express a desire to create a nationwide streaming platform, and thereby implement their divergent change projects. Yet, as earlier described, many of the additional interviewees question the legitimacy and objectives of their streaming platforms, and not mention the individuals in charge. These interviewees also express a desire for a nationwide platform, but a platform backed by more legitimate institutions and from a more altruistic sender, and therefore not by individuals or private organizations, as argued by a filmmaker "We need one app that is functioning, that is well marketed, and that is well fueled. Then the Ghanaian people will come in and make it work" (Appendix F). The platforms of Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer all represent privately owned organizations, why it is important to emphasize that their use also entails benefitting, not only other filmmakers, but also these three institutional entrepreneurs, since they get a certain percentage of the total revenue for each film.

Lastly, the absence of copyright enforcement has fueled a behavior by accepting illegal sharing of films. As Scott (2014) argues, cultural-cognitive pillars represent routines within reality, such as the Ghanaian film industry. The invasive degree of copyright infringements represents a taken for granted attitude or a way of doing things, because things have always been that way. By setting up secure systems (i.e. streaming platforms), Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer aim to challenge the underlying institutions by contributing to the development of new understandings that transform these institutionalizations of copyright infringement by empowering new templates for cultural-cognitive behavior.

#### 6.3.1 Sub conclusion

In conclusion, it can be argued that the institutional entrepreneurs are attempting to implement divergent institutional change at both the regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive level in regard to the inaccessibility of film distribution in Ghana. Thus, it can be argued that the challenges of the existing institutional arrangements occur on all of these institutional levels, some challenges have been elaborated more than others.

Through the implementation of divergent change, the institutional entrepreneurs try to solve the challenges relating to absence of copyright enforcement, distrust among stakeholders, and polarization of standards.

Overall, it can be concluded that in order to fuel the implementation of divergent institutional change, institutional entrepreneurs must overcome the challenge inherent in the extensive distrust among stakeholders within the Ghanaian film industry, in order to attract other filmmakers to their streaming platforms.

## 7. Discussion

In this chapter, the empirical findings, the theory behind the conceptual framework, the conceptual framework itself, and the methodologies used in the study will be discussed to answer the research question:

How do Ghanaian filmmakers attempt to create divergent institutional change through streaming platforms?

In the first section, the empirical findings will be presented in relation to the research question. In the second section, the findings will be discussed in relation to the theory of institutional entrepreneurships and the remaining of the conceptual framework. In the third section, the choice of methodology will be discussed in relation to the data collection approach and the overall quality of the data. Lastly, in the fourth section, future research within the theoretical area will be elaborated.

### 7.1 Discussion of empirical findings

In this section, the empirical findings will be presented followed by a discussion of the findings in relation to the research question. Following the conceptual framework, enabling conditions, divergent change implementation, and institutional change will be discussed in order to answer the research question, respectively.

Firstly, it is evident that both field characteristics of the Ghanaian film industry and the social positions of Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer, albeit to various degrees, have had an enabling role for implementation of divergent institutional change. The jolts and crises entailed by the advent of streaming platforms following technological disruption shocked the Ghanaian film industry, yet it also exposed the deficient institutional arrangements relating to film distribution. Being influenced by a relatively high degree of heterogeneity and a relatively low degree of institutionalization, the prominent factor enabling institutional entrepreneurship can be argued to be the fragmentation and incapability of the institutional arrangements in the relation to the polarization between filmmakers' education background, the absence of cooperation among filmmakers, and the lack of faith in government institutions.

These characteristics inevitably had an enabling role, yet institutional entrepreneurship is also highly dependent on the individual's social position in order to initiate the implementation of divergent institutional change. In other words, the field characteristics might have provided opportunity for Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer, but seizing the opportunity is also reliant on their social position, since different individuals perceive fields differently depending on their social position (Battilana et al. 2009).

Albeit, Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer belonged to the higher stratums within the Ghanaian film industry prior to establishing their streaming platforms, does the variance of their social positions compare to the variance in the challenges they face. While Sophia and Isaac both are formally educated in filmmaking formal film education, Spencer characterizes as a self-taught filmmaker. Moreover, does the willingness and ability of them also vary, since it can be argued that Sophia might have the ability to implement divergent change, she does not currently have the willingness to do so. In contrast, Spencer might have the willingness to implement divergent change, yet he currently does not have the abilities. Lastly, Isaac might be the only one who holds both the ability and the willingness to implement divergent change within the Ghana film industry.

Secondly, in regard to the implementation of institutional change, the empirical findings have emphasized two key factors following the creation of the Sophia's, Isaac's, and Spencer's streaming platforms. These factors concern challenges of motivational framing and mobilization of allies. All of the institutional entrepreneurs rather easily outlined the challenges relating to film distribution in Ghana as well as why their solutions could overcome these. Yet, the empirical findings also demonstrate the deficits of Sophia's, Isaac's, and Spencer's ability to appealingly frame their visions and thereby the challenges inherent of mobilizing allies. Whereas Sophia does not express the same desire or need to mobilize other filmmakers, Isaac and Spencer are more actively trying to do so. Both Isaac and Spencer described their difficulties in terms of trying to bridge the inherent distrust that exists among filmmakers in order to legitimize their streaming platforms. Isaac attributed his difficulties to filmmakers not wanting to believe the genuineness behind his transparent revenue streams whereas Spencer attributed his difficulties with distrust to the distrust towards technologies in general.

Thirdly, the institutional entrepreneurs have through their streaming platforms challenged the regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive institutional structures. As suggested by the empirical findings, the existing regulative institutions within the Ghanaian film industry are currently not strong enough to constrain behavior sufficiently for most filmmakers. Hence, institutional entrepreneurs are challenged by the normative and cultural-cognitive institutions, since they are predominantly aiming to bring change at the normative and cultural-cognitive level through their streaming platforms.

Implementing divergent change through streaming platforms within the Ghanaian film industry inevitably entails diffusion in terms of what might affect the proposed institutional changes from Sophia, Isaac, and Spencer. Thus, it is still too early to explicitly conclude whether their visions will in fact result in institutional change, since this is dependent on how other filmmakers will behave in the years to come. Hence, the diffusion of the institutional entrepreneurs' vision of divergent change is still merely a possibility.

### 7.2 Discussion of theory

Firstly, the institutional entrepreneurship theory has been applied to the case of institutional entrepreneurs within the Ghanaian film industry. Particularly, Battilana et al.'s (2009) model of the process of institutional entrepreneurship was used to assess to what extent filmmakers were following the process of the model, in order to conduct institutional change and thereby act as institutional entrepreneurs. Accessing the potentiality of the filmmakers entailed analyzing the enabling conditions, followed by the process of implementing divergent change, and finally the institutional change the filmmakers aimed to make. Moreover, Scott's (2014) institutional pillars were used to examine how the institutional entrepreneurs were in fact changing the institutional arrangements, by enlightening the theoretical understanding of institutions in order to make them tangible for analyzing the inaccessibility of film distribution within the Ghanaian film industry.

Secondly, as Battilana et al.'s (2009) definition of a field prevails, a field consists of different types of field-level characteristics. Besides jolts and crises, level of heterogeneity, and level of institutionalization, it can be argued that the definition of a field is presented rather ambiguous, since fields exist on different individual, organizational, and institutional levels and the theory does

not provide definite answers to what is or what a field is not. Operationalizing the theory of institutional entrepreneurship becomes intangible to some extent, since the definition of fields does not impose any clear guidelines for the perimeters of a field. Hence, it can be questioned whether some fields and some definitions of fields are better suited for the theory of institutional entrepreneurship than others.

Thirdly, the complexity of the theory of institutional entrepreneurship following the rather ambiguous definition of field is further emphasized when studying the Ghanaian film industry, herein creative industries in general. To our knowledge this difficulty stems from a lack of pre-existing examples of this combination, hence this study represents rather uncharted territory. Moreover, it becomes rather difficult to operationalize the theory of institutional entrepreneurship, since it predominantly requires knowledge of similar industries in order to actually assess whether the enabling conditions of the Ghanaian film industry in fact can be seen as enabling conditions. In other words, the limitations of institutional entrepreneurship remain uncovered, due to the inability to evaluate what might be the contributing factor(s) to institutional change.

### 7. 3 Discussion of conceptual framework

In this section, the aim is to reflect and discuss the conceptual framework used throughout the study, in order to assess the suitability of the conceptual framework and thereby answer the research question.

Through the operationalizing of Battilana et al.'s (2009) model of the process of institutional entrepreneurship supported the research to explore the process of institutional entrepreneurship within the Ghanaian film industry. The step-by-step process of the model and its relatively intuitive approach allowed the studying of the various steps of institutional entrepreneurship, herein discovering institutional voids and uncovering the paradox of embedded agency. Encapsulating the evolutionary steps of institutional change, the model proved useful, by not only including the enabling conditions, but also the process of implementing divergent change, in order to better comprehend the emergence of institutional entrepreneurship. In sum, it was possible to analyze the whole process of institutional change from the institutional entrepreneurs' perspective.

Since, the application of the theory of institutional entrepreneurship was more or less decided prior to gathering the empirical data in Ghana, it can be argued that the preliminary choice potentially could have restricted the study in a (too) early stage. Albeit, this will remain unanswered, it is evident the overall results have been highly influenced by the theory of institutional entrepreneurship and therefore provides points for discussion.

Overall, the model proved useful for encapsulating institutional entrepreneurship within the Ghanaian film industry. Yet, some steps of the model remain rather intangible. In determining individuals' social position, it was difficult to cope with their informal positions and therefore the potential importance of these. When analyzing informal positions, it is crucial to have knowledge relating to the informal networks, in which individuals belong. Thus, it can be argued that obtaining such knowledge is a rather complex and time-consuming task to do, since the timeframe of the study serves as a time constraint in order to adequately assess the importance of individuals' informal position within the Ghanaian film industry, it is important to emphasize that these might have had an enabling effect for the implementation for divergent institutional change.

In addition, the use of discourse also entails the narratives institutional entrepreneurs might utilize through rhetorical strategies. Yet, these might also be included in how they use framing to mobilize allies in accordance with their vision. Hence, it can be questioned whether the use of discourse appears separate from framing, or if these discourses include all of these communicative elements and therefore appear more as an umbrella definition.

Lastly, as briefly described in the previous section, the perimeters of fields can appear rather intangible. Assessing whether a field is constituted of a high or low degree of heterogeneity becomes difficult when not having similar fields to compare with, since it might be complicated to define when a field is heterogeneous or homogeneous. As with degree of heterogeneity, the same argument also applies to degree of institutionalization. Furthermore, this can be exemplified by discussing the relative degree of heterogeneity and institutionalization within a field in relation to other fields, such as other film industries. Hence, it can be difficult to assess to what extent different enabling conditions might have had in relation to institutional entrepreneurship within the industry in question. In other words, how do the Ghanaian film industry compare to a film industry in

Europe, and what might be the preferred degree of heterogeneity or institutionalization for the conduct of institutional entrepreneurship.

## 7.4 Reflection on methodology

In this section the limitations and strengths of the chosen methodology will be discussed. In addition, reflections on other possible methods will be accessed. As described in the chapter of methodology, semi-structured interviews were chosen as a method to investigate the field of the Ghanaian film industry and how the institutional entrepreneurs frame their attempts to implement institutional change. This method of data collection provided the ability to get insights into the social world of the interviewees as described earlier. While this approach was in line with the chosen qualitative and exploratory approach and enabled deep insights into the field characteristics and mindsets of the filmmakers in the Ghanaian industry, it also left room for a more detailed analysis. Although conducting interviews can provide rich insights, it must be emphasized that these insights are a representation of the actual actions. Reality often differs from the speech events to what kinds of action are actually conducted. Colin Jerolmack and Shamus Khan (2014) refer to this error of deriving truth from a verbal account as the *attitudinal fallacy*. Furthermore, they stress that social interaction, which implementation of divergent change falls under, is not done through individuals alone but is sensitive to relations and interaction.

Adding to the semi-structured interviews, observation could have provided a method to not only obtain insights into what is said but also what actions are done. This would have provided alternative insights and additional information to inform this study. By observing the institutional entrepreneurs, we could have gathered insights about the actual steps they take in the process of institutional change. This is supported by Saunders et al. (2016), who emphasize that observation is a primary means to watch what and how participants act. If we would have conducted observation, it should be participant observation. When conducting participant observation, the researcher takes part in the social world of the participants by participating in their activities (Saunders et al., 2016). This would be done through the observer-as-participant type, where the researcher takes the role as non-hidden observer (Saunders et al., 2016). This method would also have benefitted from an extended time span. as it is a rather time-consuming method (Saunders et al., 2016). If we had more

time during the field trip to Ghana, it would have been relevant to interview the participants more than once, while also observing them over a longer period of time. One can argue that we have not gained thorough knowledge through interviews, yet another approach could have been included.

Continuing with reflecting on the data collection, the interview guide served as a framework in the field. The interview guide served as a guideline to make sure all the predetermined topics of interest, we wanted to investigate, were covered. After the first interviews were conducted the questions were iterated and some were left out or added to the interview guide. Albeit, the purpose of an interview guide is actually just to guide, this goes well with the exploratory nature of the study, hence the following interviews were continuously adapted and therefore conductively provided us with more rich in-depth data. As an improvement of the interview guide, the study could have benefitted from asking of other questions that were less leading. By the avoidance of leading questions, the interviewees themselves would possibly have mentioned their challenges instead of deciding on our ideas about their challenges. Giving the interviewees the opportunity to open up about challenges they believe they are facing, would only have affirmed the exploratory nature of this study, which aims to clarify an uncertainty about a given phenomenon, instead of working against this by asking leading questions.

#### 7.4.2 Quality of data

After having reflected upon the methodological choices of this study it is important to also reflect upon the quality of the collected data. In terms of making judgements about the quality of the conducted research, one can use reliability and validity. Reliability is concerned with the ability to replicate a research design and acquire the same findings whereas validity refers to how appropriate the measurements taken to study the given phenomenon is and how accurate the following analysis thereby becomes. Taken together it touches upon how much you can generalize from the findings of the study. (Saunders et al., 2016). The importance of being able to replicate a research design and evaluate the appropriateness of the measures of investigation can seem more fitting for a quantitative study. Nonetheless, the measurements of reliability and validity can be extended to qualitative studies. When referring to reliability in qualitative studies it can be hard to see the meaning of applying this judgment, since reliability deals with the ability to replicate a study and

achieve the same results, as the first conduct of the study. Qualitative studies and in particular those that are concerned with semi-structured interviews typically have findings that are not necessarily able to repeat, since they portray a part of reality that existed at the time of data collection. Therefore, attempting to replicate this type of study one to one will not be achievable (Saunders et al., 2016). Although the application of reliability is not an obvious choice, it is still important to explain your reasoning behind the chosen research design, methods, research question as well as providing an account of the findings. This helps future researchers to understand the processes applied to the study and how you arrived at the research findings. The important thing here is not how other researchers can conduct the same study but similar studies. In order to achieve a transparent process for this study we have transcribed the interviews and established a coding process as described in the chapter concerning methods. The interview transcriptions and an example of the coding can be found in the appendix. By ensuring a transparent process throughout the study one increases the chances for other researchers to understand how you arrived at your findings. In terms of being able to generalize from a qualitative study using semi-structured interviews a concern could be raised about the ability to generalize findings that stem from an inquiry of only a small number of cases to a broader population. This is a very valid concern and the quick answer is that it is not feasible to generalize from such a small sample as for example the one in this study with only twelve interviewees. A response to the concern raised could be to interview several stakeholders within a given organization or field (Saunders et al., 2016). Albeit, the number of interviewees from this study is not enough to be able to generalize to a broader study from, the study still accommodates the concern raised by inquiring about the versatile experiences of several stakeholders with different positions within the Ghanaian film industry. Thereby, we have collected data and based our findings upon a sample of Ghanaian filmmakers. However, we are still not able to generalize our findings to a broader population. Another response to the concern of generalizability is to be able to tie the findings of the study to existing theory. Linking your findings to already existing theory gives the findings more extensive significance theoretically. This is supported by Easton (2010) who explains that the generalizability from a critical realist perspective, comes in when you are able to connect your findings to an explanation based in theory.

Validity within qualitative research is achieved through the ability to explain and defend your choice of methods, your biases as a researcher but also by letting more than one researcher oversee

the data collection and analysis (Saunders et al., 2016). For this study the biases were attempted to be kept in check by cross-checking inherent beliefs with each other. Furthermore, turn-taking was applied throughout the interviewing process meaning one researcher conducted the first interview, the other the next and so forth. Albeit, measures were taken to maintain a minimum number of biases, they cannot be avoided all together. When conducting qualitative research and adhering to the philosophy of critical realism one must be aware that biases from the side of the researcher exist and can never be avoided, but one must try to diminish them as much as possible.

In sum, it is not possible to replicate this exact study, since qualitative data can never be replicated one to one. That does not mean that as researchers one cannot try to ensure the quality of the data by being as precise as possible in the collection and following analysis of data while also making sure to document the whole process.

#### 7.5 Future research

This section elaborates on suggestions for future research based on the empirical findings and the overall limitations of the study. As earlier described in methodology, the chosen theory topics of interest were predominantly selected prior to the field trip to Ghana. Moreover, the study process has provided additional knowledge, hence it could be beneficial for future research to explore different angles by employing different theories or perspectives.

One proposition could be to complement the theory of institutional entrepreneurship by Battilana et al. (2009) with Manuel Castells' (2011) theory of network power in order to further analyze the power relations within the network of the Ghanaian film industry. Power is not distributed equally across networks but tends to favor certain social actors at the source of network formation and following the establishment of standards. Hence, further exploring how streaming platforms have influenced the network within film distribution in Ghana would allow a deeper understanding of how these platforms might challenge existing power relations among stakeholders of the Ghanaian film industry.

A second proposition would be to use the theory of positive deviance by Gretchen M. Spreitzer and Scott Sonenshein (2004). The notion of positive deviance entails the accomplishment of two overall goals, namely the identification of practices associated with top performance and the promotion of the uptake of these practices within an industry. Hence, examining the origin of streaming platforms in other emerging film industries (e.g. in Nigeria), could provide potential insights in the understanding of enabling conditions in regard to institutional entrepreneurship.

A final proposition could be to investigate the emergence of institutional entrepreneurship in other film industries, such as in Nigeria or India. Exploring additional film industries could contribute knowledge to the theory of institutional entrepreneurship and the operationalizability of Battilana et al.'s (2009) Model of the process of institutional entrepreneurship. Such insights could serve as comparative means for future studies of institutional entrepreneurship.

#### 8. Conclusion

The objective of the study was to explore how the advent of streaming platforms following technological disruption presented a challenge to the existing institutional arrangements within film distribution in Ghana, and answer the research question: *How do Ghanaian filmmakers attempt to create divergent institutional change through streaming platforms?* The purpose was to investigate institutional entrepreneurship within the Ghanaian film industry through the lens of Battilana et al.'s (2009) Model for the process of institutional entrepreneurship in conjunction with Scott's (2014) institutional pillars.

The study also aimed to provide additional knowledge to a less occupied field of academic research about the conduct of institutional entrepreneurship in developing countries, particularly in the emergent film industry of Ghana. Although Ghana is praised for its political stability and civil liberty (Deloitte, 2017), institutional voids still are still widespread. Albeit, the penetration of smartphones and internet coverage in Ghana is relatively high, and hereby comprises a rather fertile foundation for film distribution through streaming platforms, the institutional arrangements still present a challenge for filmmakers. Hence, these challenges also leave behind an opportunity for institutional entrepreneurs to conduct institutional change.

The empirical data was collected throughout two and a half weeks in Accra and Kumasi during a field trip to Ghana in February 2022, as a part of a research project at Copenhagen Business School in Denmark. The empirical data consisted of twelve semi-structured interviews with filmmakers and other stakeholders of the Ghanaian film industry. Following the twelve interviews, three of the interviewees qualified as institutional entrepreneurs, whereas the remaining nine provided valuable background information about the film industry, in order to further support the empirical findings.

The analysis was structured according to Battilana et al.'s (2009) framework for institutional entrepreneurship and used to analyze the institutional entrepreneurs' process of implementing divergent institutional change in the Ghanaian film industry. The analysis was divided into three main sections arriving from the enabling conditions, followed by the implementation of divergent change, and then the institutional changes proposed by the institutional entrepreneurs. In addition, Scott's (2014) definition of institutional pillars was used to contribute to the perception of

institutional arrangements, in order to understand how the institutional entrepreneurs were implementing divergent institutional change from a regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive perspective.

The empirical findings illustrate how Ghanaian filmmakers proceed to conduct institutional change. Overall, the findings suggest that field characteristics and social position of the filmmakers can be perceived as enabling conditions of institutional entrepreneurship within the Ghanaian film industry. Thus, it is difficult to assess the inherent dependency of these in relation to institutional change. The relatively high degree of heterogeneity, the relatively low degree of institutionalization, and the relatively high status of the institutional entrepreneurs can be argued to have been conducive to institutional change, since the institutional arrangements led to various challenges in solving jolts and crises from technological disruption. Hence, an opportunity arose for filmmakers to propose solutions to the challenge of the inaccessibility of film distribution in Ghana.

In regard to the process of implementing divergent change, the empirical findings further revealed the importance of mobilizing allies, herein motivational framing. Retrospectively, the institutional entrepreneurs were able to create their streaming platforms following previous success in the Ghanaian film industry. Yet, it is evident that they are facing challenges in their ability to attract other filmmakers to their platforms. Their motivational efforts are not sufficient in order to mobilize allies, which is primarily linked to the revenue structures of their streaming platforms. Filmmaking is a personal, yet costly affair, hence filmmakers are concerned with how to earn back their investments, and more importantly through whom. Other filmmakers are questioning the legitimacy behind these Ghanaian streaming platforms, despite the institutional entrepreneurs' efforts.

Lastly, creating streaming platforms also entail institutional changes at the regulatory, normative, and cultural-cognitive levels. Through their streaming platforms, the institutional entrepreneurs attempt to implement divergent change by challenging the institutional arrangements in relation to standards of films, collaboration among filmmakers, and copyright protection.

In sum, the study has provided knowledge on how institutional entrepreneurs within the Ghanaian film industry have attempted to implement divergent institutional change, following the challenges inherent of the advent of streaming platforms from technological disruption. Moreover, the study

has enlightened the theory of institutional entrepreneurship through the light of film distribution in Ghana, while also exposing potential discrepancies within the theory and Battilana et al.'s (2009) Model of the process of institutional entrepreneurship.

#### 9. Recommendations

Based on the empirical findings, this section presents recommendations in relation to the practical implications for the institutional entrepreneurs within the Ghanaian film industry, as well as other stakeholders of the industry.

Overall, it was concluded that institutional entrepreneurs must overcome the challenge of extensive distrust among stakeholders within the Ghanaian film industry, if they are to succeed in attracting other filmmakers to their streaming platforms.

Institutional entrepreneurs need to become more aware of how they and their streaming platforms are being received by other filmmakers within the Ghanaian film industry. In order to mobilize allies, the institutional entrepreneurs must develop means for legitimizing their streaming platforms, since the empirical findings suggested that other filmmakers are hesitant to use their streaming platforms due to an underlying culture of distrust.

Hence, they must leverage their informal position in order to establish trust, and thereby aid future collaboration. Furthermore, it could be suggested that if they succeed to build trust, other filmmakers might become more understanding of their visions.

This also entails that institutional entrepreneurs manage to deepen their understanding of the needs of other filmmakers, since it must be a compromise from both the institutional entrepreneurs and other filmmakers. Working towards a common goal could help them accelerate the change they envision.

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