A social theory of performance: a structuration approach

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Declaration of Authenticity

This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree.

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Abstract

This study embarks on a journey into the realm of organisational performance from a structuration perspective, seeking to unravel the multifaceted processes and capabilities that enable organisations to thrive amidst the ever-changing currents of their socioeconomic, political, and cultural surroundings. The research goes beyond common boundaries of performance analysis, inviting scrutiny into how organisations not only respond to change in the social environment in which they perform but also exert their influence upon them.

Drawing from the meticulous examination of a case study centred on alcohol policy in Scotland, the study highlights the reciprocal interactions between agency, agents, and social structures. It argues that organisational performance results from the continuous interaction between organisations and the social context in which they operate, emphasising their dynamic and evolving relationship.

This research enriches our understanding of organisational performance by bridging the gap between micro level actions and macro level social structures. It proposes a structuration model that acknowledges performance as a dynamic and dialectical process influenced by historical, contextual, and temporal factors. It underscores the need for a holistic exploration of performance, considering the multifaceted nature of organisational existence. It emphasises their adaptability and resilience amidst change as organisations navigate dynamic socioeconomic landscapes. The research advocates an empirical approach to organisational performance, drawing insights from real-world cases, and encourages scholars and practitioners to push beyond traditional boundaries in performance analysis.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In today's rapidly evolving world, understanding organisational performance's intricacies is of paramount importance. Regardless of their size, sector, or industry, organisations constantly seek ways to optimise their performance, achieve their goals and remain competitive in dynamic environments. Their pursuit of outstanding performance in today's interconnected society has led to the emergence of various novel approaches and perspectives aimed at comprehending the complex interplay of factors that influence an organisation's effectiveness and success. Grasping these emerging approaches and perspectives is essential for organisations that aim to navigate the complexities of the contemporary business landscape. These novel approaches essentially try to explain how organisations can better position themselves to achieve outstanding performance, adapt to evolving circumstances, and remain competitive.

The heart of this study is an examination of the essence of organisational existence, which seeks to uncover the intricate processes and capabilities that enable organisations to thrive in their ever-changing social, economic, political, and cultural surroundings. This propels us to examine not just how organisations are affected by the social structures around them but also how they influence and shape these structures themselves.

This research unveils valuable insights obtained through a thorough examination of an archival case study that focuses on alcohol policy in Scotland. The case study serves as a laboratory where I am able to analyse the impact of emerging changes in social structural on performance, emphasising the mutual interactions between agency, agents, and social structures.

I embark on this journey in the belief that science is not a straightforward path to absolute truth, but rather a social endeavour to construct the truth (Cannella and Paetzold, 1994). From this perspective, research on organisational performance needs to take into account the influence of societal values, cultural norms, and power structures on our understanding and assessment of organisational performance. This also implies that research methodologies should be sensitive to the social and contextual factors that shape performance. Therefore, I approach the subject of organisational performance in the understanding that it results from the ongoing interaction between organisations and the social context in which they operate.

1.1. The Dynamic Landscape of Organisational Performance

Performance, in the organisational context, has long been a subject of fascination and scrutiny (Giglioni and Bedeian, 1974). It is, in short, the benchmark by which we measure the

effectiveness and efficiency, of organisations in achieving their goals and objectives (Harris, 2017). Historically, the evaluation of performance has been somewhat linear and deterministic (Demartini, 2013; Malina and Selto, 2001; Chenhall, 2008), and has often been assessed in terms of quantitative metrics and financial outcomes (Berry et al., 2016).

However, more recent studies acknowledge that in reality, organisational performance is far more complex (Smith and Bititci, 2017; Bititci et al., 2018; Okwir et al., 2018; Alexander et al., 2018; Nudurupati et al., 2021 amongst many others). It is a multifaceted phenomenon influenced by an intricate web of factors (Pavlov and Micheli, 2023). It is also widely acknowledged that organisations do not operate in isolation but are deeply embedded within the broader social, economic, and cultural milieu (Mackenzie and Bititci, 2023). Moreover, they are not static entities but living organisms, constantly evolving and adapting in response to internal and external stimuli (Weick, 1995). The landscape of organisational performance is hence characterised by its dynamism and interdependence with other features external to it (Barney, 2020). Organisations operate within a larger ecosystem, influenced by factors such as market forces, legal frameworks, technological advancements, and societal norms. They are subject to the ebb and flow of economic cycles, the winds of political change, and the tides of public opinion.

For this reason, the pursuit of organisational objectives involves navigating a complex terrain of stakeholder expectations, ethical considerations, and sustainability imperatives, amongst other, mostly socially oriented considerations. Therefore, interest and concern in performance organisational is no longer confined to the boardroom, a single organisation or even a supply chain; it is a matter of public interest and social relevance.

In response to this evolving perspective, performance measurement and management (PMM) researchers have shifted their focus to embracing various theories and frameworks that focus on the social dimensions of organisations and their performance (Bourne et al., 2018b) and examine different levels of the organisation (Mackenzie and Bititci, 2023). Notably, theories such as stakeholder theory, complexity theory, social network theory, decision theory, and various other organisational theories have gained prominence in this changing research landscape.

By leveraging these diverse theoretical perspectives, researchers aim to understand the intricate social dynamics at play in forming organisational performance by shedding light on how various social factors influence and shape the organisational performance in intricate detail. In short, these broader perspectives acknowledge the fact that organisational

performance is the result of a complex interplay between different technical, social, and contextual factors. This shift in perspective has provided us with a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of performance, its measurement and its management, than the older models available in previous decades.

1.2. The Structuration Perspective

Among the various theoretical lenses through which organisational performance can be examined, the structuration perspective stands out as a compelling and promising perspective. The guiding notion is that performance is fundamentally rooted in the dynamic relationship between social structures and agencies at various levels. In to this view, the actions of individuals, groups and organisations, coupled with the broader social structures in which they are embedded, collectively shape performance outcomes. Hence, what is required is a nuanced examination of how micro level behaviours, meso level interactions, and macro level social structures coalesce to define an organisation's performance trajectory.

To understand the nuanced dynamics of organisational performance within contemporary dynamic landscape, I therefore adopt a structuration perspective in this study. Rooted in the works of Anthony Giddens (1984) and further developed by scholars such as Piotr Sztompka (1991) and Margaret Archer (2003), the structuration perspective posits that social structures are not external but are constraints and opportunities produced and reproduced through the actions and interactions of individuals, groups, and organisations.

This perspective offers a lens through which we can examine how organisations, as active agents, engage with social structures. It acknowledges that organisations are not passive recipients of societal influences but active contributors to the shaping and reshaping of the social context in which they operate.

Central to the structuration perspective is the concept of agency, which broadly means the ability to act (Archer, 2003). Organisations, as collective entities composed of individuals and groups, possess agency (Sztompka, 1991). They make decisions, formulate strategies, and engage in activities that impact on their performance outcomes. Importantly, these actions are not taken in isolation but occur within the context of established social structures, which encompass norms, values, rules, and institutions.

Thus, the structuration perspective encourages us to explore the reciprocal interactions among agents (the actors within and beyond organisations) and structures (the established patterns and rules). It invites us to investigate how organisations draw upon existing social structures

to legitimise their actions and results while actively contributing to reshaping these very same social structures through their actions (Tsoukas and Chia, 2002).

1.3. The Case Study: Alcohol Policy in Scotland

This research employed an abductive case study approach in theory development (Kovacs and Spens, 2005; Dubois and Gadde, 2002). I used an archival case study of the minimum unit pricing of alcohol (MUP) policy in Scotland. This case serves as a microcosm, allowing me to study the impact of emerging and changing structural forms on organisational performance.

Alcohol policy in Scotland is a domain fraught with challenges, where organisations, both public and private, navigate a complex terrain that is influenced by health considerations, economic interests, legal frameworks, and societal norms (Katikireddi et al., 2014). Thus, it is an arena where decisions made by organisations have far-reaching consequences, ranging from public health outcomes to economic ramifications.

This case study unfolds against the backdrop of evolving social structures related to alcohol consumption and regulation. Scotland, like many other regions, has witnessed shifts in public attitudes towards alcohol, changes in government policies, and variations in industry practices (O'Donnell, 2006). These shifts have prompted organisations to adapt, innovate, and sometimes resist change in response to the changing social context (McCambridge et al., 2018) and probing into these social dynamics and their effects on performance helps us to provide a structuration account of performance.

1.4. The Contributions of a Structuration Perspective

The structuration perspective applied to the study of organisational performance offers several significant contributions, to both theory and practice. It enriches our understanding of organisational performance by emphasising this socially embedded phenomenon's dynamic, context-dependent, and multifaceted nature. Its practical implications extend to policymakers, practitioners, and organisational leaders, offering insights that can inform decision-making in a complex and evolving operational landscape.

It introduces a dialectical approach to performance, emphasising that performance is not a static outcome but a result of ongoing interactions and co-evolution between organisations and their social context over time. This dialectical perspective emphasises the continuous interplay of actions, decisions, and responses between organisations and the broader societal structures and invites us to explore the mechanisms through which performance evolves.

The structuration perspective also highlights the co-construction of agency and social structure, emphasising the active role of organisations in shaping and reshaping social structures. Hence, it challenges the notion that social structures are rigid or fixed entities and, instead, portrays them as dynamic and pliable. Here, the active involvement of organisational agency becomes pivotal in shaping and reconfiguring these structures over time. This profound understanding of the active role of organisational agency opens up fresh avenues for exploring the dynamic nature of organisational performance and its interconnectedness with the social environments they inhabit. This understanding opens avenues to explore how organisations strategically leverage their agency to impact and adapt to their dynamic social context.

The structuration perspective contextualises performance outcomes, recognising that performance is contingent upon the complex and ever-changing social environment in which organisations operate. Taking this perspective hence encourages organisations to be adaptive and agile in response to changes in the social context.

Additionally, the perspective calls for multilevel analyses, and for performance phenomena to be examined across micro, meso, and macro dimensions. As a result, it invites a more comprehensive understanding of the complexities and dynamics within and beyond organisations. The temporal dimension of performance is also emphasised because the approach highlights the significance of historical and temporal factors in shaping performance outcomes over time. This perspective thus helps organisations acknowledge, anticipate, and respond to changes in their social environment.

Furthermore, the structuration perspective promotes reflexivity and an adaptive research approach, encouraging us to critically examine our assumptions and consider the context in which organisations operate. It also allows us to explore the unintended consequences of actions by acknowledging that organisational actions and changes in social structures can have unforeseen outcomes. Understanding these unintended consequences is crucial for effective management in today's organisational settings.

1.5. Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is structured to explore the structuration perspective on organisational performance comprehensively. Each chapter digs deeper into specific aspects of this perspective, building a coherent narrative that uncovers the intricate interplay between organisations and their social environments, as viewed through the structuration lens.

Chapter 2: Literature Review. This chapter reviews existing literature on organisational performance, covering both traditional approaches and emerging perspectives that emphasise the social aspects of performance. It establishes the theoretical and empirical foundation of the study. Additionally, the chapter examines the theoretical underpinnings of structuration theory in terms of its key aspects and elucidates the core concepts of agency, structure, and duality and their relevance to studying organisational performance.

Chapter 3: Methodology. This chapter outlines the research methodology used, including the research design, data collection methods, and analytical techniques used in the thesis. It begins by analysing the implicit processes perspectives in performance research from a methodological standpoint. This forms the basis for the subsequent analysis. The chapter then excavates the research process, especially by discussing the abductive case study approach that has been employed here and explaining why it was useful in developing a structuration model of performance. The chapter concludes by detailing the three-phase procedure used, which combines elements of thematic analysis with qualitative content analysis.

Chapter 4: Alcohol Policy in Scotland. By introducing the case of the alcohol MUP policy in Scotland, the chapter explores the relationship between Scotland's alcohol policy, operations management, and organisational performance. It contributes to understanding performance as a social phenomenon by drawing on concepts from public health, public policy, politics, and history. This account of the expected and unexpected, intended and unintended consequences of this specific public policy in a changing social context faced by organisations operating within this complex environment explains the factors influencing the actions of various players at different stages of the process.

Chapter 5: Findings. This chapter examines the relationship between policy structuring and supply chain performance, examining how macro level policy structures shape the operations of supply chains at the meso level, and are influenced by the actions of different actors at the micro level. It thus explains how organisations utilise existing social structures to justify their actions and outcomes while also actively contributing to reshaping those social structures through their actions.

Chapter 6: Conclusion. In this conclusion, the key findings and contributions of the dissertation to both theory and practice are summarised. The significance of the structuration perspective in understanding organisational performance is reflected upon, and potential avenues for future research in this domain are suggested.

As we explore organisational performance through the lens of structuration theory, we are poised to uncover the intricate dynamics that drive success, adaptation, and evolution within organisations. By embracing the complexities of the interplay between agency, agents, and structures, we gain deeper insights into the ever-evolving landscape of organisational performance. Ultimately, this journey seeks to illuminate the path towards nurturing more resilient, adaptive, and socially responsible organisations that are better equipped to thrive amidst the dynamic challenges they face.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

> It is important to remember that there is no one best map; there are many different projections, and it makes no sense to try to discover the pre-existing map.
>
> (Weick, 1992, p. 173)

2.1. Introduction

2.1.1. What is performance?

In introducing the subject of this work, I initially establish the essential terms and position the core concept within the relevant academic literature. The central theme of this study revolves around the notion of performance. Despite its widespread usage, the term "performance" is seldom explicitly defined (Meyer and Zucker, 1989; Otley, 1999). Lebas and Euske (2007) attribute this absence of an agreed definition to the intricate and socially constructed nature of the concept. Given the extensive scope of the performance literature, varied definitions emerge across various disciplines, including operations management, management accounting, strategic management, human resource management, and organisational behaviour (Franco-Santos et al., 2012; Demartini, 2013; Gephart and Corvellac, 1999; Emmanuel, 1990; Beer and Micheli, 2018). Authors often allow the specific context of their study to shape their definition of the term. Thus, how it is defined for a particular context frequently reflects the author's belief about what the entity under study exists to do and how effectively it does it (Harris, 2017).

Gephart and Corvellac (1999) note that the term "performance" can encompass action, the outcomes of that action, and the success of those outcomes. Merchant and Otley (2007) explain PMM as the processes that safeguards organisations against threats to achieving good performance and ensures the desired results. They propose that nearly all aspects of an organisation can be incorporated into a comprehensive control system that oversees and enhances performance.

2.1.2. The scope of performance research: purpose and goals

The decision of which processes to include in a PMM system is contingent upon the understanding of the term "performance," which varies across different research bodies. However, it is widely acknowledged that the notion of purpose lies at the heart of performance

(Micheli and Mari, 2014), prompting the question of what goals the system should encompass (Meyer and Zucker, 1989).

Berry et al. (2016) highlight the interdependency between purpose and effectiveness, stating that without a notion of purpose, it is impossible to conceive the idea of effectiveness. Nevertheless, how to establish the purpose of an organisation remains a subject of ongoing debate, as it encompasses individual, group, and organisational goals and conflicts within and around organisations. Berry et al. (2016) also assert that while organisations may have multiple purposes that are not solely those of the dominant coalition, it is helpful to consider them as purposive entities. However, they do not specify how organisations define their ultimate purpose, even when they do so explicitly.

From a predominantly functionalist perspective on performance, the minimum overarching goal to consider is survival (Parsons, 1956). However, organisations often substitute an agreed plan of action for their ultimate goal without investing enough effort in defining who they truly are and what ultimate purpose they seek to achieve (Berry et al., 2016). Consequently, performance research often examines the process of formulating a purpose, the processes of achieving a purpose, or both simultaneously.

There are also questions about the participants whose performance is researched and whether external individuals should be regarded as part of the system. Different disciplines offer varying answers to these questions. For instance, some studies, such as those by Young-Choon et al. (2021), Javed and Husain (2021), Byukusenge et al. (2021), and Hall (2008, 2011), focus on managerial performance, while others, such as Eisenberg et al. (2021), Ronald and Marc (2021), Elyousfi et al. (2021), Mach and Baruch (2015), and Politis (2006), centre on team performance.

Furthermore, Otley (1999) introduces another factor by considering the recipients of an organisation's performance. For instance, Tucker and Pitt (2009) explore ways to enhance the measurement of customers' performance, Forslund (2007) and Laihonen et al. (2014) investigate the relationship between performance management practices and customers' expectations, and Gomes et al. (2006) examine the impact of customers and employees on the performance of manufacturing organisations. Similarly, various studies, such as those by Alimov (2018), Carvalho (2015), and Repetto and Austin (2001), focus on shareholder performance expectations and the influence of corporate environmental performance on shareholder value. The expanding scope of performance research in contemporary settings is

driven by the growing number of stakeholders to whom organisations deliver their performance, making this study area seemingly boundless.

At its core, the ongoing debates surrounding the participants whose performance is researched and the recipients of an organisation's performance revolve around defining the boundaries of the system and determining what should be included or excluded. While the concept of purpose is inherently unbounded (Berry et al., 2016), technical efficiencies can be analysed only within a bounded system (James, 2017). Therefore, studies typically establish boundaries that are most suitable for their specific purposes, and then define systems and sub-systems and discuss efficiency and effectiveness within those boundaries by examining the relationship between outputs and a given set of inputs.

Different scholarly streams tend to employ preferred approaches to express the relationships between inputs and outputs, often involving quantifying outputs and inputs to enable meaningful comparisons. Accountants, for instance, frequently quantify inputs and outputs in terms of their monetary value (including projected value) and suggest that efficiency gains can be achieved by increasing the value of outputs per unit of input or reducing the cost of inputs per unit of output (Berry et al., 2016). However, for more socially oriented research bodies the relationship between outputs and inputs, as well as the preference for quantification, is not solely a technical choice since individuals and institutions choose to quantify outputs and inputs based on the norms of their field and the expectations of their stakeholders.

2.2. Mainstream Theories of Performance in the Existing Literature

The theoretical foundations of performance research offer essential frameworks that help us comprehend and assess the effectiveness, efficiency, and results of diverse undertakings. These frameworks form the bedrock upon which various disciplines construct their unique approaches for researching, measuring, and overseeing performance. The theories remain dynamic, integrating fresh insights and adjusting to shifting paradigms, thus guaranteeing their ongoing significance in shaping our comprehension of performance in intricate and evolving systems. Consequently, I will roughly track their historical progression in the following description.

2.2.1. The financial-accounting based approaches

The study of the performance of modern organisations can be traced back to the emergence of scientific management (Giglioni and Bedeian, 1974) and the works of early writers such as Taylor (1913), Fayol (1916), and Emerson (1912). During the 1940s, with the simultaneous

trend of decentralisation across different organisational levels, pioneers like Trundle (1931), Goetz (1949), Rice (1947), and Wharton (1947) adopted a functional orientation and delineated strict boundaries around specific functions (e.g., manufacturing, accounting, and operations) or groups (e.g., board members, executives, managers, and administrators).

From the functional perspective, the prime motive of an organisation is its value creation defined in financial terms, as emphasised by Harris (2017). Therefore, firms primarily measured their performance through financial metrics and monetary measures (Albright et al., 2011; Kaplan and Norton, 1992; Otley, 2008; Kaplan and Norton, 1996b). Consequently, it is not surprising that "performance measurement is likely to be seen as the responsibility of the accounting and finance function" (Harris, 2017, p. 1).

Eccles (1991) argues that revolutions begin with gradual and subtle shifts that often go unnoticed for some time before being officially declared. He asserts that the surge in popularity of performance research in the late 1980s was indeed a revolution sparked by the recognition that "new strategies and competitive realities demand new measurement systems" (p. 131). Neely (1999) further explores the causes and consequences of this revolution, attributing it to the changing nature of work, increasing competition, improvement initiatives, awards, evolving organisational roles, shifting external demands, and the influence of information technology.

Nevertheless, starting in the 1980s, a multitude of writers began criticising the traditional accounting-based understanding of performance, including Dearden (1962), Skinner (1973), Hopwood (1976), Rappaport (1978), Banks and Wheelwright (1979), Richardson and Gordon (1980), Waterman and Peters (1982), Hall (1983), Kaplan (1984), Miller and Vollmann (1985), Goldratt and Cox (1984), Johnson and Kaplan (1987), Brimson and Berliner (1988), Hiromoto (1988), Schmenner (1988), Turney and Anderson (1989), Bromwich and Bhimani (1989), and many others. These critiques, as noted by Neely (1999), encompass a wide range of concerns. They condemn accounting-based analyses for favouring short-term results over long-term ones, lacking a strategic focus, responsiveness, and flexibility, promoting local optimisation, viewing quality as variance minimisation rather than enhancing standards, being historically driven and internally focused, and excluding external factors such as customers and competitors. Consequently, calls have been made to shift the focus from measuring financial performance to adopting a more balanced view of performance and the indicators used to assess it (Broadbent and Cullen, 2016).

2.2.2. Balanced approaches

By the early 1990s, mainstream researchers reached a consensus that the traditional accounting-based approach to performance was inadequate for managers' planning and control decisions, as it was considered "too late, too aggregated, and too distorted" (Johnson and Kaplan, 1987, p. 1) to be of use. Consequently, performance management gradually expanded its scope to achieve a more balanced perspective by exploring new areas within and beyond its traditional functional boundaries (Nilsson and Kald, 2002).

Various balanced approaches were introduced into the literature to address the limitations of the traditional understandings of performance. These mechanisms, such as the performance measurement matrix (Keegan and Eiler, 1989), the SMART pyramid (Lynch and Cross, 1992), the balanced scorecard (Kaplan and Norton, 1992), and the performance prism (Neely et al., 2002), aimed to provide a more comprehensive approach. They emphasised a balanced focus on both financial and operational perspectives, as well as a balance between short-term financial objectives and long-term, survival-related goals (Demartini, 2013).

Franco-Santos et al. (2012) point out that these newly introduced mechanisms constitute comprehensive performance management systems. For these authors, a comprehensive performance management system must fulfil three criteria: evaluating performance for informational or motivational purposes, having a supporting infrastructure, and involving specific information provision processes, measure design, and data capture. Hence, they do not consider traditional budgeting systems or activity-based costing systems as comprehensive performance management systems because they focus solely on cost drivers measured in financial terms.

However, Otley (1999) finds the term "system" too rational to be practical and suggests using the concept of packages, where different people can add different elements at different times. Regardless of the terminology used, these approaches complement the notion that traditional mechanisms enable the achievement of traditional financial objectives. In contrast, they aim to foster the drivers for achieving financial goals, namely the non-financial critical success factors that contribute to reaching financial targets (Demartini, 2013).

The balanced scorecard

The balanced scorecard, developed by Kaplan and Norton (1992), is widely recognised as one of the most well-known comprehensive performance management systems. By 2001, 44 per

cent of organisations worldwide and 57 per cent of organisations in the UK had adopted balanced scorecards (Neely et al., 2007).

While the application of non-financial measures of performance can be traced back to the 1950s, such as in General Electric, early attempts lacked integration with strategic objectives and the balancing of local and company considerations (Nørreklit, 2000). In contrast, the balanced scorecard offers a template that connects vision and strategy to actions through objectives, measures, targets, and initiatives. It operates as a feed-forward system, providing a comprehensive view of the business and facilitating organisational strategy implementation (Kaplan and Norton, 1992).

Kaplan and Norton positioned the balanced scorecard as an improvement upon traditional financial performance measurement, which was ill-equipped to handle the multidimensional nature of the real world, adapt to organisational change, or assist in strategy implementation (Demartini, 2013). As such, the balanced scorecard emerged from the perceived unnecessary distinction between financial and operational measures of performance. As operational measures gained prominence due to their relevance and adaptability, Kaplan and Norton proposed the integration of financial measures, which reflect past actions, with operational measures, which drive future financial performance (Kaplan and Norton, 1992).

The balanced scorecard aims to extend PMM into a strategic management system that encompasses critical processes such as translating vision and strategy, communicating and linking strategic objectives and measures, planning, target-setting, aligning strategic initiatives, and enhancing strategic feedback and learning (Kaplan and Norton, 1996b). Although it evolves over time (Figure 2.1), it primarily builds upon the tradition of feedback control by complementing financial measures with non-financial ones and incorporating leading and lagging indicators in a causal model (Hoque, 2014). every measure selected for a balanced scorecard should be part of a cause-and-effect relationship chain. The balanced scorecard assumes the existence of a linear causal relationship[1] vertically across the organisational

[1] A causal relationship between two logically independent events X and Y exists if X precedes Y in time, and hence that the occurrence of an event X necessarily, or highly probably, implies the subsequent occurrence of event Y, close to each other in time and space. To some scholars, causality is an indispensable part of the "strategic performance measurement system". To Webb (2004, p. 925), for example, "a strategic performance measurement system … is a set of causally linked nonfinancial and financial objectives, performance measures, and goals designed to align managers' actions with an organization's strategy". Others, (Nørreklit, 2007, for example), believe that the relationships among the various performance measures are more ambiguous and complex, and hence they suggest instead that interdependencies of various type and nature exist.

hierarchy and horizontally among the four perspectives of finance, customers, internal processes, and learning and growth (Nørreklit et al., 2007).

Year/paper type	Publication title	Key areas covered
1992/Article	The balanced scorecard—measures that drive performance	■ Introduction of balanced scorecard as a foundation for development ■ Balanced scorecard is a superior performance measurement that uses both financial and non-financial measures ■ Identification of the four perspectives: financial; customer; internal business; innovation and learning ■ Balanced scorecard is forward-looking (long-term performance)
1993/Article	Putting the balanced scorecard to work	■ Balanced scorecard is not only a measurement exercise, it is also a management system to motivate breakthrough improvement ■ Balanced scorecard has greatest impact when used to drive a change process ■ Identification that transparency is critical to a successful balanced scorecard ■ Measures on balanced scorecard must be specifically designed to fit firm's mission, strategy, technology, and culture
1996/Book	The balanced scorecard: Translating strategy into action	■ Balanced scorecard has evolved from a measurement system to a strategic management system ■ Identification of four major steps in successful balanced scorecard implementation ■ Reclassification of "internal business process" and "learning and growth", shifting innovation to internal business processes and adding growth element to employee learning ■ Measures are linked to each other in a causal relationship, unlike before, linked to strategy and vision
2001/Book	The strategy-focused organisation: How balanced scorecard companies thrive in the new competitive environment	■ Translating the strategy to operational terms: building strategy maps ■ Aligning the organisation to create synergies: creating business unit synergy ■ Making strategy everyone's everyday job: creating strategic awareness, defining personal and team objectives, the balanced paycheck ■ Making strategy a continual process: planning and budgeting, feedback and learning ■ Mobilising change through executive leadership
2004/Book	Strategy maps: Converting intangible assets into tangible outcomes	■ Visually map strategy ■ A visual cause-and-effect explanation of what's working and what's not, in a way that everyone in the company can understand ■ Helps get the entire organisation involved in strategy
2006/Book	Alignment: Using the balanced scorecard to create corporate synergies	■ Alignment: a source of economic value ■ Corporate strategy and structure ■ Aligning financial and customer strategies ■ Aligning internal process and learning and growth strategies: integrated strategic themes ■ Cascading: the process ■ Aligning boards and investors ■ Aligning external partners ■ Managing the alignment process ■ Total strategic alignment

Figure 02.1. Development of the balanced scorecard concept by Hoque (2014)

Critique of the balanced scorecard

The embedded causality in the balanced scorecard

Critiques of the balanced scorecard primarily revolve around its assumption that there is a linear causal relationship between the different dimensions of performance. While some scholars have found statistically significant evidence supporting this causality (Kober and Northcott, 2021; Humphreys et al., 2016; Banker et al., 2004, 2011; Tayler, 2010; Farrell et al., 2007; Webb, 2004), others have criticised it on both logical and empirical grounds (Otley, 1999; Malina and Selto, 2004). This lack of consensus in the literature can be attributed to methodological and statistical differences among studies and challenges in obtaining accurate internal organisational data (Nielsen and Nielsen, 2008). Empirical evidence supporting the proposed causal relationship in the balanced scorecard concept provided by Kaplan and Norton is limited (Cooper et al., 2017). Although practitioners often believe there is a causal relationship between the measures despite the empirical uncertainties (Nørreklit et al., 2007),

this oversimplification of the relationship and its ambiguous descriptions have been widely pointed out as issues in the literature (Nørreklit, 2000, 2012; Huelsbeck et al., 2011; Malina et al., 2007; Nørreklit and Mitchell, 2007; Bukh and Malmi, 2005).

The assumption that there are vertical causal linkages is crucial to the balanced scorecard concept and its use as a feed-forward control system. If the causality assumption proves to be invalid (even if it is only partly so),[2] it can lead to a flawed anticipation of performance indicators, dysfunctional organisational behaviour, suboptimal performance, partial implementation of the balanced scorecard, misalignment between strategic objectives and operations, and even the failure of balanced scorecard initiatives (Nørreklit, 2000; Bessire and Baker, 2005; Barnabè and Busco, 2012; de Haas and Kleingeld, 1999; Huelsbeck et al., 2011; Kober and Northcott, 2021).

When it comes to horizontal causation among perspectives, an even deeper and wider range of conceptual and empirical challenges has been raised. While the balanced scorecard focuses on identifying the causes of financial success, it overlooks the element of temporality, and specifically the time delay between causes and effects (Nielsen and Nielsen, 2008). Although Kaplan and Norton (1996a) acknowledge the time lag between causes and effects by emphasising the need for targets to be reached over time, the literature lacks an explicit consideration of time. The distinction between lead indicators (performance drivers) and output measures (lagging indicators) attempts to address this issue, but the notion of time remains implicit (de Haas and Kleingeld, 1999). The absence of explicit time considerations becomes significant when making decisions with inherent time delays, such as investments in research and development (R&D) and employee development (Malina and Selto, 2004).

Dealing with complexity, uncertainty and change

Critiques of the balanced scorecard also centre around the uncertainty inherent in its top-down approach, which involves cascading mission, vision, and strategic goals into drivers across the four areas. It presents both conceptual and practical challenges, as it contradicts the prevailing

[2] For example, if customer satisfaction does not necessarily yield good financial results. There are several discussions along this line. For example, as Nørreklit (2003, p. 592) puts it, "[I]t is not generic that increased customer loyalty is the cause of long-term financial performance. What we may claim is that customers which are not loyal are expensive, but it does not follow that loyal customers are inexpensive. Such a conclusion would be a logical fallacy. Similarly, although we know that, if it is raining, then the streets will be wet, we cannot conversely conclude that, if the streets are wet, then it is raining. Statistics cannot show that something is a logical fallacy. For example, financially successful firms only sell to loyal customers which are profitable; otherwise, the firms would not be successful; if a company has nothing but profitable loyal customers, the explanation may be that its management control system works well and that the company does not sell to non-profitable loyal customers. The creation of profitable loyal customers depends on the revenues and costs of making them loyal; it depends on a financial calculus, which is a logical relationship".

understanding that contemporary settings are characterised by uncertainty and dynamic relationships. In such settings, traditional hierarchical planning is deemed inadequate, and alternative mechanisms of mutual adjustment are deemed necessary (Hansen and Mouritsen, 2007).

The unidirectional causal chain of relations in the balanced scorecard's top-down approach fails to account for the complexity and uncertainty of the business environment. It essentially assumes a clear and predictable causal relationship between strategic goals and the drivers across different areas. However, in reality, the interplay between various factors and the dynamic nature of organisational contexts makes it difficult to establish a linear and predetermined chain of causality (Demartini, 2013; Malina and Selto, 2001; Chenhall, 2008).

The critique suggests that, instead of relying solely on hierarchical planning, organisations need flexible mechanisms that allow for mutual adjustment and adaptation to changing circumstances. By neglecting the inherent uncertainty and complexity of the business environment, the balanced scorecard may have limited effectiveness in helping organisations navigate and respond to dynamic challenges.

The embedded quantification in the balanced scorecard

Critiques of the balanced scorecard extend to the quantification of causal relationships and the limitations of measurement within its framework. The balanced scorecard aims to rigorously quantify these relationships to assess the impact of non-financial measures on performance and provide a comprehensive view of the operational environment. However, controversies arise regarding how to quantify these relationships effectively (Barnabè and Busco, 2012) which raise doubts about the balanced scorecard's ability to capture the full complexity of organisational reality, since it reduces the complexities of real-world situations (Hansen and Mouritsen, 2007; Nørreklit and Mitchell, 2007).

Kaplan himself suggests that more elaborate system dynamics models could enhance the balanced scorecard by incorporating comprehensive causal linkages with estimates of the magnitude, time delay, and feedback loops. While critics acknowledge that the simplified causal models used in the balanced scorecard, such as the strategy map, help to structure complex problems and facilitate decision-making (Banker et al., 2011; Vera-Munoz et al., 2007) they warn that it can constrain the boundaries of the framework externally, limiting managers' ability to make fundamental trade-offs (Miller and O'Leary, 1993). This external control may not be apparent from within the organisation, but it hinders the decision-making process.

Overall, the balanced scorecard's adherence to the accounting and control tradition assumes goal congruence and the top management's definition of goals (Malina et al., 2007; Nørreklit, 2000). This assumption presents challenges in integrating strategic and operational-level measures. It limits the scorecard's perspective on organisational performance relative to its competitors and broader considerations such as its human resources, employee satisfaction, supplier performance, quality, and the environmental and community issues an organisation faces.

The complexity of means-ends relationships within the balanced scorecard necessitates mapping these relationships to establish analytical links. However, as the complexity becomes apparent, the balanced scorecard's popularity as a persuasive rhetoric may overshadow its effectiveness (Nørreklit, 2003) since decision-makers may struggle to make decisions analytically within a framework where means-end relationships are neither linear nor causal (Humphreys et al., 2016; Banker et al., 2011; Umanath and Vessey, 1994).

Critique of other comprehensive approaches

Debatable normative claims and theoretical hypotheses are not unique to the balanced scorecard but are prevalent in various other comprehensive approaches to PMM. Other models, such as the performance measurement matrix, the SMART pyramid, Otley's performance management model, value-based management models, the APL model, the performance prism, and Kanji's business scorecard, all adopt the model of the firm as a technical system and incorporate a range of operational, strategic, financial, and non-financial performance measures (Demartini, 2013; Malina and Selto, 2004; Kanji and Sá, 2001).

These approaches aim to capture the key drivers of organisational success by integrating multiple objectives, performance measures, and goals (Webb, 2004). They typically employ reductionist approaches (at various levels) to model performance relationships among value-chain activities and desired outcomes, linking insights to financial results (Seyoum Eshetu, 2016; Magretta, 2002). However, the specification and measurement of causal relationships among performance measures are often lacking (Malina and Selto, 2004).

In this way, comprehensive approaches to PMM display a degree of similarities in terms of their normative claims, theoretical assumptions, and empirical frameworks. As such, the extent to which they can capture the complexity of social dynamics in contemporary organisations remains a crucial question that needs to be addressed. Moreover, the history of performance as a concept needs more explicit specifications, which impact on the understanding and validity of performance-related studies.

2.2.3. Recent approaches

As PMM theories and practices have faced criticism for hindering the ability of organisations and their employees to navigate the complexities of the modern business landscape (Hamel, 2009), the more recent body of PMM research has explicitly focused on the shortcomings of earlier research in addressing the complexities, uncertainties, and evolving nature of modern organisations and their social and natural contexts. Several authors have highlighted the need for alternative theoretical perspectives that embrace complexity and uncertainty to enable more effective PMM practices in dynamic business environments (Melnyk et al., 2014; Smith and Bititci, 2017; Bititci et al., 2018; Okwir et al., 2018; Alexander et al., 2018; Nudurupati et al., 2021).

The literature also acknowledges that businesses operate in varying levels of turbulence and experience different impacts from business trends (Prajogo, 2016). Harkness and Bourne (2015), for instance, identify growing environmental and organisational complexity as obstacles to implementing effective performance measurement systems. Melnyk et al. (2014) contribute to this argument by highlighting the evolving nature of performance management, stressing the importance of aligning PMM with the requirements of a turbulent environment for the success of organisations. Bennett and Lemoine (2014) assert that businesses operate in a "VUCA" environment characterised by volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity. In such an environment, it is argued that only agile firms that are capable of adapting and capitalising on underlying business trends can survive (Ashmore and Wedlake, 2016). However, the specific implications of these trends and the dynamic and volatile environment of PMM needs further investigation (Nudurupati et al., 2021). Hence, recognising these limitations, particularly in volatile and uncertain environments, growing numbers of recent contributions have emphasised the need to incorporate social and behavioural aspects in PMM research to help organisations navigate the complexities and uncertainties of the dynamic business landscape (Mackenzie and Bititci, 2023).

Moreover, Bititci (2015) notes that PMM research has predominantly focused on technical controls, with a limited understanding of social controls, which are often seen as mysterious or elusive. However, in environments characterised by great uncertainty in outcomes and solutions, organisational control shifts from technical controls, which rely on well-defined goals, targets, and measures, towards social controls, which involve securing a common belief system (purpose) and interactive work to achieve uncertain outcomes, as discussed by Melnyk et al. (2014). It has also been observed that in practice, organisations have started incorporating

social and environmental aspects into their PMMs (Delmas et al., 2013; Marquis and Qian, 2014).

Additionally, despite all these efforts, the impact of performance management on overall performance still remains inconclusive (Harkness and Bourne, 2015; Bititci et al., 2018). Bourne et al. (2013) highlight a general lack of understanding regarding the fundamental mechanisms and processes that explain how performance management actually works and contribute to performance. There is hence a need for further research and for an examination of its underlying mechanisms to enhance the conceptual framework and practical implementation of PMM (Micheli and Mari, 2014). Mackenzie and Bititci (2023) contend that the lack of compelling evidence supporting the positive impact of PMM systems on performance undermines the practical relevance of the concept and indicates an incomplete theoretical understanding of the issue.

2.2.4. The theoretical underpinnings of performance research

Very broadly speaking, performance research is underpinned and explained by two different theoretical perspectives: motivation theories (Sobótka and Platts, 2010) and cybernetic control theories supplemented with agency theory.

Motivation theories

Motivation theories, as suggested by Sobótka and Platts (2010), can be categorised into content theories, which examine the aims and motives behind specific behaviours, and process theories, which focus on the causes and direction of behaviour. Robbins et al. (2019) identify several early theories of motivation employed in performance research dating from the 1950s, including the hierarchy of needs theory, the two-factor theory, and McClelland's theory of needs. They also highlight contemporary theories that are commonly utilised in performance research, such as self-determination, goal-setting, self-efficacy, reinforcement, equity theory/organisational justice, and expectancy theories. While the early theories are still prevalent in practice, their validity has come into question. Robbins et al. (2019) argue that contemporary theories of motivation offer more insightful and useful perspectives by uncovering different aspects of motivational processes and tendencies.

However, Furnham (2005) points out that each of these theories appears to focus on only a portion of the truth. This recognition has led authors like Porter and Lawler (1968) to propose integrating them into one grand theory that can comprehensively describe the drivers of human behaviour.

Goal theory, with its focus on setting goals and assessing performance, has had a significant influence on conventional PMM research (Armstrong, 2009). Goals are defined as desired levels of performance to be achieved within a specified time frame (Latham and Locke, 2006) and serve as a widely used standard for appraising performance (Robertson et al., 1992). It is generally accepted that setting challenging goals has a positive impact on individual performance (Latham and Locke, 2006). However, the effects of goals and their level of difficulty on group performance are less clear (Chi and Huang, 2014; Wegge and Haslam, 2005; Weingart and Weldon, 1991). For instance, Linderman et al. (2006) caution against assuming that the results of goal theory for individuals can be directly applied to groups due to the ecological fallacy. They suggest that factors such as knowledge, skill, commitment, and goal congruence among different groups and individuals cannot be taken for granted (pp. 779–780). It is also argued that setting unachievable goals can lead to discouragement and demoralisation (Deming and Cahill, 2018).

Expectancy theory, originally developed by Vroom (1964), focuses on feedback and rewards as mechanisms for shaping desired organisational behaviour (DeNisi and Pritchard, 2006). This theory assumes that the stronger the links between elements in the motivation process, the higher the motivation for employees to improve performance (Armstrong, 2009). It relies on the existence of a causal relationship between effort, achievement, and reward, and it is rooted in a utilitarian view of human nature (Ilyana and Sholihin, 2021). However, here again the assumption that individual performance information can be extrapolated to group performance lacks strong theoretical and empirical support (Furnham, 2005). Furnham argues that expectancy theory is applicable to major decisions and complex jobs with higher levels of discretion within the organisation (Furnham, 2005, p. 346). To him the assumption that employees have minimal constraints on their discretion in making decisions does not reflect the reality of contemporary workplaces, as they are various contextual factors involved in the process.

Cybernetic control systems and organisational/management control theory

To Bititci (2015), despite the diverse perspectives employed to study this topic, the theoretical foundations of more recent PMM research are predominantly rooted in cybernetic control systems theory and organisational and management control theory. However, recent works acknowledge that while control theory provides valuable insights into PMM, it has potential drawbacks and limitations, including its neglect of social and human aspects, its oversimplification of organisational dynamics, its prioritising of compliance over innovation, and its incomplete representation of organisational context. It is necessary to recognise and

consider these drawbacks when conducting PMM research underpinned by control theory. Different approaches such as those emphasising the importance of incorporating social controls, considering unintended consequences, understanding the interplay between technical and social dimensions, and adapting PMM approaches to the organisational context have been taken in response to the drawbacks and limitations of control theory.

One of the limitations of control theory is that it often places a strong emphasis on technical controls and formal systems, neglecting the social and human aspects of PMM (Otley, 1999). As a result, it may overlook the influence of employees' behaviour, motivation, and collaboration, all of which are vital in driving performance (Otley, 1999; Chenhall, 2003). By overlooking these factors, control theory may fail to capture the full range of dynamics that impact organisational performance (Chenhall, 2003).

To strengthen the theoretical underpinnings of PMM, Smith and Bititci (2017) highlight the notion of technical and social controls in PMM research. They conceptualise technical controls, represented by the Performance Measurement System, and social controls, associated with performance management, as two distinct but interconnected dimensions of PMM. Technical controls pertain to the rational, planned, bureaucratic, and structural elements of organisations, while social controls encompass the cultural and behavioural routines that shape the use of a performance measurement system in managing organisational performance. Social controls focus on an organisation's emergent, cultural, and behavioural aspects, including shared values, collaboration, participatory decision-making, open and honest information sharing, and trust. As such, by introducing the concepts of technical and social controls, Smith and Bititci (2017) aim to elucidate the interplay between performance measurement, performance management, employee engagement, and overall performance. Their framework recognises the importance of considering rational, structured elements (technical controls) and cultural and behavioural elements (social controls) in comprehending the complexities of PMM and its impact on organisational outcomes.

Building upon the same notions, Bititci et al. (2018) argued that the existing PMM research has predominantly focused on the technical aspects, neglecting the social controls dimension. As a result, the understanding of social controls within PMM is still limited, as is the nature of the interaction between technical and social control dimensions in PMM. They suggest that the organisational control theory, as conceptualised by Simons (1995), Tessier and Otley (2012), and Smith and Bititci (2017), can potentially provide a foundation for understanding the interplay between the technical and social dimensions of PMM to bridge the gap between

the technical and social aspects of PMM. Without a comprehensive understanding of both social and technical aspects, performance measurement systems are likely to be unresponsive and vulnerable in emerging contexts (Okwir et al., 2018).

Likewise, Beer and Micheli (2018) focus on the social aspects of PMM through a comprehensive review of research conducted in social value measurement. They uncover the fundamental assumptions that underlie social value measurement and the implications of these assumptions for PMM. Their essential message emphasises the need for a shift in performance measurement research from focusing on the technical intricacies of measurement towards more human-centred practices and positive experiences. From the perspective of social value measurement, Beer and Micheli (2018) advocate performance measurement systems and practices that strike a balance between technical and social controls. They suggest incorporating both aspects to achieve effective and holistic performance measurement.

Another potential limitation of control theory as the theoretical foundations of PMM research is that it often simplifies complex organisational dynamics and processes and assumes that control mechanisms can be applied universally and consistently across all contexts (Merchant and Otley, 2007). However, organisations are dynamic and multifaceted, and control theory may oversimplify the complexities involved in PMM. Okwir et al. (2018) investigate the sources of the internal organisational complexity that arises when implementing and using performance management systems through the lens of Smith and Bititci's (2017) organisational control perspective. They observe that the impact of a performance management system is influenced by the complexity of the organisational structures involved in decision-making and operations. They adopt a complexity theory framework, which has evolved from systems theory and see performance measurement systems as complex adaptive social systems. To them, a significant implication of understanding the complexity of performance measurement is the need for organisations to respond systematically to a diverse range of best practices by carefully considering the unique context in which they operate. Okwir et al. (2018) hence theorised that both the technical and social complexity associated with PMM could be reduced as performance measurement systems mature and evolve into enabling systems.

Thirdly, control theory also encourages organisations to prioritise compliance, standardisation, and maintaining stability (Chenhall, 2003). This focus may discourage innovation, creativity, and experimentation, as it promotes adherence to predetermined metrics and targets. Overreliance on control mechanisms can stifle entrepreneurial thinking

and limit organisations' ability to adapt and explore new opportunities as they evolve over time. Van Fenema and Keers (2018) develop a co-evolutionary process model for inter-organisational performance management implementation. According to their conceptualisation, PMM practices at both the organisational and inter-organisational levels co-evolve. This co-evolution facilitates sense-making, cross-checking, conceptual modelling, and dynamic value management.

Approaching from a systems point of view (Ackoff, 1971), Bourne et al. (2018a) see this as interconnected evolving socio-technical systems. The concept of a "system of systems" refers to the integration of multiple independent systems whose essential characteristics are autonomy, belonging, connectivity, diversity, and emergence into a larger, interconnected system. The system-of-system approach deals with the complexity that arises when these systems interact and influence each other to achieve common objectives, focusing on the integration and behaviour of interconnected systems (Maier, 1998). Bourne et al. (2018a) propose building on previous work on the technical and social controls of PMM and the components of management control systems to extend our knowledge of how these systems are interrelated and to enable the measurement and management of performance in dynamic and complex environments.

Fourthly, there is little consideration of unintended consequences when it comes to control theory as well. Control theory focuses primarily on the way organisations achieve desired outcomes through their control mechanisms. However, it may not sufficiently consider the potential unintended consequences of implementing control systems (Malmi et al., 2023). Failing to account for these unintended consequences may lead to suboptimal outcomes or even undermine the effectiveness of PMM. Franco-Santos and Otley (2018) studied some of the unintended consequences of performance measurement systems and strove to gain insights into the reasons for these consequences. They firmly established the foundation of performance measurement and its unintended consequences within organisational control theory, specifically focusing on formal (technical/rational) and informal (cultural/social) controls.

Additionally, they identify contingency, stewardship, and agency theories as relevant frameworks that help us to understand the factors leading to unintended consequences in performance measurement. By conceptualising agency and stewardship theories, the authors draw a parallel between these perspectives and the two ends of the social controls dimension

in organisational controls. They associate agency theory with command and control (directive) approaches, and stewardship theory with participative and democratic (enabling) practices.

Fifthly, control theory often represents organisational context incompletely. It typically focuses on the internal control mechanisms in organisations. While this offers insights into managing internal processes, it may not adequately consider the broader external environment and its impact on PMM (Bisbe et al., 2007). Factors such as market conditions, the competitive landscape, and regulatory requirements play a crucial role in shaping performance, and control theory may not fully account for these external influences. Concerning the turbulent and dynamic environment within which organisations operate, Melnyk et al. (2014) argue that the organisational context plays a crucial role in shaping PMM practices. They emphasise that organisations need to adapt their PMM approaches based on the specific characteristics of their context and the level of specificity required for defining outcomes and solutions. They propose four distinct approaches to organisational controls based on the level of specificity required to define these outcomes and solutions.

Finally, control theory also is very limited in its ability to accommodate flexibility. It emphasises the establishment of rigid control mechanisms and standardised processes. This can hinder organisational agility and adaptability, as it may not account for the need to respond quickly to changing market conditions or adopt innovative approaches. The focus on control may limit the exploration of new ideas and inhibit organisational learning. Nudurupati et al. (2021) argue that an improvement in performance is associated with reduced technical controls, a shift towards outcome-driven solutions with less rigid performance measurement systems, and an increased emphasis on the social dimension of control. They propose a framework based on organisational control theory (Smith and Bititci, 2017) and the performance alignment matrix (Melnyk et al., 2014) to explore the relationship between performance alignment and various control mechanisms in organisations, emphasising the evolving nature of PMM in response to contemporary and emerging business trends in turbulent operating environments.

2.2.5. Recent theories incorporating social features in PMM research

In recent years, there has been a noticeable shift towards theorising social rather than technical aspects in PMM research, which reflects a growing recognition of the complex nature of organisations. As a consequence of this changing perspective, researchers have turned to various theories and frameworks that offer insights into the social aspects of organisations to provide alternative lenses for understanding and evaluating organisational performance. For

instance, theories like stakeholder theory, complexity theory and social network theory, decision theory and organisational practices have gained prominence in this evolving research landscape. By drawing on these and other theories, researchers try to explore and measure the social dynamics within organisations, and to shed light on how social factors shape performance outcomes.

Using decision theory, Alexander et al. (2018) have tackled the challenges to PMM presented by volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity in operations environments, which are widely recognised as barriers to effective PMM (Bennett and Lemoine, 2014). They observed variations among organisational cultures, with some prioritising predictability and control, while others acknowledged the necessity of responsive and decentralised PMM due to the unpredictable external environment. These authors argue that by considering the influence of cultural logic on decision-making, possible misalignments between PMM and the operations environment can be managed and reduced.

Pavlov and Bourne (2011) adopted an organisational practices perspective to explain the connection between performance measurement and organisational performance. They propose a theoretical model that outlined the effects of performance measurement on performance within organisational processes. According to this model, performance measurement exerts three distinct effects: to catalyse change, guide decision-making processes, and intensify efforts towards achieving performance goals. By understanding these effects, they argue, organisations can strategically leverage performance measurement to enhance performance and drive continuous improvement.

Armstrong (2019) explored the implications of adopting a critical realist position for studying PMM systems. He states that by adopting a critical realist perspective, the study of PMM can examine the underlying social structures, mechanisms, and causal relationships that shape PMM systems and uncover the contextual factors that influence the design, implementation, and outcomes of these systems. Adopting a critical realist perspective in studying PMM systems allows for a comprehensive understanding of the multidimensional nature of PMM and provides deeper insights into the complexities of PMM systems and their interaction with the changing organisational and social context.

Barney (2020) proposes adopting a stakeholder-based perspective in PMM research. He calls for a comprehensive theory that takes into account the dynamics and interdependencies among stakeholders in broad contexts. He believes that by adopting a stakeholder-based perspective, PMM can move towards a broader set of performance measures that reflect the contributions

and impacts of various stakeholders. This approach aligns with strategic management theory and recognises the strategic importance of stakeholder relationships in achieving long-term success and sustainability.

From a stakeholder salience theory perspective, Conaty and Robbins (2021) address one particular stakeholder group; namely, society as an environmental stakeholder. Stakeholder salience theory uses three stakeholder attributes of power, legitimacy, and urgency to identify stakeholders and categorise their salience. Conaty and Robbins (2021) highlight a deficit in reflecting the environmental stakeholder's objectives in the design of accountability and reporting elements of performance management systems. Their findings support the need for research to understand the relationship between the reporting elements of performance management systems and stakeholder objectives. They hence call for further research to bridge the gap between stakeholder's objectives and performance management systems reporting, viewing performance as a construct of the articulated perceptions of organisational stakeholders.

Mackenzie and Bititci (2023) adopt a social systems perspective to develop their PMM theory to highlight the central role of people and to capture the complexities of human behaviour and social interactions within organisations. They have observed a lack of sufficient studies that evaluate performance measurement from a social systems perspective and argue that the control systems paradigm is inadequate in explaining the social reality of the PMM phenomenon. These authors hence propose a social systems-based framework rooted in social systems theory and practice theory. They emphasise the active role of people in PMM and argue that PMM's social dimension is operational through human interactions within organisations. To them, it is the human responses to volatility and uncertainty that significantly impact on performance outcomes. Since human behaviour, with its capability for diverse interpretations and decision-making, does not align well with a control systems perspective, Mackenzie and Bititci draw upon Margaret Archer's work on social realism as their theoretical underpinning. Hence, their framework places people at the centre of PMM, acknowledging their active role. The authors note that the relationship between performance management and performance involves complex people processes that often require iterative trial-and-error approaches rather than large-scale initiatives.

Focusing on the complex interactions among individuals and teams within the organisation, Pavlov and Micheli (2023) propose we view organisations as complex systems and see their performance as an emergent property of these systems from a complexity theory perspective.

Their approach acknowledges the value of cybernetics and systems science but takes into account a broader range of factors that influence organisational complexity and performance. To them, while cybernetics-based approaches focus on meso and macro level phenomena, it neglects the influence of individuals' agency and interpretive capacity (a micro level focus) which is essential to understand the dynamics of organisational performance.

2.2.6. The importance and significance of a social approach

Bourne et al. (2018b) emphasises the importance of building theories that recognise the growing significance of the behaviour and interactions of individuals and groups in an organisation. They argue that by acknowledging the influence of factors such as motivations, attitudes, and social dynamics, theories can provide a more comprehensive understanding of organisational performance. They hence called for the development of theories that operate at all levels of the organisation and encompass the different levels of analysis. To them, these levels could include the inter-organisational level (which is particularly relevant in a world where supply chain management plays a vital role), the macro or top management levels of organisations and the micro levels (such as functions, groups, and individuals).

Similarly, Mackenzie and Bititci (2023) point to the theoretical gap covering various organisational levels in PMM research. To these authors, one common issue among the more recent works is that PMM theoretical frameworks do not accurately reflect social reality, specifically in relation to their conflation of structure and agency. which occurs when two distinct concepts (structure and agency) are blended or blurred within a framework or analysis. Structure and agency are two complementary yet separate components used to understand social phenomena.

In sociology and social theory, the "structure" refers to the external factors, institutions, and systems that shape and influence individual and collective behaviour (Giddens, 1984). It includes social norms, rules, cultural values, economic systems, organisational structures, and other social arrangements that constrain or enable individuals' actions. On the other hand, "agency" refers to the capacity of individuals or groups to act, make choices, and exert influence within the social structures and contexts they find themselves in (Archer, 2000). It addresses human autonomy, intentionality, and the ability to actively shape and change social structures.

Structure and agency are conflated when these two concepts are not properly distinguished or treated separately. In this case, the framework or analysis fails to recognise the interplay and

dynamic relationship between the social structures that shape behaviour and the agency of individuals within those structures.

In the context of PMM, as Mackenzie and Bititci (2023) argue, when structure and agency are conflated PMM frameworks cannot adequately capture the distinct influences and interactions of either to understand organisational performance as it really is. This conflation can lead to a limited understanding of social phenomena, as it overlooks the reciprocal nature of their influence (Archer, 2000). It can result in an oversimplification of complex social dynamics and may neglect the nuanced ways in which individuals navigate, act, and negotiate in the broad social contexts (Sewell, 1992). When structure and agency are conflated, we risk underestimating the impact of structural constraints on individual and organisational behaviour. We might attribute outcomes solely to individual choices, ignoring the way that underlying institutional frameworks, rules, and norms influence actions. It can also lead us to a static view of organisations, disregarding their capacity to adapt and modify their practices in response to changing circumstances. Moreover, by neglecting the structural factors that influence performance, accountability for outcomes might be disproportionately attributed to individuals, teams, or organisations. This can lead to unfair assessments and missed opportunities for systemic improvements.

2.3. A Structuration Approach to PMM

2.3.1. Levels of analysis

Structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) provides a theory of social reality that distinguishes between structure and agency and offers an accurate understanding of how society operates at various levels. From a structuration perspective, PMM can be approached at three levels: micro, meso, and macro (Roberts, 2020). Each level focuses on different aspects of the complex phenomenon under study, providing a comprehensive understanding of its ongoing dynamics and evolution.

At the micro level, the focus is on organisations and how they shape and are shaped by the wider social environment. It examines how organisations interpret and respond to their social context, the strategies they use to adapt to changes in their context, and how their actions influence their context. For example, individual companies may engage in lobbying efforts, seek exemptions, or adjust their operational practices to respond to policy shifts. The micro level analysis explores the agency of supply chain actors and their capacity to influence the policy process. Among the prominent scholars who have engaged with structuration theory at the micro level, are Gerald Davis, whose research explores how organisations and institutions

interact within broader societal contexts, shaping and being shaped by the prevailing social structures. Likewise, Haridimos Tsoukas has used structuration theory to examine knowledge and sensemaking processes within organisations. His research highlights how structures and agency interact in shaping the creation, dissemination, and utilisation of knowledge within organisational contexts.

Studies at the meso level look at the activities that go on between the various supply chain actors and map how they collectively influence their social context. They examine the network of relationships, collaborations, and power dynamics among supply chain members, government agencies, industry associations, and other stakeholders involved in the policy arena and analyse how these interactions shape the context in which organisations operate and the strategies they employ to navigate their social environment. For instance, industry associations may coordinate efforts to advocate policy changes or negotiate with policymakers on behalf of their members. The focus at this level is on how social structures and agency interact not only within individual organisations but also among different organisations and entities. Again, numerous influential researchers have studied the application of structuration theory to inter-organisational relationships and networks. For instance, Roy Suddaby's work in organisation studies and institutional theory often incorporates structuration theory to explore topics such as inter-organisational relationships, institutional change, and historical processes. His research sheds light on how organisations navigate and influence broader social structures.

Works at the macro level focus on the broad societal, economic, and political contexts within which organisations operate. They analyse the influence of factors such as economic regulations, political ideologies, cultural norms, and technological advancements on the policy landscape. They also explore how the social environment, in turn, shape the overall structure of the supply chain and its operations. For example, changes in trade agreements or environmental regulations can have far-reaching effects on supply chain strategies, procurement decisions, and operational practices. Among several prominent scholars who uses a macro-level structuration perspective are David Courpasson, who does research in organisation studies and management. He has applied structuration theory to examine macro level phenomena, such as the role of institutions, power dynamics, and societal norms in shaping organisational practices and strategies. Similarly, Paul DiMaggio's research in organisational theory and sociology has explored the role of cultural and institutional factors at the macro level in shaping organisations and their behaviour, aligning quite well with key concepts of structuration theory.

2.3.2. Why use a structuration approach?

This research argues that the structuration approach is well-suited to PMM studies, as it takes into account the complexities and interdependencies of social structures, agency, and reflexivity. It facilitates a holistic analysis of how actors, activities, and broader structural factors collectively contribute to organisational performance in today's complex environments. Similarly, the intricate interplay between PMM and the social environments in which organisations operate can be explained by employing structuration theory, thus shedding light on the dynamic processes that drive performance outcomes. Not only does it offer valuable insights into all three levels of analysis (micro, meso, and macro) but also it provides a nuanced understanding of how various actors, activities, and broader structural factors collectively shape and impact on organisational performance. The structuration perspective also recognises some of the unique characteristics and requirements of the PMM field, enabling a comprehensive understanding of PMM in contemporary settings, which allows for an exploration of the specific mechanisms and contextual factors that influence performance within organisations:

Focus on social structures and agency: PMM research often involves examining the interplay between organisational structures, processes, and individual actions within a network of interconnected entities. Structuration theory, with its emphasis on the recursive relationship between social structures and agency, provides a suitable framework for understanding how these structures and individual actions mutually influence and shape each other.

Reflexivity and adaptation: Organisations operate in dynamic and ever-changing environments, necessitating constant adaptation and reflexivity. Structuration theory highlights the role of actors' reflexive monitoring and modification of their actions in response to changing social structures. This conceptualisation aligns well with the need to understand how organisations adapt, respond, and reshape their practices to meet evolving demands and challenges.

Complexity and interdependencies: Organisations are complex systems with multiple interdependencies among actors, processes, and resources. Structuration theory recognises the inherent complexity of social systems and provides a framework to analyse the interdependencies, power dynamics, and emergent properties. It helps us to unearth the intricate relationships and feedback loops that exist among organisations and structures.

Multilevel analysis: Organisations operate at multiple levels, which necessitates interactions between individuals, organisations, and broad institutional contexts. Structuration theory offers

a multilevel analytical lens, allowing us to examine how actions at different levels shape and are shaped by social structures. This is particularly relevant for understanding how decisions and actions at individual and organisational levels reverberate through the supply chain and influence its overall functioning.

Practical implications: The insights gained from structuration theory can have practical implications for PMM design. By understanding the interplay between structures and agency, we can identify opportunities for improving coordination, enhancing communication, and aligning organisational practices with the broader network dynamics.

2.3.3. Key attributes of Sztompka's structuration view

Sztompka's structuration perspective offers a distinctive approach within the broader framework of structuration theory. He extends the ideas of Anthony Giddens' structuration theory by focusing on the interpretive nature of social reality and the dynamic interplay between actors and structures. From this perspective, performance can be viewed as organisations' ability to adapt and effectively operate within the dynamic social structure that both enables and constrains them. This perspective also explains the interplay mechanisms between agents, agency, and structures analytically. It offers the following four key features that are essential to understand performance in the face of ongoing change in contemporary organisations.

Firstly, it acknowledges the importance of the capacities of the agents, referred to as agential trait.[3] This involves examining the skills, abilities, knowledge, and resources possessed by individuals, groups, organisations or the supply chain that enable them to perform within their social context.

Secondly, it addresses the structural conduciveness of the social structure. This means the inherent predispositions within the structure that either facilitate or hinder the actions and choices of the agents (Sztompka, 1999). It involves understanding how the structure provides opportunities, resources, and support to individuals, groups or organisations to perform effectively, as well as the barriers or constraints they may encounter.

Thirdly, it takes into account historical contexts which encompass the accumulated and lasting outcomes of earlier actions, often unintended, and have shaped the present social structure (Sztompka, 1999). Understanding the historical context helps us appreciate the influence of

[3] Sztompka calls this agential endowment.

past events, decisions, and practices on the current performance dynamics. It permits a deeper understanding of the factors that have shaped the existing social structure and their impact on performance.

Lastly, the interplay mechanisms between agency, agents, and structures are central to this structuration perspective. This allows us to explain how agents both draw upon and reproduce existing structures through their actions, while structures simultaneously enable and constrain the agency of agents. It offers a framework for understanding how agency and structure are mutually constitutive, recognising that individuals, groups, and organisations both shape and are shaped by the social structures in which they are embedded.

By further investigating these features – agential traits, structural conduciveness, historical context, and the interplay mechanisms – we can develop a comprehensive understanding of performance using Sztompka's structuration perspective. Most importantly, this approach recognises the complex interplay between various levels in shaping performance outcomes. It also highlights the importance of aligning agential and structural traits and processes to achieve desired performance targets in contemporary organisational settings that are subject to ongoing change. As Sztompka's structuration perspective forms the basis for theory development in this research (explained extensively in the methodology chapter), I now outline these features and their implications in the subsequent discussion.

Agential traits

Agential traits are the assets, resources, and characteristics that agents possess, enabling them to utilise the opportunities provided by the structural environment and make decisions on how to act (Luhmann, 1979). These traits act as a mediating link between resources and outcomes, as agents' decisions and choices hinge upon their personal characteristics (Sztompka, 1999; Giddens, 1991).

Agential traits also include the assets inherent in social relations and networks, benefiting individual actors based on their relative status (Leana and Van Buren, 1999). I argue that at the organisational level, agential traits are manifested as organisational social capital, reflecting the character of the social relations within the organisation (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998). They enhance the organisation's capabilities and contribute to a superior performance, shaped by collective goal orientation among members (Leana and Van Buren, 1999).

Agential traits are a resource that evolves over time, changing with the dynamics of relationships and rewards, and it disappears when the relationships cease to exist (Leana and

Van Buren, 1999). While it is typically beyond control or manipulation, agential traits play a crucial role in linking structural opportunities with the ability to perform (Sitkin and Roth, 1993; Granovetter, 1985). They form a foundation for measuring and managing performance, as they highlight the differences in capacities and capabilities among agents navigating social structures (Sztompka, 1999).

In the following, I list Sztompka's agential traits, which come into play when agents interact with social structures and influence performance outcomes. Understanding these traits (efficiency, regularity, accountability, reliability, fairness, benevolence, and representativeness) provides an insight into the capabilities, resources, and characteristics of individuals and organisations, which shape their ability to perform effectively within specific contexts.

Efficiency

Efficiency means "the number and quality of outputs and the economies realised in transforming inputs into outputs" (Scott, 2003, p. 351) in this context. However, from a structuration perspective, efficiency reflects confidence in agents and their ability to achieve desired ends. The question: "[A]re they sufficiently adept in their functions – in achieving their respective goals and in producing high-quality goods and services – that they merit social support in spite of problems they raise?" is answered by exploring their efficiency (Scott, 2003, p. 325).

Regularity

Sztompka used this term to mean the stability, predictability, and orderliness of social phenomena and patterns. Regularity within a social system signifies the existence of consistent and recurring behavioural and normative patterns. The term is associated with the idea that social life follows certain rules, norms, and routines that provide order and coherence. This characteristic helps actors understand and navigate their social environment by providing a level of predictability and continuity. Regularity is observed in the actual behaviour of actors rather than in normative prescriptions or cognitive patterns (Davis, 1949), and it encompasses recurrent activities, interactions, and sentiments displayed with consistency and constancy by similar actors (Scott, 2003).

Accountability

This term refers to the expectation that actors will take responsibility for their actions and be answerable to others for the consequences of those actions. It involves being held accountable for one's behaviour and being subject to evaluation and judgement by others based on agreed-

upon standards or norms (Sztompka, 1999). The existence of accountability ensures that actors are held to certain standards of conduct and can be held responsible for any violations or failures to meet those standards. It ensures they conform to authorised structures and certified procedures, irrespective of outcomes (Scott, 2003). This aspect of social life promotes transparency, trust, and the proper functioning of social systems (Sztompka, 1999) and includes mechanisms that indicate a willingness for self-criticism and openness to improving existing processes and procedures (Vigoda-Gadot and Mizrahi, 2014).

Reliability

To Sztompka (1999), reliability is the ability of social processes and interactions to produce the same or similar outcomes consistently. It is related to the notion that social systems can be relied upon to function consistently and dependably. It characterises the consistency and stability of social phenomena or systems over time. Nevertheless, as a trait of actors, it is not very compatible with change because when actors are overly focused on being reliable they often lose their flexibility to respond to change and social situations (Hannan et al., 2004).

Fairness

According to Sztompka (1999), fairness captures the quality that ensures that social interactions, practices, and outcomes are just and equitable. It encompasses both distributive fairness, which involves the equitable allocation of resources, opportunities, and rewards in society, and procedural fairness, which focuses on the fairness of the formal procedures used to make decisions (Luo, 2008). Procedural fairness is based on four key principles (Blader and Tyler, 2003): making processes fair, ensuring transparency in actions, providing opportunities for all individuals to voice their concerns, and making impartial decisions. It has been suggested that procedural justice has a significant positive impact on actors' reactions and perceptions, often outweighing the influence of outcomes. This concept also underscores the significance of fairness in resource allocation and dispute resolution (Blader and Tyler, 2003).

Benevolence

Benevolence is a disposition or attitude characterised by goodwill, kindness, and a genuine concern for the well-being of others (Jarvenpaa et al., 1998; Sako, 1992). It can be expressed through acts of generosity, compassion, and empathy, and by demonstrating genuine concern for others' welfare. Benevolence often goes beyond egocentric profit motives and involves offering preferential treatment or help whenever the need arises (Jarvenpaa et al., 1998; Sako, 1992). Sako and Helper (1996), see benevolence in the absence of opportunistic behaviour and when agents go beyond the formal governance structures of contracts, hierarchies, and laws.

Mayer et al. (1995) note that the perceived level of benevolence can vary according to the context of the situation and the perceived similarity between individuals.

Representativeness

Representativeness refers to the extent to which individuals, groups or organisations accurately reflect and represent a larger population, or to the social system's interests, perspectives, and characteristics. To ensure representativeness involves satisfying the majority's interests and reaching reasonable compromises among conflicting interests. It addresses the notion of acting on behalf of others and representing their interests rather than pursuing self-enhancement (Sztompka, 1996) and opposes paternalistic and autocratic forms of behaviour. Representative behaviour encourages an inclusive approach where all involved players have a voice. It extends beyond the formal boundaries of an organisation and includes representing the interests of constituencies or stakeholders outside the organisation (Scott, 2003).

Structural conduciveness

To Sztompka (1999), structural conduciveness refers to the structural and situational arrangements within which actions and interactions occur. Hence it is an essential factor in understanding social dynamics. Giddens (1984) notes that agents contribute to the creation and maintenance of their own social context through their interactions, by utilising social structures such as rules and resources. This process results in the constant reformulation of the larger social system in which they are embedded. In order to evaluate performance, it is necessary to consider the influence of social structures on agents' behaviours and decisions. To Sztompka, structural conduciveness, which encompassing both contextual and macro-societal predispositions (Bachmann and Inkpen, 2011), forms the foundation for measuring and managing performance. Sztompka (1999) identifies five macro-societal contexts that contribute to this framework; namely, the normative coherence, stability, transparency, familiarity and accountability of social structures.

Normative coherence

Normative coherence entails the systematic and predictable nature of social conduct by reference to norms, which increases the likelihood of expectations and obligations to be met and mutual trust (Sztompka, 1999). The concept captures the degree of consistency and predictability in social behaviour based on shared norms within a society.

According to Sztompka (1999), normative coherence is facilitated by factors such as legislation, moral norms, and customary practices. Legislation means the formal laws and

regulations that are established by governing bodies to provide a legal framework for behaviour. Moral norms, on the other hand, are ethical standards and principles that are generally accepted within a society. Customary practices are traditions and behavioural patterns that have developed over time and are considered socially acceptable.

The existence of normative coherence serves to create clear patterns or blueprints that agents can follow in their social interactions. By providing such guidelines and expectations, norms shape agents' behaviour and help maintain order and stability within a society. When agents adhere to these norms, it increases the likelihood that expectations will be gratified, desires and needs will be met, and obligations fulfilled, and that agents will fulfil their responsibilities and duties.

Stability

The existence of stability in a social structure plays a crucial role in providing actors with firm reference points, serving as a foundation for their social interactions and fostering feelings of security, support, and comfort (Sztompka, 1999). In a stable social system, actors can rely on established patterns of behaviour and expectations, which contributes to the predictability and order of the situation. This, in turn, fosters a sense of trust in their interactions with others. When actors have a clear understanding of how others are expected to behave and what to expect from them, it enhances their confidence in engaging with others and forming social relationships.

However, a recognition of the importance of stability does not imply that social change is not desirable. Sztompka (1999) suggests that social change can be embraced as long as it follows a predictable and consistent trajectory. When social change occurs in a gradual, regular, predictable, and coherent manner, individuals can adapt to the evolving circumstances, and adjust their expectations and behaviours accordingly. This allows actors to maintain a sense of continuity and provides them with the ability to anticipate and navigate the changes effectively. In such cases, social change does not disrupt the fundamental reference points and patterns of behaviour that underpin stability. Instead, it becomes integrated into the existing social structures and norms, allowing for a smooth transition and adaptation to new circumstances. By maintaining a predictable and consistent trajectory, social change can be seen as an opportunity for growth and improvement, rather than a source of uncertainty or upheaval.

Transparency

Transparency in social structures indicates the extent to which information and knowledge about the architecture and principles of operations are readily available (Hosking, 2009).

Transparent structures are characterised by allowing open access to relevant information, including well-reported past outcomes and mechanisms for sufficient inspection. This transparency enhances the likelihood of expectations being met within the system (Hosking, 2009).

When a social structure is transparent, actors have a clear understanding of how it operates, the rules that govern it, and the factors that influence its functioning. This knowledge allows them to make informed decisions, assess the reliability and trustworthiness of the system, and adjust their expectations accordingly. Transparent structures provide agents with confidence and assurance by offering them insights into past outcomes and allowing them to engage in critical evaluation. In some cases, transparency is achieved when actors are constantly visible, and their activities can be directly monitored (Giddens, 1991). This visibility enables others to observe and evaluate their actions, which, in turn, facilitates accurate predictions of outcomes.

However, Luhmann (1979) argues that in less transparent or highly complex systems, actors recognise their dependence on a system that cannot be fully comprehended. In these situations, trust emerges as a means of navigating and engaging with the system, even though its complexity may exceed one person's complete understanding. Trust in elicited when actors believe that the system is potentially comprehensible or that it operates in a reliable manner, despite its inherently abstract or opaque nature.

Familiarity

Familiarity with the social environment plays a significant role in reducing perceptions of uncertainty and insecurity among actors (Beck, 2007; Giddens, 1990). When individuals are familiar with their social surroundings, they feel they can take it for granted, in which case the environment becomes more familiar and less complex, leading to a reduction in unpredictability (Möllering, 2006; Luhmann, 1979). Familiarity encompasses a range of characteristics, including individuals' knowledge of the immediate natural, technological, and social surroundings (Sztompka, 1999; Muehlberger and Bertolini, 2008; Schilke et al., 2017). When actors are familiar with the regularities and routines of their immediate surroundings, they can anticipate and navigate the behaviour of others, which reduces their uncertainty and promotes in them a sense of security.

Furthermore, familiarity serves as the basis for social interactions in which perceived risk is reduced. This can lead actors to suspend critical questions about the trustworthiness of their interactants (Cook, 2005; Bachmann and Inkpen, 2011; Gulati, 1995).

Accountability

The presence of accountability plays a crucial role in establishing and maintaining relations within social systems. It serves as a form of insurance, ensuring that obligations will be respected (Hosking, 2009). By holding actors accountable for their actions and decisions, trust can be built and maintained in interpersonal relationships, organisations, and society as a whole. Institutions, standards, checks, and controls of conduct are important mechanisms that contribute to accountability and help diminish the danger of abuse (Sztompka, 1999). These mechanisms provide a framework within which individuals and organisations may be held responsible for their actions. Institutions, such as legal systems or regulatory bodies, set expectations and enforce rules to ensure compliance and accountability. Standards define acceptable behaviour and provide guidelines for conduct. Checks and controls, such as audits, inspections, or oversight processes, can be used to monitor and evaluate actions to identify and address potential abuses or violations.

By establishing accountability mechanisms, the regularity of procedures can be safeguarded (Sztompka, 1999). These mechanisms create transparency and a sense of fairness by ensuring that actions and decisions are subject to scrutiny and review. When individuals know that they will be held accountable for their behaviour they are more likely to act responsibly and fulfil their obligations. Accountability mechanisms also deter potential abuses of power, by ensuring actors are aware of the consequences they may face if they act unethically or irresponsibly.

Moreover, accountability contributes to the overall legitimacy and trustworthiness of social systems. When individuals have confidence that accountability mechanisms are in place and are functioning effectively, they are more likely to trust the system and its actors. Mechanisms of accountability provide actors with the assurance that action will be taken to address any breach of trust or abuses of power.

Historical tradition

The historical tradition is the third key feature of Sztompka's structuration perspective. Understanding the historical tradition plays a crucial role in comprehending and reducing the complexity of an organisation's internal and external environment. Luhmann (1979) emphasises that continuity in social processes is essential for this purpose. The historical record of prior exchanges, even if it can only be obtained directly or inferred from outcomes, establishes a strong connection to the past and offers insights into the present and future (Zucker, 1986).

Sztompka (1999) expands on the significance of continuity by proposing that the process of social becoming unfolds continuously from the past through the present and into the future. This perspective recognises that the history of an organisation, particularly its positive experiences, contributes to the formation of its normative climate. This normative climate, in turn, can either facilitate or hinder future processes within the organisation. Positive experiences in the past create a supportive environment for future endeavours, while negative experiences can create obstacles or resistance to change.

Despite recognising the importance of historical tradition and its impact on future outcomes, there is still limited understanding of the exact mechanisms underlying evolutionary phenomena and the role of their antecedents. Scholars such as Poppo (2013), Gulati (1995), and Schilke et al. (2017) acknowledge the complexity of these dynamics and the challenges in fully comprehending them. This lack of clarity is partly attributable to the absence of practical methods for directly capturing societal facts that go beyond the statistical aggregation of individual mental states. In other words, there is a need for approaches that can capture the collective social processes and dynamics that shape an organisation's evolution.

Agencies of accountability

To Sztompka (1999), agencies of accountability are entities or mechanisms that play a fundamental role in establishing and maintaining accountability in social systems. They facilitate, control, or sanction certain behaviours to ensure that these objects or entities behave in a proper manner. Sztompka identifies two types of agencies of accountability: internal and external. In any organisational context, internal agencies of accountability are responsible for ensuring trustworthiness within the organisation's internal systems. They include performance managers and other individuals or mechanisms within the organisation that oversee and monitor the organisation's conduct. Their role is to ensure that the organisation performs effectively, ethically, and in accordance with prescribed standards and expectations. By facilitating, controlling, or sanctioning certain behaviours, they help maintain the organisation's legitimacy (Sztompka, 1999).

On the other hand, external agencies of accountability outside the organisation serve as third-party guarantors. They can take various forms, such as controllers, standardising agencies, licensing bodies, examination boards, editorial committees, juries of various prizes, or consumer organisations. These external agencies supplement or substitute for the direct trustworthiness of the objects or entities under scrutiny. They provide indirect implications of accountability and play a crucial role in enabling judgements about the organisation that would

not be possible otherwise. Their involvement enhances the perception of accountability and fosters trust in the objects or entities being evaluated (Sztompka, 1999; Bachmann and Inkpen, 2011).

2.4. Performance from the Structuration Perspective: Final Notes

In this section and the coming subsections, I examine the mutual influence and dynamic nature of the micro, meso, and macro levels from a structuration perspective. This perspective underscores the interdependence between social structures and the behaviours of individuals, groups, and organisations. Social structures shape actions, and in turn, actions have the power to reshape these structures. This mutual relationship emphasises the ongoing interplay between structures and actions, where structures both enable and constrain organisational behaviour, while actions, in return, can redefine social structures.

At the interface between the macro and meso level, I explore how changes in social structures impact on the behaviours and actions of organisations and supply chains. Recognising that shifts in social structures significantly influence how organisations operate, collaborate, and compete within their broad societal context, I note that their ability to adapt and maintain their alignment with other elements and their overall effectiveness.

Zooming in on the interface between the micro and meso level, I emphasise the importance of the way individuals, groups, and organisations perceive and respond to changes in social structures. The way they interpret and make sense of these changes influences their subsequent behaviours.

Subsequently, I explore the concepts of reflection, adaptation, and alignment within the structuration perspective. These concepts shed light on how organisations respond to changes in their operating environments, navigate evolving social structures, and ensure their ongoing optimal performance and relevance. By addressing these aspects, I hope to provide valuable insights into the intricate dynamics of organisational performance and its relationship to the broader social context.

2.4.1. Mutual influence of the micro, meso, and macro levels

As previously discussed, from the structuration perspective, social structures and the actions of organisations have a reciprocal relationship. Structures influence the actions and behaviour of individuals, groups, and organisations, while these actions, in turn, can impact on and shape the social structures themselves. This reciprocal relationship highlights the continuous

interplay between structures and actions, where structures both enable and constrain organisational behaviour, while actions have the capacity to reshape and redefine social structures.

At the macro-meso level interface, structuration theory emphasises the mutual influence of changes in social structures and the behaviour and actions of organisations and supply chains. It recognises that shifts in social structures can have significant implications for the way that organisations function, collaborate, and compete in the broad societal context.

Likewise, at the micro-meso interface, structuration theory highlights the way that individuals, groups, and organisations perceive and respond to changes in social structures. The way that actors interpret and make sense of social change influences their subsequent behaviour and actions (Weick et al., 2005). For example, if an organisation recognises that there has been a shift in social values or expectations, it may modify its practices, strategies, or products to align with these new dynamics. In turn, these new behaviours can further shape and influence the social structures in which organisations operate.

Within this context, this research is driven by two central questions, each offering a unique perspective on the intricate relationship between social structures and organisational performance:

> RQ1: How do social structures influence the performance of organisations within and across different entities?
>
> RQ2: How do collective efforts, collaborations, and the performance of various organisational entities contribute to the evolution and transformation of social structures?

2.4.2. Reflection

From a structuration perspective, social structures are not fixed or static entities but are instead dynamic and constantly evolving. Various factors influence them, such as technological advancements, cultural shifts, and economic changes. As these factors change, social structures adapt and transform accordingly.

For organisations to navigate effectively within these changing social structures, they need a proactive approach. They need to continuously monitor their social context and keep a finger on the pulse of societal trends, cultural shifts, and stakeholders' expectations. By doing so, organisations can gain a deep understanding of the current state of the social structures in which

they operate. Monitoring the social context involves observing and analysing the changes happening around them. It requires organisations to be attuned to technological shifts, changes in cultural norms and values, and fluctuations in the economic landscape legislation debates. By recognising and acknowledging these changes, organisations can position themselves to respond accordingly with suitable actions.

Maintaining a deep understanding of social structures goes beyond simple awareness. It requires organisations to dig deeper into the underlying dynamics and intricacies of the social context and reflect on it in a timely manner. By continuously reflecting on the knowledge and understanding gained about their social context organisations can assess how societal changes align or conflict with their goals and values and determine appropriate strategies and approaches to deal with them accordingly. This reflective process enables organisations to respond to emerging challenges and capitalise on the opportunities that arise from societal changes.

In this context, our research addresses two vital questions:

> RQ3: What factors and processes do organisations rely on to effectively monitor, analyse, and deepen their understanding of the evolving social context in which they perform?
>
> RQ4: How do organisations reflect on and assess their comprehension of the changes in their social context that impact their performance?

By exploring these two questions, I aim to uncover the mechanisms and practices that enable organisations to not only navigate but also proactively engage with the dynamic nature of their social environment, ultimately enhancing their ability to perform effectively amidst societal change.

2.4.3. Adaptation and flexibility

Within the structuration perspective, an organisation's agility in responding to shifts in its operating environment is crucial to maintaining its relevance and legitimacy within an ever-evolving social context. Investigating how organisations effectively adapt to these changing social structures is a vital part of researching organisational performance. Organisations need to reflect on their ability to grasp the evolving social context as the basis for their timely response to emerging challenges and opportunities. Continuously analysing and reflecting upon their understanding of the social context empowers organisations to make informed decisions about how to act. This reflective process not only influences their strategies,

processes, and structures but also equips them with the tools to navigate the dynamic nature of their social context.

In this context, the processes involved in reflecting upon societal changes and enhancing overall organisational performance take centre stage in PMM research from a structuration perspective. The central question here is how organisations engage in this reflective process regarding their understanding of the evolving social context and how this reflection influences their actions in response to emerging challenges and opportunities.

This research endeavours to address this critical question:

> RQ5: What strategies, processes, and structures do organisations implement to adapt to changing social structures, accommodate to evolving requirements, and sustain their performance?

2.4.4. Alignment and congruence

The ability of organisations to seamlessly integrate themselves within existing social structures in a harmonious manner relies on their ability to align themselves with others. This is because organisations are not separate entities operating in isolation but are embedded in broader social systems. From a structuration perspective, organisations have the capacity to influence social structures through their actions and practices, but they are also constrained by the existing social norms, values, and rules. Maintaining alignment involves navigating this duality by leveraging and adapting to changes in the external environment while still pursuing organisational goals.

Since social change tends to be unpredictable and non-linear, organisations must prepare for uncertain futures. They need to have in place processes and capabilities that allow them to anticipate, respond, and adapt to changing social structures. By investigating these processes, we can gain insights into how they maintain their ability to operate within evolving social structures over time. The final two key research questions arise from this insight:

> RQ6: What key processes and capabilities enable organisations to respond effectively and adapt to evolving social structures while pursuing their goals?

> RQ7: How do organisations proactively anticipate and prepare for changes in social structures to ensure their optimal continued performance in the future?

In the upcoming chapters of this dissertation, I apply this structuration view of performance to the rapidly transforming industrial context following the implementation of the new alcohol policy in Scotland. This investigation was prompted by Sztompka's suggestion that the causal mechanisms of social life become more prominent as social change accelerates and expands, leading to more extreme variables and the easier comprehension of social interactions. The case of the new alcohol policy in Scotland provides a valuable opportunity to examine this phenomenon. In this context, various stakeholders with conflicting interests actively shape and are influenced by the social structures at play. Their collective objective is to transform Scotland's relationship with alcohol. My primary goal is to develop a theoretical understanding of performance from a structuration perspective in an abductive manner. To support this understanding, I rely on archival evidence to examine the dynamics of social structures and stakeholder interactions. Ultimately, my analysis aims to shed light on the intricate nature of performance when it is studied using structuration theory. By exploring the complexities and implications in the context of the new alcohol policy, I hope to provide valuable insights into the application and use of this theoretical framework in PMM research.

Chapter 3: Methodology

A way of seeing is a way of not seeing

(Poggi, 1965, p. 284)

3.1. Introduction

This study seeks to explore a nuanced perspective on performance, conceptualising it as a social process. In this view, performance is not static; it is an ongoing endeavour aimed at guiding an organisation toward specific objectives. I contend that by embracing a process-oriented approach to performance, one that accounts for its temporal, spatial, and contextual aspects while acknowledging complexity and contingency, we can attain a comprehensive understanding of it.

Processual approaches encompass a range of methodologies that focus on the temporal evolution of social phenomena (Langley and Tsoukas, 2010). They emphasise processes over end states (Nayak and Chia, 2011) and rely on specific combinations of process perspectives and conceptualisations (Van de Ven and Sminia, 2012). Together, these perspectives and conceptualisations form a "process vocabulary" that shapes processual research (Pettigrew, 1997, p. 338).

I start this chapter by mapping out the implicit process perspectives and conceptualisations in performance research from a methodological standpoint. This will serve as a foundation for the subsequent analysis. To do so, I briefly examine Langley and Tsoukas's four typical process perspectives (Langley and Tsoukas, 2016) and discuss Van de Ven and Poole's four types of process conceptualisation (Van de Ven and Poole, 1995). This exploration will help identify the most suitable combinations of process perspectives and conceptualisations for this study, considering the research objectives, the nature of the phenomena being studied, and the available resources. I then explain the abductive method I employed in this research and provide an overview of my analysis approach.

3.2. Process Methodologies in Performance Research

Processual approaches in performance research can be analysed along two key dimensions: process perspectives and conceptual explanations. These form the fundamental parameters that define different possible philosophical and methodological foundations in performance research. I used these two dimensions against each other to produce a scheme that helped to decide the philosophical and methodological approach used in this research.

3.3.1. Process perspectives

The first dimension of the scheme is the process perspective, which encompasses the epistemological foundation of the process approach (Van de Ven and Sminia, 2012). One of the major epistemological challenges in processual research is capturing the temporal and spatial aspects of phenomena (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005). Langley and Tsoukas (2016) propose four process perspectives, each with a different way of addressing this challenge.

To these authors, process perspectives vary based on two factors: "relative perception" and "time of observation" (Langley and Tsoukas, 2016). The relative perception refers to the standpoint from which the observation occurs: either from within the process or from an external perspective. The time of observation refers to whether the process is observed as it unfolds or traced backwards along its path. Combining these dimensions, Langley and Tsoukas, 2016) introduce four process perspectives: developmental, reconstructive, prehensive, and configurational (Figure 3.1).

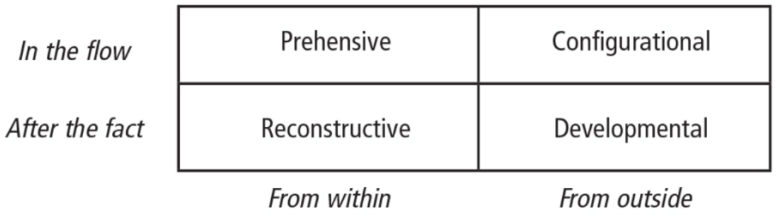

Figure 3.1: Process perspectives, from Langley and Tsoukas (2016)

The developmental perspective is taken when retrospectively examining the historical trajectory of performance from an external viewpoint. It aims to explain exceptional performance outcomes by looking backwards over time. The reconstructive perspective focuses on understanding the process that led to a particular performance outcome from within the process itself. It highlights evolving meanings, experiences, contingencies, and alternative paths at specific points in time. The prehensive perspective is taken when studying performance in real time from an internal viewpoint, considering the contingencies that shape the evolving path of meanings and experiences over time. This perspective may incorporate elements of action research, allowing for active participation and reshaping of the subject and context. Finally, the configurational perspective takes an external viewpoint while observing performance in real time. It aims to identify distinctive process patterns by capturing the

configurations of performance outcomes and actions. These four process perspectives are mutually exclusive and form the first dimension of the scheme.

3.3.2. Conceptual explanations

The second dimension of my scheme consists of conceptual explanations, which encompass the specific theories and inferences used to elaborate on the research questions (Van de Ven and Sminia, 2012). Van de Ven and Poole (1995) categorise these conceptual explanations into four fundamental types: life cycle, teleology, dialectics, and evolution.

Life cycle theories propose that organisational phenomena progress through a specific sequence of stages, leading to more mature forms. Each stage contributes to the ultimate performance outcome, preparing the ground for subsequent stages. Teleological theories rely on a hierarchical structure of goals, where the pursuit of ultimate objectives serves as the driving force. This approach theorises that actors undergo iterative processes of formulating, implementing, evaluating, and modifying goals to achieve their desired outcomes. These goals are subject to reassessment and change over time, while the envisioned end state acts as a reference point for monitoring and control.

Dialectical theories conceive of performance as a result of enduring conflicts and competition between opposing forces within and between organisational entities. The particular performance outcome emerges as a dialectical synthesis of these conflicting forces. Finally, evolutionary theories view performance as a continuous cycle of variation, selection, and retention, leading to cumulative modifications of organisational parameters. Performance outcomes result from the recurrent progression of this cyclic process, where variations that lead to improved performance are retained and adopted. These four types of conceptual explanations form the second dimension of the analytical scheme.

By considering both process perspectives and conceptual explanations, we can locate different streams of performance research within this framework, aligning them with their philosophical and methodological foundations.

3.4. Performance-as-Process: The Processual Methodology

In sum, the four process perspectives and the four conceptual explanations produce a list of sixteen possible process approaches in performance research (Langley and Tsoukas, 2016; Van de Ven and Sminia, 2012). Each approach offers a distinct way of observing and explaining performance through the processes that lead to an outcome, and each provides a fundamentally different account of performance.

In this study, I adopt the dialectical conceptualisation, which frames the change and conflicts impacting on the performance of the whole supply chain. This conceptualisation explains the performance outcome as the dialectical synthesis of rival forces and provides insight into the interplay between agency, agents, and structures, drawing on Sztompka's (1999) structuration view.

Furthermore, I adopt a developmental perspective, providing an after-the-fact account of performance observed from an external viewpoint. The trajectory of the historical process is outlined from various levels and angles, including government engagement in policy-making, changes in the supply chain, and industry-level interventions and lobbying.

The processual methodology adopted in this study offers several benefits. Firstly, it offers a comprehensive historical understanding of a particular performance outcome. By looking backward and tracing the sequence of events, it provides insights into the developmental trajectory that led to the observed performance. This historical context helps to capture the nuances, contingencies, and factors that shaped the performance over time.

Secondly, it involves observing performance from an external point of view. This allows the researched to gain an objective and unbiased understanding of the performance, and to avoid potential biases arising from being immersed in the process. External observation provides a broader perspective and facilitates a more holistic analysis of the performance in this particular case.

Thirdly, it enables me to identify patterns, trends, and causal relationships in the performance trajectory. By examining the sequence of events and outcomes, I have been able to identify the commonalities, recurrent themes, and key turning points that influenced the performance. This analysis helps in understanding the underlying dynamics and mechanisms that contributed to the observed performance.

Lastly, it provides insights that can inform future improvement efforts. By understanding the historical process that led to a particular performance outcome, we can identify areas for improvement, potential interventions, or alternative paths that could have led to different outcomes. This knowledge can be valuable for practitioners and organisations seeking to enhance their performance.

Overall, this particular approach offers a longitudinal and external vantage point for analysing performance and provides a rich historical understanding of the phenomenon, allowing us to

identify patterns and ways to improve the outcome. It hence complements conventional PMM research and contributes to a comprehensive understanding of performance dynamics.

3.5. Method

In the following sections, I probe deeper into the research process and discuss the abductive case study approach that has been employed in this study. I explain why it is an effective way to apply the structuration analysis methods outlined earlier in the following sections of this chapter.

3.5.1. Structuration analysis methods

"Methods are not atheoretical"; they are rooted in and "have a differential ability to shed light on" theory, as Pettigrew (1984, p. 53) reminds us. In his seminal work, Giddens (1984) proposes two general methods for structuration analysis: institutional analysis and strategic conduct analysis. The institutional analysis treats institutions as chronically reproduced rules and resources and focuses on how actors reflexively monitor and draw upon these rules and resources in the constitution of interaction (Giddens, 1984). As a method, institutional analysis entails specific techniques and procedures to study institutions and their role in shaping social behaviour and practices. This involves analysing the formal and informal rules, organisational routines, power dynamics, social norms, and cultural values that govern social interactions within a particular context. Methods commonly employed in institutional analysis include documentary analysis, archival research, comparative case studies, and ethnographic observations.

On the other hand, strategic conduct analysis gives analytical primacy to actors' discursive and practical consciousness. It concentrates on the contextually situated activities of specific groups of actors, emphasising their strategies of control within defined contextual boundaries (Giddens, 1984). As a method, strategic conduct analysis involves using empirical techniques and tools to study and analyse the discursive and practical consciousness of actors and their strategic behaviours within specific contextual boundaries. This involves methods such as qualitative interviews, ethnographic observations, documentary analysis, or discourse analysis, among others, to understand the strategies employed by actors in their interactions and decision-making processes.

Cohen proposes combining both approaches using the technique of "visible pattern analysis", which integrates the study of system and structural patterns (Cohen,1989). This method

temporarily brackets off the structural properties of social systems and contingencies of interactions that depart from institutionalised routines (Cohen, 1989). Yet Cohen argues that a comprehensive understanding of the constitution of collectivities requires combining the study of system patterns with the study of structural patterns (Cohen, 1989).

Stones further expands on this idea and proposes the method of "strategic context analysis", which emphasises the role of knowledgeability and allows the researcher to assess potential courses of action and probable consequences from both the social theorist's and the lay actor's perspective (Stones, 1991, p. 676). This approach provides a methodologically sound way to measure how well actors have acted in a particular situation and relates their knowledgeability to the theoretical critique of action (Stones, 1991, p. 676).

In this study, I rely on Giddens's institutional analysis principles that permit the analyst to make sense of the structural dimensions and resources that frame organisational performance. The analysis brackets the role of actors in monitoring social structures, which allowed me to focus directly on the organisations' attempts to fulfil their objectives by changing their relationships with their social surroundings. Giddens's institutional analysis permits a comprehensive examination of the structural aspects that influence organisational behaviour. It goes beyond individual organisational actions to capture the way that formal and informal institutions shape the behaviour of organisations. This perspective helps uncover the broad context in which organisations operate and the constraints and opportunities these structures present. Furthermore, by bracketing the role of actors in monitoring social structures, it broadens the research perspective to include the impact of social structures and their role in shaping organisational outcomes. In the same way, shifting the focus to organisations' attempts to fulfil their objectives by adjusting their relationships with their social surroundings allows us to address the important fact that organisations must adapt to changing social structures to thrive. The institutional analysis approach, hence, is well-suited to meet this research's objective. It permits a systematic examination of the related elements, their evolution over time, and their impact on organisational outcomes.

3.5.2. Research process

The abductive case study approach proposed by Kovacs and Spens (2005), is used in this study. This is based on Dubois and Gadde's (2002) systematic combining abductive approach to case research (Figure 3.2).

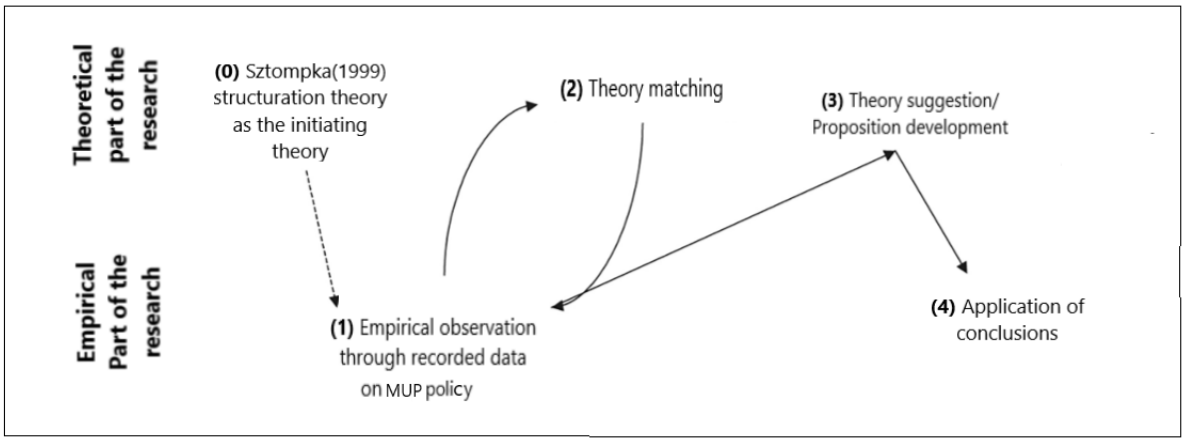

Figure 3.2: The research process
(after Kovács & Spens, 2005)

The abductive approach recognises that scientific progress often cannot be explained solely by pure deduction or pure induction (Taylor et al., 2002). Abduction begins with observing a specific event or phenomenon, leading to formulating a theory that could explain the observed occurrence. This initial theory serves as a hypothesis or supposition, offering a potential explanation for the event. It provides fresh insights and perspectives, bridging the gap between available evidence and a plausible explanation. Adopting an abductive approach allows researchers to reframe and recontextualise phenomena within a new contextual framework, leading to new insights and understanding (Danermark et al., 2019).

Dubois and Gadde's systematic combining abductive approach provides a structured method to generate continuous interaction between empirical observations and theory. This approach acknowledges the nonlinear and path-dependent nature of research, enabling theories to be refined in light of empirical evidence. Through this back-and-forth exchange between theory and empirical evidence, we can gain a deeper understanding of complex phenomena through a learning loop (Taylor et al., 2002; Dubois and Gadde, 2002).

Abductive reasoning is valuable for researching performance as a structuration process. It permits the examination and identification of deviations from the general structure that cannot be explored through purely inductive or deductive methods. The knowledge generated from this methodology can lead to the formulation of hypotheses or propositions that can be tested using deductive methods.

In this study, I chose to adopt an abductive approach for four main reasons. Firstly, the research deals with complex and multifaceted phenomena of performance that involve interactions between various actors, institutions, and social structures. Abductive reasoning helped me

explore and understand these complexities by generating plausible explanations and hypotheses that connected observed events with my theoretical model.

Secondly, my goal was to comprehend how structures and actions mutually influenced and shaped each other within a specific context. Abductive reasoning allowed me to reframe and contextualise performance within the structural framework, providing new insights into how social structures, activities, and actors were influenced by and, in turn, shape each other.

Thirdly, structuration research emphasises the iterative process of theory-data interaction. Abductive reasoning supports this iterative process by enabling me to continuously revise and refine my theoretical model and conceptualisations through an engagement with empirical data. It facilitated a dynamic exchange between theory and data, leading to a deeper understanding of the interplay between micro, meso, and macro levels. And lastly, abductive reasoning enabled me to explore new lines of inquiry, propose innovative explanations, and generate hypotheses that can be further tested and refined through empirical investigation.

Kovacs and Spens (2005) expand upon the idea of theory matching which is a precise five-step research design, illustrated in Figure 3.2. I adhered closely to these steps, as outlined below. I utilised the insights from structuration theory outlined by Sztompka (1999) and applied it to my empirical data, aiming to construct a process theory of performance from a structuration perspective.

Step 0: Applying an existing theory

My research process began by applying Sztompka's (1999) structuration theory to the unit of analysis, which is MUP policy case study explained in detail in the next chapter. This initial positioning in a theory provided me with a basic understanding of the process and served as a reference when I started the empirical analysis. It guided me in reconciling the theory with contextual idiosyncrasies and permitted a framework to evolve during the study, based on the unanticipated empirical findings and theoretical insights gained during the research process.

Step 1: Empirical observations in this step

I then collected archival data from documents produced by stakeholders involved in shaping the discourse of the MUP policy and those affected by its operational implications. The documents represent a variety of perspectives and provided insights into how the policy shift affected the routine operations and operational structures of the alcohol industry. These documents are time-specific, reflecting the evolving nature of the policy and real-time actions in the industry.

Step 2: Theory matching

During this step new concepts that were not initially part of the Sztompka's structuration-type theory were added and empirically verified. I engaged in an iterative cycle of anlaysis, going back and forth among theory, empirical data, and the existing literature. A three-phase coding procedure was employed until theoretical saturation was achieved (Saunders et al., 2018). The point of theoretical saturation is that when consensus has been reached regarding the conceptual framework, this indicates that the researchers have explored the data sufficiently and established a comprehensive understanding of the phenomena under investigation (Low, 2019).

Step 3: Theory suggestions and conceptual framework

In this step, I developed a conceptual framework based on the findings from the previous steps. I clarified my conceptual model of the interplay between micro, meso and macro levels. The connections among the second-order themes that elicit aggregate dimensions were theorised, leading to the construction of a process model illustrating this complicated interplay. This step helped me to synthesise the empirical findings and theoretical insights into a coherent framework that explains performance as a social process.

Step 4: Conclusions, applications, implications, and limitations

The final step involved drawing conclusions based on the developed theory and discussing the potential applications, implications, and limitations of the theory. This step allowed me to reflect on the contributions of my study, explore its practical implications, and identify any limitations or areas for future research.

3.5.3. Data

In this study, I employed longitudinal archival data to capture the dynamic nature of the policy process over time and to understand it as a social structure. To study the process, I focused mainly on political documents, as they have the potential to reveal the positions, attitudes, and activities of their authors at specific points in time (Klüver and Mahoney, 2015).

The collected documents relate to the MUP policy serve as sedimentations of the social process, and were produced, shared, and used in socially organised ways (Atkinson and Coffey, 2004). These documents offer insights into the aspirations, intentions, and social relationships of the period they represent (May, 2011). To create a comprehensive data set, I gathered diverse sources, including documents from the public consultation, transcripts of

evidence sessions, committee reports, parliamentary debates, post-devolution alcohol-related acts of Scotland, judicial documents related to MUP, and studies from the Monitoring and Evaluating Scotland's alcohol strategy programme. I also consulted the broader literature on alcohol history, alcohol-related policies, and Scotland's political debates on alcohol and health to provide additional context.

A table detailing all the documents included in this research is provided in Appendix 1. These documents encompass various perspectives from policymakers, industry representatives, advocacy groups, affected communities, and other stakeholders. By incorporating diverse viewpoints, I aimed to understand the policy and its implications from multiple angles comprehensively. This research explores a context that was characterised by radical changes in the interrelations between agents, agency, and structures. The case, as I explain in the next chapter, is marked by conflict as the dominant mode of interaction, leading to contradictions and the presence of multiple voices. The documents included in my data set reveal these inter-case dynamics and contradictions and present a comprehensive account of the underlying social dynamics and the operational challenges faced by the industry within this evolving context. All this is crucial for developing an unbiased understanding of the actions and motivations of those involved.

Analysing these documents allowed me to gain valuable insights into the impact of the MUP policy on the alcohol industry. They provided information on the challenges, opportunities, and changes experienced by different stakeholders due to the policy shift. Through documentary analysis, I was able identify patterns, trends, and key factors influencing the operational dynamics of the alcohol industry during the implementation of the MUP policy.

I note that the selected documents are time-specific, meaning they were produced at the time when the policy was made, implemented and evaluated, which made it possible for me to capture its unfolding. By examining documents at different stages of implementation, I was able to track the progress, adaptations, and outcomes associated with the MUP policy. This wide range of documents has created a unique and unbiased data set, which have been analysed to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the inter-case dynamics and contradictions (Eisenhardt, 1989) and facilitated a detailed analysis of the interactions that occurred over time.

Addressing potential objections, I acknowledged that obtaining the complete truth of a situation is challenging. An extensive exploration of social media was not feasible due to time

constraints, and probably not relevant, as my focus was on public opinion as perceived and filtered through the perspectives of government and industrial actors.

Whether official documents are trustworthy or not, Prior (2008) emphasises that researchers should address factors such as their credibility, their representativeness of a genre, and the meaning of the document's content when using archival documents as data sources. However, my key concern was understanding the authors' meaning and intention, rather than questioning their veracity. Process research prioritises understanding what the authors meant and how it reflects the trajectory of events and the process of becoming.

Langley (1999) identifies four characteristics of process data that are valuable for processual theorising:

Firstly, process data primarily deal with sequences of events, permitting an understanding of how things evolve over time and why they follow specific patterns. Secondly, process data often involve multiple levels and units of analysis that have unclear boundaries. These data exist as a continuum rather than in a clear hierarchy or classification, necessitating consideration of multiple levels of analysis.

Thirdly, process data have variable temporal embeddedness regarding their precision, duration, and relevance. Researchers need to combine various data sources to capture the gradual background trends that influence the progress of specific events. Lastly, process data are eclectic, encompassing changing relationships, thoughts, feelings, and interpretations. The richness of these data result in a substantial volume of words to be organised and understood.

I considered these characteristics in evaluating my dataset to ensure I could gain an insight into the evolving events and the complex interplay of the factors.

3.5.4. Data analysis method

The data were analysed in a precise three-phase procedure, as explained in detail by Bowen (2009) and Prior (2008). This procedure combines elements of thematic analysis with qualitative content analysis.

Phase 1: Content analysis to applying the theory-driven codes and add data-driven codes

The initial coding involved a directed content analysis (Potter and Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). I followed the directed content analysis guided by a structured process (as detailed by Hsieh and Shannon (2005). Using Sztompka's structuration theory, I began by identifying key concepts or variables as initial coding categories (Potter and Levine-Donnerstein, 1999).

Subsequently, I used the theory to establish precise definitions for each category in practical terms (Table 3.1). The next step in the analysis was to code all highlighted passages using well-defined and theoretically derived codes (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Table 3.1: Operational definitions of codes

Name	Description
Facilitating Processes	
Capacity Building	Processes which are focused on flexibilities of various types and nature that allow organisations to deal with unknowns and whatever will be manifested in the future.
Anticipatory Capacity	Those capacities of operational structures that address new and therefore unknown complexities of the environment as and when they come to the surface.
Adaptive Capacity	Those capacities of operational structures that address known complexities which are seemingly stable issues.
Connectedness	Processes through which organisations are connected with their social, natural and organisational environment.
Externalisation	Processes through which organisations try to reshape and restructure their social, natural and organisational environment.
Internalisiation	The mechanism by which external value patterns of social and organisational environment affect and frame norm, value or strategic targets of organisation to ensure legitimacy and trustworthiness of actions.
Structural Traits	
Structural Conduciveness	Macro-societal contextual structures that facilitate or restrain certain behaviours, conducts and decisions.
Accountability of Structural Conduciveness	A guarantee that power will not be routinely abused, and obligations will normally be respected. If there is a rich, accessible, and properly functioning set of institutions, setting standards and providing checks and controls of conduct, the danger of abuse is diminished, and the regularity of procedures safeguarded.
Familiarity	Favourable previous ties or actor's close acquaintance with something that essentially represents taken-for-grantedness. It reduces complexity and unpredictability and produces 'taken-for granted' assumptions and perceptions of safety.
Normative Coherence	Shapes skeleton of social, natural and organisational environment and makes social conducts systematic and foreseeable by raising the likelihood of gratified expectations, fulfilled obligations, and mutual trust. legislation as well as moral and customary, are the core instruments that enhance normative coherence and it is generally expected that they must be followed according to a clear pattern, blueprint, or logic".
Stability	As opposed to radical change, long-lasting, persistent, and continuous structures facilitate firm reference points for social life, a feeling of security, support, and comfort. In such a stable environment meeting obligations and reciprocating trust becomes not so much a matter of duty, but rather an unproblematic, habitual response and the chances that it will be met, repaid, or mutually extended, are high.
Transparency	The likelihood of a met expectation and a correct bet of trust increase information and knowledge about the architecture and the principles of operations of social structures. Granting trust sounds more viable, and the likelihood of winning other's trust is higher in the situation where structures are transparent, and their past outcomes are well-reported and sufficiently inspected.
Historical Tradition	Processes that shaped organizations and institutions. What is perceived of them at the moment is the result of how they have developed over time.
Agantial Trait	
Corporate Social Capital	Various capabilities of agents in the form of organisational social capital which can enhance organisational capabilities
Accountability Trait of Agents	Subjection to some socially enforced standards, rules, patterns
Benevolence	Disinterestedness, help; sympathy, generosity
Efficiency	Competence, discipline, consequentiality, proper performance, effectiveness
Fairness	Applying universalistic criteria, equal standards, due process, meritocratic justice
Regularity	Orderliness, consistency, coherence, continuity, persistence
Reliability of agents	Rationality, integrity, e.g. considering arguments, honouring commitments, fulfilling obligations
Representativeness	Acting on behalf of others, representing their interests
Financial, physical and intelectual capital Social Capital	Resources invested in by an organisation to create an organisation's production capabilities.
Tangiable Resources	Those tangible resources that are valuable, rare, inimitable, and non-substitutable
Intangible Resources	Those intangible resources that are valuable, rare, inimitable, and non-substitutable

During the analysis, any data that did not fit within the pre-existing theory-derived codes were carefully examined and evaluated to determine if they could be coded under a new data-driven code, representing a new category or a sub-category of an existing code (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). These additional codes either stood independently from the predefined codes or broadened the scope of an existing theoretically derived code (Boyatzis, 1998). This step permitted me to be flexible in the coding process and the inclusion of emerging themes or concepts that were not initially anticipated.

By employing this directed content analysis approach, I aimed to analyse the data comprehensively, ensuring that important information related to both the predetermined concepts and emerging themes were captured and systematically organised. The systematic nature of this process increased the rigour and reliability of the findings, contributing to a comprehensive understanding of the case.

Phase 2: Thematic analysis to connect the codes and identify primary themes

In the second phase, I employed the thematic analysis method described by Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) to re-analyse the coded data thematically. This was intended to combine the theory-driven and data-driven codes as part of the theory-matching process. Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) argue that multiple codes can be linked together to form a theme, while Boyatzis (1998) defines a theme as a pattern in the information that describes and organises observations, and potentially provides interpretations of the phenomenon.

By making connections between the codes, I identified recurring themes and patterns in the data (Crabtree and Miller, 1999). These themes were then grouped under overarching headings, and classified as second-order codes or primary themes.

The distinction between codes and themes has been discussed in the literature. Codes are often considered short and relatively concise, while themes are seen as broader and are expressed in a greater number of words (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Phase 3: Clustering, corroborating and legitimating coded themes

In the final phase of the analysis, the second-order codes or primary themes identified in phase 2 were merged or collapsed into a more manageable number of themes. The themes were then assigned succinct phrases that described their underlying meaning. Then, I meticulously reviewed the previous stages to ensure that the clustered themes accurately represented the initial data analysis and assigned codes.

Each phase was an iterative process entailing several rounds of sorting, and going back and forth between theory and empirical data over several weeks. This comprehensive analytical process allowed me to obtain a deeper understanding and interpretation of the data and to develop a robust and meaningful framework. It eventually led to aggregated dimensions (Figure 3.3) and subsequently to a model (in Chapter 4) that describes how these dimensions contribute to understanding performance as a structuration process.

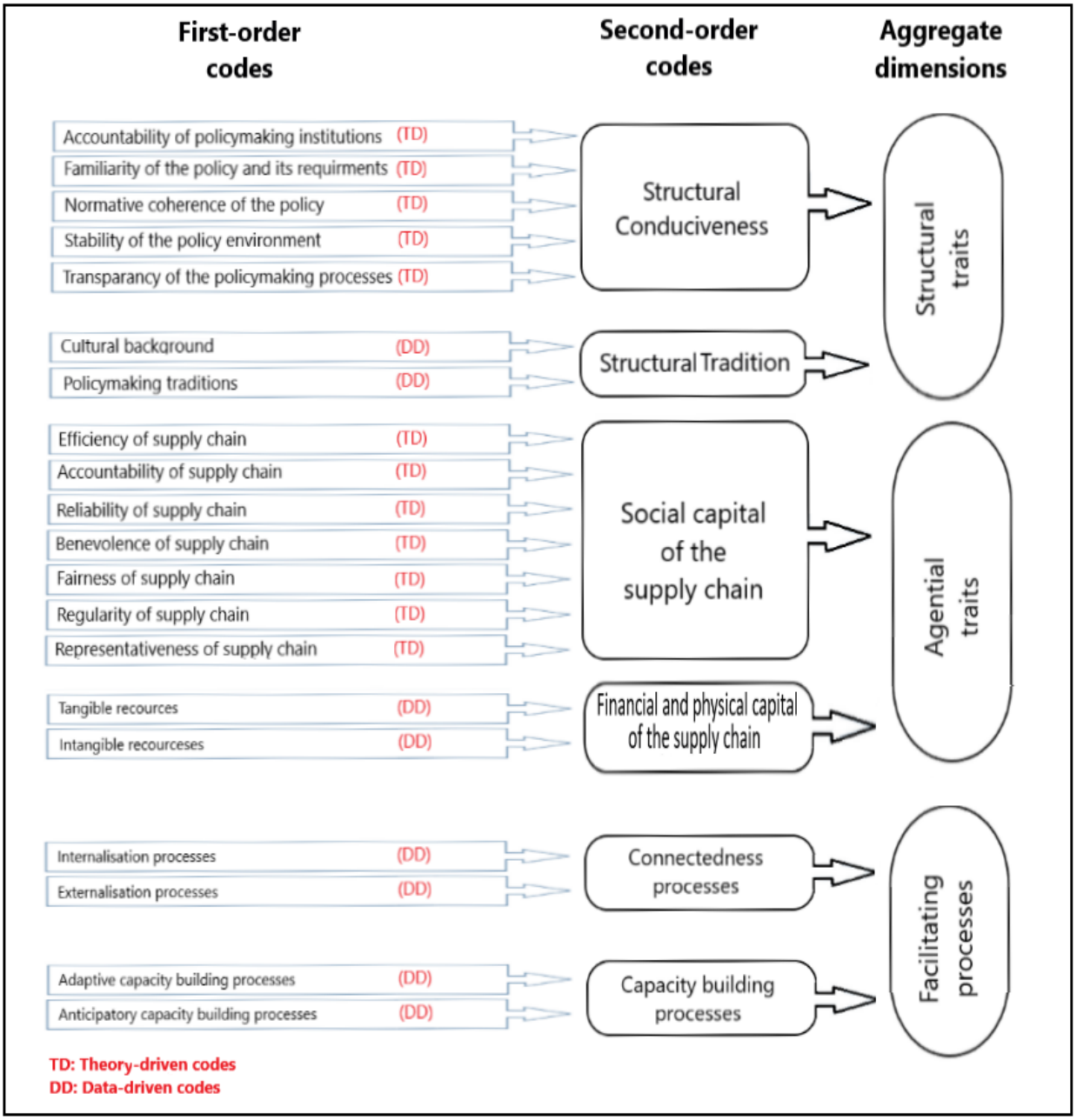

Figure 3.3: Data analysis structure – the final coding schema

Chapter 4: The Alcohol Act. 2012: Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol

We tend to find the best theories where we have the worst stories

(Weick, 1992, p. 172)

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the relationship between Scotland's alcohol policy and operations management and organisational performance. It examines concepts typically encountered in public health, public policy, politics and history to contribute to understanding performance as a social phenomenon. By providing an aggregated account of the expected and unexpected, as well as the intended and unintended, consequences of a public policy in a changing social context for organisations operating within this complex context, this chapter offers an analytical story that explains what features contributed to the actions of the various players at different stages of the policy process.

The policy process refers to the series of steps and activities involved in developing, implementing, and evaluating public policies (Dunn, 2017). It encompasses the entire lifecycle of a policy, from the identification of a problem or issue to the formulation of policy options, the decision-making process, the implementation of the chosen policy, and the evaluation of its outcomes. The policy process involves multiple actors, such as government officials, policymakers, stakeholders, interest groups, experts, and the public (Weible and Sabatier, 2014). These actors engage in various activities, including research, consultation, negotiation, advocacy, and decision-making, to shape and influence policy development.

Policy literature acknowledges that the policy process is often very complex and influenced by various factors, including the political dynamics, the social context, economic considerations, legal frameworks, and the values and interests of different stakeholders (Howlett at al., 2009). It is also an iterative and dynamic process that can be influenced by feedback loops, changing circumstances, and new information.

Understanding the MUP policy process is crucial for this project to understand how policymakers, industry players, advocates, and other stakeholders participate in policy discussions, influence policy outcomes, and assess its effectiveness (Cairney, 2011). Hence, this chapter is structured around four interconnected arguments:

Firstly, the link between policy and operations is discussed, with the aim of discerning a direct connection between operational structures and the social and contextual changes brought about by policy changes. This linkage emphasises the importance of proactive engagement by members of a supply chain to maintain progress towards desired goals, achieve optimal performance, and sustain future performance.

I then compare different policy decisions to reduce alcohol-related public harms and their underlying rationale and mechanisms to clarify the unique context in which Scotland chose to address alcohol-related harm by manipulating affordability in a novel way.

Thirdly, I examine the mode of operation and the operational structures of the alcohol industry before, during and after the introduction of the new alcohol policy. The focus here is to provide an operational perspective on the socio-political context within which the alcohol industry operates and its effects on the operations of the alcohol supply chain. The discussion encompasses both the intended and unintended consequences of the policy change on the industry's operations.

Lastly, I review the evaluative studies commissioned or conducted by NHS Health Scotland, as ordered by ministers, to assess the performance of MUP across various outcomes. These studies evaluate MUP's impact on reducing alcohol-related health and social harms and its effects on individuals and businesses. This section sheds light on how performance is understood, measured, and managed in the context of MUP.

The arguments and findings in this chapter will later contribute to providing an operational account of the broader shift in the social context of the alcohol supply chain brought about by MUP and its implications for the industry's operations and operational structures.

4.2. The Link Between Policy Changes and Operations Management

In recent years, the discourse of relevance in business schools has gained prominence, emphasising the need for academic research to align in practical terms with the needs of external stakeholders and organisations (Knights and Scarbrough, 2010). Research assessment exercises like the Research Excellence Framework (REF) have reinforced this discourse and formalised an "impact agenda" (Butler et al., 2015). As a result, there has been a growth in research aimed at providing expert advice and operational solutions to users outside academia (Abreu and Grinevich, 2013; Amara et al., 2004). This includes efforts to establish effective links between different academic domains with public policy (Oliver et al., 2014). Evidence-based policymaking emphasises the use of rigorous research and empirical evidence to inform

policy decisions (Oliver et al., 2014). It involves systematically gathering, analysing, and evaluating data and research findings to understand the effectiveness, costs, and impacts of different policy options (Nutley et al., 2007). By relying on evidence rather than assumptions or ideology, it aims to help policymakers to make informed and objective decisions that are likely to achieve desired outcomes and address societal challenges (Amara et al., 2004).

Various academic disciplines such as healthcare, criminology, social welfare, economics, and a range of other social science subdisciplines have expanded their research agenda to explore how their rigorous studies can influence policymaking processes and their outcomes (Head, 2010). However, it is difficult for some disciplines, including OM, to see how such influence may be achieved and, more instrumentally, how the influence might be enhanced (Nutley et al., 2007).

While it is proposed that OM has implications for public policy and similarly, that public policy has implications for OM (Helper et al., 2021; Joglekar et al., 2016; Kaplan, 2021; Samson and Kalchschmidt, 2019; Tokar and Swink, 2019), it is also argued that the interplay between public policy and OM remains under-researched (Helper et al., 2021; Kaplan, 2021; Richey and Davis-Sramek, 2022; Spring et al., 2017). Helper et al. (2021) propose three primary ways in which OM can contribute to improving public policy. Firstly, it can demonstrate the impact of public policy on the operations and supply chains of organisations, which can form the basis for specific recommendations for public policy. Secondly, OM can be used to evaluate the structure and management of the operations of agencies that make and implement public policy and seek to influence the structure of the supply chain (Selviaridis and Spring, 2022). And thirdly, OM can provide a lens through which policy-related issues can be examined. This includes gaining insight into "firm-to-firm and network interactions that may be important determinants of the ultimate effects of a policy change" (Tokar and Swink, 2019, p. 71).

Public policy brings both opportunities and threats to organisations, and it can have unforeseen consequences that impact on operations and guide decision-making processes (Spring et al., 2017). However, it is often seen as a second-best solution to be used only when market self-regulation is insufficient to achieve desired outcomes (Warwick, 2013). Yet while policy introduces additional uncertainties and complexities into the supply chain, if it is effectively managed, it can mitigate potential inefficiencies and enhance performance (van der Vorst and Beulens, 2002).

Policy as a social structure plays a crucial role in directing organisations by shaping their attributes, capacities, rights, and responsibilities and by establishing new norms within their operational structures (Edelman and Suchman, 1997; Hoffman and Ventresca, 2002). It is a complex social system involving various actors, including government, industry bodies, associations, non-governmental organisations, private organisations, and top management. Through the co-evolution process, policy interacts with industry players, government, and society, leading to changes in organisational structures, markets, and supply networks, and influencing stakeholders' understanding of the environment (Hausmann and Rodrik, 2003; Spring et al., 2017).

Public policies interact with operating choices through intermediaries such as trade associations and standard-setting bodies (Joglekar et al., 2016). Perspectives on the interplay between policy and operations and their performance differ. Public policy scholars tend to favour a top-down perspective, emphasising the macroeconomic view of problems and focusing on the formulation and design of policies (Colander and Kupers, 2014; Zhang and Wu, 2020). They examine policy decisions and their intended effects on organisations and society as a whole. On the other hand, operations management scholars and practitioners tends to take a bottom-up perspective, focusing on the challenges in implementing policies and the practical implications of policy decisions. Operations management scholars are more concerned with how policies are executed and how they affect the operational aspects of organisations, such as processes, resources, and supply chains. They analyse the operational challenges and constraints that arise from policy changes and seek to identify strategies and solutions for effective implementation (Colander and Kupers, 2014; Zhang and Wu, 2020).

This divergence in perspectives reflects the different disciplinary backgrounds and public policy and operations management research traditions. While public policy scholars tend to prioritise policy formulation and impact assessment (Birkland, 2020), operations management scholars emphasise the practical aspects of policy implementation and the operational consequences on organisations. Integrating these perspectives can provide a relatively comprehensive understanding of the interplay between policy and operations, facilitating more effective policy design and implementation processes.

This study aims to uncover the mechanisms through which policy may influence a supply chain by investigating a specific public policy (MUP) and its effects on the operations and performance of the alcohol supply chain in Scotland. It seeks to understand how this newly

introduced social structure influenced the behaviours, strategies, and choices of the various actors involved in the supply chain and their performance.

The research also seeks to conceptualise how supply chain members' operational strategies and choices can impact on the policymaking process and its outcomes. This case study of the MUP policy provides a rich context in which to examine these dynamics. It allows for an in-depth exploration of how the policy affects (and affected by) the smooth and efficient supply chain of alcohol products. By analysing the responses of various stakeholders within the supply chain and assessing the implications for the policymaking process, the research aims to provide valuable insights into the interplay between operations and PMM and public policy.

In the following sections of this chapter, I outline the case under consideration and offer relevant details about it, including its context, key actors, and other relevant circumstances. I also discuss its sociohistorical background. This encompasses the historical and societal factors, events, and developments that have shaped the environment in which the policy operates. This is needed for a comprehensive understanding of the context of the policy, which is essential for making sense of the case and drawing meaningful conclusions from the analysis that follows.

4.3. Alcohol Policies: Mechanisms and Rationales

The Sixty-third World Health Assembly in May 2010 endorsed a global strategy by the World Health Organisation (WHO) to reduce the harmful use of alcohol (WHO, 2010). The strategy emphasised that evidence-based policies should be developed and member states should collaborate to achieve this goal (Ray and Anish, 2012). The strategy outlined ten areas for possible intervention, including restricting alcohol availability, advertising bans, and increasing alcohol excise taxes, as constituting effective measures to reduce alcohol-related burdens (Jernigan and Trangenstein, 2020; Berdzuli et al., 2020). These are typically considered control policies, which are authoritative decisions[4] made by governments through laws and regulations to address the relationship between alcohol, health, and social welfare (Babor et al., 2010). Control policies targeting alcohol affordability aim to decrease alcohol consumption and related harms by manipulating the price of alcohol (Xhurxhi, 2020; Gallet, 2007; Nelson, 2013; Wagenaar et al., 2009; Clifford et al., 2020). The affordability of alcohol is influenced by factors

[4] The word "authoritative" indicates that the decisions arise from the legitimate purview of legislators and other public interest group officials, not from private industry or related advocacy groups.

such as its production costs, logistics, retailing, market competition, and taxation (Rabinovich et al., 2009).

Price elasticity is generally used to measure the effects of pricing and taxation on alcohol consumption (Babor et al., 2010). While different beverage categories may have varying price elasticities (Babor et al., 2010), the overall price elasticity of alcohol demand is negative, indicating that a one per cent increase in price leads to a decrease in consumption by approximately 0.5 per cent (Gallet, 2007; Wagenaar et al., 2009; Fogarty, 2010; Sornpaisarn et al., 2017; Elder et al., 2010).

However, the effects of policies targeting alcohol affordability are influenced by contextual factors and can be complex in individual countries (WHO, 2020; Sharma et al., 2017). A conceptual model of alcohol consumption and health outcomes considers micro, macro, and upstream factors to be determinants of alcohol-related harm (Sharma et al., 2017). Public health approaches focus on upstream factors like availability and affordability, viewing alcohol as a factor that can be modified to tackle alcohol-related problems (Figure 4.1). From this perspective, excise taxation of alcohol is justified on several grounds, including the net adverse effects of alcohol consumption, the immediate impact of the tax on consumption and harm, its revenue generation, the lack of viable alternatives, and the prevention of heavy drinking habits (Rehm et al., 2010; Shang et al., 2020; Chisholm et al., 2018; Wagenaar et al., 2009; Ataguba, 2012; Smith, 2005).

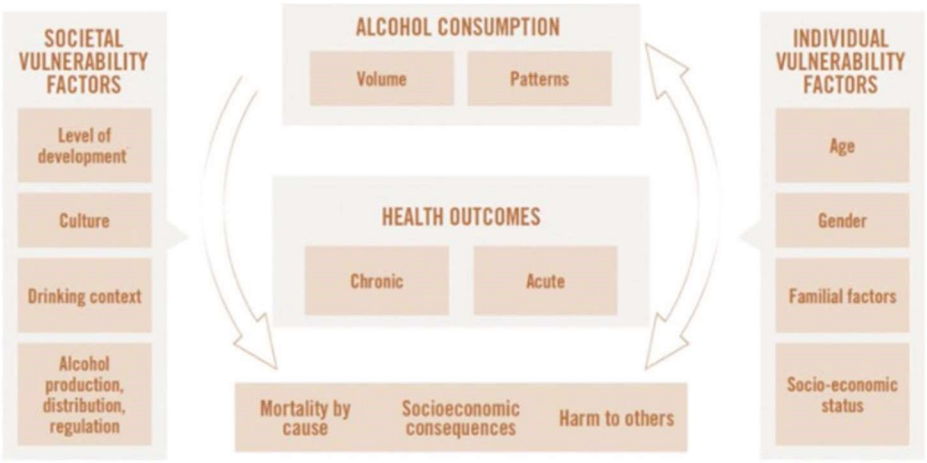

Figure 4.1: Conceptual causal model of alcohol consumption and health outcomes (Sharma et al. 2007)

Charging for the costs of the harms caused by a product or service to others and imposing an excise equal to the damage caused by the activity is called a Pigouvian tax and is a widely accepted concept by advocates of public health (Pigou, 1938; Cnossen, 2005). However, in the case of alcohol, it has been widely argued that the harm is associated with heavy consumers rather than moderate drinkers, necessitating a trade-off between reducing external costs and satisfying non-abusive consumers (Smith, 2005). Critics argue that taxation may not effectively reduce heavy consumption and may lead consumers to shift to cheaper alternatives. Additionally, it may not specifically target problem drinkers and can be limited by prior commitments and obligations at national or international levels (Sornpaisarn et al., 2017; Angus et al., 2019).

Scotland has taken a unique approach to addressing its alcohol problem by implementing MUP instead of manipulating alcohol taxes. This is partly because, under the current constitutional framework, alcohol taxes are reserved for the Westminster Parliament, leaving the Scottish Parliament with no authority to manipulate this duty.[5] Moreover, the Scottish Government believes that taxation alone cannot effectively target the heavy drinkers who are most at risk of alcohol-related harms and tend to prefer cheaper drinks anyway (WHO, 2020; Callinan et al., 2015). In contrast, MUP explicitly targets the price of the cheapest alcohol in the market, which is typically favoured by heavy drinkers (WHO, 2020; Callinan et al., 2015; Vandenberg and Sharma, 2016; Holmes et al., 2014). By making cheap drinks less affordable while minimally impacting on the price of alcohol purchased by moderate drinkers, MUP aims to target the specific group of consumers at risk of alcohol-related harms (Holmes et al., 2014).

[5] The Scottish Government is committed to amending the Scotland Bill to devolve alcohol duties to the Scottish Parliament. See "Devolving Excise Duty in the Scotland Bill" – Scottish Government (2011).

There is evidence to support the effectiveness of policies similar to MUP in addressing alcohol-related harms at the population level. Studies conducted in Canadian provinces where variants of MUP have been in place demonstrate the effectiveness of selective pricing mechanisms in reducing alcohol consumption on a population scale. These studies have shown that these policies decrease alcohol-related burdens on healthcare systems, law enforcement, and the legal system (Boniface et al., 2017; Stockwell et al., 2012, 2013; Zhao and Stockwell, 2017). Furthermore, modelling studies conducted in various countries, including the UK, Ireland, Canada, Australia, Czechia, and Germany, consistently indicate that they are highly effective in reducing alcohol consumption and its associated harms (Sassi, 2015; Holmes et al., 2014; Sharma et al., 2014).

4.4. The MUP Policy Process: Pre-Implementation, Implementation Phase, and Post-Implementation

In order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the topic at hand, we turn to the history of the alcohol issue in Scotland. This includes examining the situation prior to the introduction of MUP, the developments that took place during its implementation, and the subsequent changes that have occurred post-introduction. However, for the purpose of this study, I focus primarily on providing an operational perspective of the socio-political context in which the alcohol industry operates within Scotland. This entails examining the various factors that shape this context, including the policies, regulations, and societal attitudes surrounding alcohol consumption.

By summarising the contextual factors, I aim to shed light on both the intended and unintended consequences that have resulted from the changes in the social context of the alcohol industry. This includes exploring how these changes have influenced the performance of the industry, as well as the measurement and management of that performance. This operational perspective, allows us to gain an insight into the complexities and dynamics of the alcohol issue in Scotland, helping us understand the interplay between policy, societal factors, and the performance of the alcohol industry.

4.4.1. History of alcohol in the UK and Scotland: prior to the event

The historical significance of alcohol as a socio-political issue in the UK is acknowledged, and debates and concerns about it have evolved over time (Greenaway, 2003). Various concerns have been expressed over different periods related to drinking patterns, licensing authorities, women's drinking, and the balance between moderate drinking and the state's responsibility to prevent excess consumption. The outbreak of World War I transformed the alcohol debate,

emphasising the efficient use of the national purse and leading to increased government intervention in areas such as the volume, strength, availability, and pricing of alcohol (Greenaway, 2003). Despite changing social frameworks, three concerns about the impact of alcohol on social order, health, and the economy have persisted throughout history (Nicholls, 2009), resulting in the conflicting interests of the supply chain's economic power and policymakers' regulatory power, particularly regarding the appropriate level of intervention in a free market industry (Nicholls, 2009).

The historical trajectory of alcohol use in Scotland is shaped by its unique constitutional identity and its desire to have its own national policymaking institutions (Kellas, 1989). In 1999 the highly centralised unitary state of the United Kingdom was transformed into a devolved system of government that allocated some policy-making decisions to the Scottish Parliament (Hazell, 2000). Scotland has maintained its own separate legal and education systems, a national church, and local authorities, while political decisions remain in the hands of the Westminster Parliament (Kellas, 1989). This has allowed Scotland to pursue policies that are tailored to its own needs in particular areas, leading to differences in policy approaches compared to England (Cairney, 2008).

In January 2002, the Scottish Executive introduced its first post-devolution alcohol strategy, "A Plan for Action on Alcohol Problems," (Executive, 2002). The plan recognised the economic benefits of the alcohol industry while addressing the need to reduce alcohol-related harms, which were estimated to cost Scotland at least £1 billion per year (Executive, 2002). The emphasis of the plan was on problem drinkers and their responsibility, while the approach to the alcohol industry was lenient, encouraging industry involvement in discussions about unit labelling.

A significant reform in Scotland's licensing system followed after more than 30 years when the Licensing (Scotland) Act was introduced and then subsequently fully enacted in September 2009 (Scottish Government, 2007). The Act aimed to transform Scotland's "pub culture" of binge drinking into a culture of moderate drinking over meals (O'Donnell, 2006). It focused on five licensing objectives to reduce alcohol-related harms, including the prevention of crime and disorder, the promotion of public safety, the prevention of public nuisance, the protection and improvement of public health, and the protection of children (Scottish Government, 2007). It also banned promotions encouraging excessive consumption in on-sales premises (Scottish Government, 2007).

It was argued that previous alcohol policies in Scotland reflected the preferences of the alcohol industry (McCambridge et al., 2018; Babor et al., 2013; Room, 2006). However, the new legislation marked a significant deviation from this history by making public health considerations central to alcohol licensing, departing from the traditional view of licensing as solely a business matter (Katikireddi et al., 2014; O'Donnell, 2006). As was to be expected, the alcohol industry immediately opposed government and non-governmental policy proposals that aimed to regulate the price and availability of alcohol, viewing them as constraints on their financial interests (McCambridge et al., 2018).

In 2007, a minority Scottish National Party (SNP) government replaced the Labour-led administration, marking a shift from the partnership approach with the alcohol industry (Katikireddi et al., 2014). Alcohol-related harms became a prominent topic of political debate, leading the SNP manifesto to introduce price-based measures and prioritise addressing the affordability of alcohol compared to other beverages (Scottish National Party, 2007).

This shift in the alcohol debate, focusing on individual and subpopulation levels, can be traced back to four earlier events. Firstly, in September 2007, Scottish Health Action on Alcohol Problems (SHAAP), an informal partnership between the Medical Royal Colleges and Faculties in Scotland, published a report recommending a pricing policy approach to reduce alcohol-related harm in the population (Gillan and Macnaughton, 2007). The report suggested implementing a MUP mechanism and extending the existing ban on irresponsible promotions of alcohol. It also proposed requesting a tax related to alcohol strength from the UK Government.

Secondly, in 2008, NHS Health Scotland was tasked by the Labour–Liberal Democrat administration to develop an Alcohol: Logic Model as a framework for addressing the growing health harm caused by alcohol in Scotland (Gruer, 2008). They also recommended targeting alcohol affordability to reduce individual and population consumption and decrease alcohol-related harms at the population level.

Thirdly, a team at Sheffield University conducted a review of the evidence base on alcohol pricing and promotion for the UK Government (Meier et al., 2008a). This review, supported by econometric modelling, compared different pricing interventions, including duty increases, MUP, and restrictions on off-trade price promotions (Meier et al., 2008b). The findings indicated that MUP could have a stronger impact on those at the highest risk of harm compared to taxation-based measures (Katikireddi et al., 2014).

Fourthly, SHAAP commissioned econometric modelling to estimate the potential impact of MUP on different income subgroups in Scotland (Ludbrook, 2008). The findings showed that taxation policies inadvertently subsidised harmful drinking behaviour among specific subpopulations, suggesting that MUP could be a viable and more effectively targeted alternative.

Parallel to these earlier events, the newly elected SNP Government prioritised addressing alcohol-related harm after the 2007 election. The government intended to finalise their alcohol strategy promptly, but they recognised the need for extensive consultation on proposals involving limitations on alcohol availability and affordability, including MUP. In June 2008, it published a discussion paper titled "Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol," which officially introduced price-based interventions into Scotland's political agenda and later influenced other parts of the UK (Hawkins and Holden, 2013). The discussion paper generated significant parliamentary debate and received numerous responses from individuals and organisations (Scottish Government, 2009). The heated political discussion resulted in the failure of the first attempt to introduce MUP in Scotland. Despite the support of the SNP as a minority government, the major political parties opposed the idea of price intervention, although other measures in the bill, such as a ban on off-trade promotions, gained broader support. Eventually, the bill passed without the provision for MUP in November 2010 (Katikireddi et al., 2014).

In a significant move forward, SNP included MUP in its manifesto (Scottish National Party, 2011) for the May 2011 Scottish parliamentary elections. It is argued that inclusion of MUP in the manifesto contributed to the SNP gaining an overall majority of seats in the Scottish Parliament. During the proposal of the second MUP Bill, several parallel events unfolded. Firstly, the inclusion of a sunset clause convinced two of the three opposition parties to support the Bill, even though the SNP majority government no longer required their support for its passage. Then the Conservative-led UK Government itself started to consider MUP. As the same time, reports by Stockwell et al. (2012) on the success of price interventions in Canada similar to MUP bolstered confidence in the public health benefits of affordability-targeted policies. On 24 May 2012, the Alcohol (Minimum Pricing) (Scotland) Bill received eighty-six votes in favour, one against, and thirty-two abstentions, eventually gaining Royal Assent on 29 June 2012 (Katikireddi et al., 2014).

4.4.2. What is The Alcohol (Minimum Pricing) (Scotland) Act 2012?

The Alcohol (Minimum Pricing) (Scotland) Act 2012 is an amendment to the Licensing (Scotland) Act 2005 that introduced the concept of a minimum price per unit of alcohol in Scotland. The minimum price is calculated based on the product of the MUP, the strength of the alcohol, and the alcoholic volume in litres. Initially set at 50p per unit, MUP is determined by the devolved government in Scotland.[6]

While the Act primarily focuses on public health, it has significant impacts on alcohol supply chain operations and performance. The minimum price requirement prevents the sale of alcohol below that price, potentially affecting the competitiveness of lower priced alcohol brands. This leads to changes in pricing strategies and profit margins along the supply chain. Alcohol retailers may also need to adjust their product assortment to comply with the legislation, potentially changing the availability and variety of alcohol products in the market. The Act aims to change consumer behaviour, such as to a preference for lower strength or alternative beverages. To align with changing consumer preferences, alcohol producers and retailers may need to adapt their product portfolios accordingly.

Additionally, the Act may impact on relationships within the alcohol supply chain, requiring suppliers and retailers to negotiate their pricing and margin adjustments to meet the minimum price requirements. Collaboration and communication between stakeholders in the supply chain may need to increase to ensure compliance with the regulations. The introduction of minimum pricing affects market dynamics and competition within the alcohol industry. By preventing the sale of very low-priced alcohol, the Act aims to create a level playing field and potentially reduce price-based competition. This can lead to changes in market share and the competitive landscape as producers and retailers adjust their strategies to comply with the legislation.

It also brings uncertainty about the future to the planning of the alcohol industry. The Act includes a sunset clause, which states that it will expire six years after it enters into force unless the Scottish ministers specify by order during the sixth year that it is to continue. The Act also requires ministers to prepare and present a report on the operation and effects of the minimum pricing provisions to the Scottish Parliament after the fifth year. The report assesses its impact on licensing objectives, socioeconomic groups, license holders, and alcohol producers. It outlines the report's content and specifies the categories of individuals to be consulted in its

[6] For example, the minimum price of a 70 cl bottle of whisky with a strength of 40 per cent would be calculated as £14 (0.5 × 0.7 × 0.4 × 100).

preparation, including professionals in health, crime prevention, education and social work, and children and young people.

4.4.3 The implementation of Act. 2012: judicial review challenges

Although the Scottish Government intended to implement MUP in April 2013, this implementation was delayed by a six-year legal challenge to its lawfulness. The grounds for the challenge were the distortion of trade within the EU and the Scottish Government's legal competence to introduce the measure. The three associations of producers of wines and spirits (the Scotch Whisky Association [SWA], the European Spirits Organisation and the European Wine Companies Committee) brought a petition for a judicial review of the Act 2012 before the Scottish courts. The petitioners argued that the Scottish law breached the Act of Union. They also claimed that it was incompatible with EU law on two counts. Firstly, it offered disproportionate barriers to trade (contrary to Article 34 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union [TFEU][7] and could not be justified under Article 36 TFEU[8]) and secondly, because minimum pricing contravened effective competition in an open market, as per EU rules on the common organisation of the market in agricultural products (Albors-Llorens, 2017).

The Court of Session refused the SWA petition for a judicial review in May 2013 (Opinion of Lord Doherty in the petition of the Scotch Whisky Association and Others [2013] CSOH 70). Lord Doherty emphasised that it was neither necessary nor appropriate to refer any question to the European Court of Justice (ECJ) and, hence, dismissed the challenge on all grounds and refused the petition.

The petitioners appealed against this decision on breaching EU law while the grounds based on breach of the Act of Union were discarded on appeal. Following this appeal, the Inner House of the Court of Session made a detailed preliminary reference to the ECJ, which allowed the Court to deal with a range of essential issues on the interplay between articles 34 and 36 TFEU and between EU secondary legislation on the common organisation of agricultural markets and public interest objectives. In December 2015, the ECJ issued their judgment that the use of minimum pricing by the Scottish Government was legally acceptable, as long as it could show that minimum pricing was more effective than taxation.

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[7] Article 34 TFEU provides that "quantitative restrictions on imports and all measures having equivalent effect shall be prohibited between Member States".

[8] Article 36 TFEU allows member states to apply rules prohibited under Article 34 provided they are justified on the grounds of public morality, public policy, public security, protection of health and life of humans, animals or plants, protection of national treasures possessing artistic historic or archaeological value, or protection of industrial and commercial property, and as long as the measures do not arbitrarily discriminate or are a disguised restriction on trade. Also, they must be proportionate.

Following the ECJ's preliminary ruling, the Inner House of the Court of Session dismissed the appeal and found that the Scottish legislation was compatible with EU law. The Inner House concluded that "a general increase in the taxation of alcohol might be less restrictive of trade but would not be 'as effective' as the introduction of an MUP in securing the primary objective of the legislation. In particular, it would not be able to target alcohol that was cheap in relation to its high strength" (Albors-Llorens, 2017, p. 27).

This conclusion was a strong signal that the questions were about the proportionality of the imposition of a minimum price, rather than a general increase in taxing alcoholic drinks, which could also be expected to combat alcohol misuse and would be less restrictive. Soon afterwards, the SWA announced their intention to appeal to the UK Supreme Court, which caused a further delay in implementing the Act 2012. This appeal was heard in July 2017, with a judgment issued on 15 November 2017. The UK Supreme Court unanimously dismissed the appeal, ruling that the Scottish legislation does not breach EU law and that minimum pricing is appropriately targeted, lawful, and proportionate.

The Scottish Government mounted a public consultation on their preferred price of 50 pence for a unit of alcohol in December 2017 and January 2018 (Scottish Government, 2018) to gather views from people, businesses, public bodies, and interested parties (such consultation is mandatory under EC Article 9 of Regulation 178/2002). After hearing evidence from the Cabinet Secretary for Health and Sport on 17 April 2018, the Health and Sport Committee recommended that the Scottish Parliament approve the price-setting order (secondary legislation). The order was unanimously approved by the Scottish Parliament on 25 April 2018. On 1 May 2018, the Act 2012 was implemented, and Scotland became the first country to set a strength-based floor price that applied to all alcohol sold in or through licensed premises.

4.4.4. Post-implementation effects and evaluations of the Act 2012: studies investigating MUP's performance

Although beverage-specific forms of MUP have been implemented in certain Canadian provinces and some other regions, MUP was a novel approach in alcohol-related policy making, leading to concerns about its effectiveness, foundation in evidence, and unintended outcomes. To address these concerns, a sunset clause was included in the legislation. This clause requires a parliamentary vote to extend the legislation beyond the initial six-year period. If it were not extended, MUP would expire at the end of the sixth year of implementation. The review clause mandates Scottish ministers to report on the MUP policy and its impact to the Scottish Parliament within a specific timeframe. This is an important part of MUP and even the

Supreme Court's ruling had acknowledged the importance of the sunset and review clauses due to the experimental nature of MUP (Beeston et al., 2020).

NHS Health Scotland, appointed by the Scottish Government, is responsible for conducting evaluations. A programme called the Monitoring and Evaluating Scotland's Alcohol Strategy (MESAS) was established in 2009 to evaluate the framework for action on alcohol. Guided by the requirements outlined in the Act 2012, this programme evaluated the impact of MUP on producers of alcoholic drinks, license holders, and the five licensing objectives. The evaluation was also required by law to consider consultations with representatives of producers of alcoholic drinks and licence holders as well as individuals with functions relating to health, the prevention of crime, education, and social care.

The two overarching questions to be answered in the final report were the effectiveness of MUP in reducing alcohol-related health and social harms in the country and its positive or negative effects on individuals and businesses across Scotland. An evaluation portfolio focusing on four main outcome areas: implementation and compliance, alcohol market, consumption, and health and social harms, was consequently designed.

As part of the evaluation portfolio as many as nineteen separate studies to evaluate the performance of this multi-layered social event have been conducted, with twelve funded and managed through MESAS, and seven separately funded studies. This, in itself, reflects the level of fragmentation in the field of performance studies.

MESAS-funded studies are conducted by Public Health Scotland or by external research bodies commissioned through an open procurement processes. The separately funded studies are led by various academic partners (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2: MESAS-funded studies (SPICe)

Evaluation of the MUP policy: compliance (licensing) study

As the first study in the national MUP evaluation portfolio, Dickie et al. (2019) focused on the implementation phase of MUP from the perspectives and experiences of the practitioners in charge of its inspection and enforcement. The study aimed to explain how MUP was being implemented, what may have helped or hindered its implementation, practitioners' views on the extent of non-compliance with MUP and perceptions of any changes in the sale of unlicensed alcohol across Scotland. The report found that a number of factors, in combination with the mandatory nature of MUP, contributed to a high level of compliance, including the fact that the minimum price of £0.50 had a limited effect on on-trade and affected only a comparatively small proportion of alcoholic products. Moreover, the findings suggest that MUP is perceived to be a financial incentive with a potential for increased income by licensed premises. The report has also highlighted some of the operational challenges that arose due to the limited lead-in time between the announcement that MUP would commence and the starting date, as well as the limited availability of sufficient guidance for premises. It mentioned in particular the producers' struggle to understand how to calculate MUP and apply it to all their relevant alcohol product lines in the short term. However, the report concluded that MUP had been effectively implemented by licensed premises and forced no competition from the illegal market and licensed alcohol-related activities in general.

Evaluating the impacts on the alcoholic drinks industry in Scotland

This is a comprehensive study conducted by Frontier Economics (2019), which focuses on assessing the effects of implementing MUP on the alcohol industry in Scotland. It provides a baseline assessment of the industry before the implementation of MUP and examines the initial impacts following its introduction. The report aims to evaluate the impact of MUP on various

aspects of the industry, including the number of businesses, employment figures, turnover, gross value added, and the value of output. It seeks to understand how different stakeholders within the industry were affected by the implementation of MUP.

The study utilised the theory of change developed by NHS Health Scotland (Figure 4.3) as a framework for understanding the economic consequences of MUP. It formulated hypotheses and explored different factors that might influence the industry, such as changes in pricing, consumer behaviour, responses from retailers and producers, competition, and external drivers.

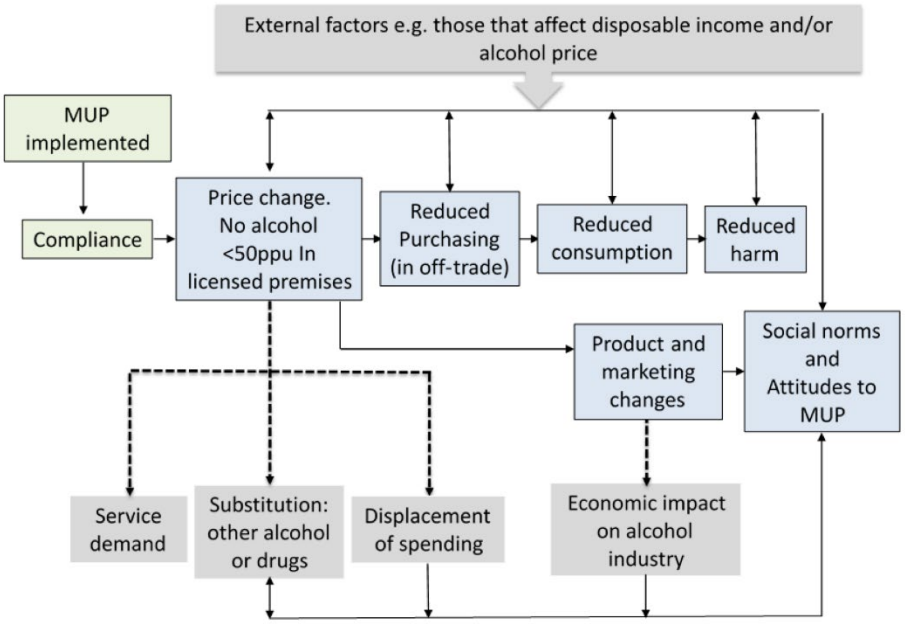

Figure 4.3: MUP overall theory of change
(Source: http://www.healthscotland.scot/publications/minimum-unit-pricing-mup-theory-of-change-presentation)

To gather evidence, the study conducted industry case studies and qualitative research, collecting data from stores in the Scottish Borders and engaging with industry stakeholders. It also analysed pre-MUP baseline statistical evidence to establish a benchmark for comparison.

The report provides insights into the early impacts of MUP on the alcohol industry, including potential changes in market dynamics, shifts in consumer preferences, and responses from industry players. It offers valuable information about the effects of MUP implementation in Scotland and the industry's response to this policy intervention (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4: The MUP industry theory of change
(Evaluating the impacts on the alcoholic drinks industry in Scotland: baseline evidence and initial impacts)

Descriptive analysis of one-year post-MUP off-trade alcohol sales data

In the third study, Giles et al. (2019) used weekly off-trade alcohol sales data to estimate alcohol consumption at a population level between May 2011 and the end of April 2019. They descriptively analysed these data for the 12 months that had passed since implementing MUP in Scotland, with comparisons over time and with England and Wales. Their measures covered the volume of pure alcohol sold per adult in Scotland both before and after MUP was implemented, the percentage change in per-adult alcohol sales over time and the change in the average price per unit of alcohol sold. While they noticed that not all alcohol categories were affected in the same way, they observed a fall in off-trade alcohol consumption at a population level, together with a rise in England and Wales, resulting in the smallest difference in per-adult off-trade alcohol sales among Scotland and England and Wales in the time series available. Moreover, they noticed an apparent steep increase in the average sales price of off-trade alcohol unit in Scotland after the implementation of MUP. Further reports will provide statistical analyses of the impact of MUP on sales-based consumption at both one and three years after implementing MUP.

Impact of MUP on sales-based alcohol consumption in Scotland: controlled interrupted time series analyses

To advance and strengthen the interpretations of Giles et al. (2019), Robinson et al. (2020, p. 3–4) used controlled interrupted time series analytical methods "to isolate the estimated impact of MUP while controlling for underlying secular and seasonal trends and other covariates,

including changes in disposable income and substitution between drink categories and retail sectors (i.e. off-trade and on-trade)".

This study suggests that the introduction of MUP was associated with a reduction of between four and five per cent in the total volume of pure alcohol sold off-trade per adult in Scotland. During the same period, an increase in the same figures was observed in England and Wales. Since the underlying trends and other covariates that could affect the off-trade sales had been accounted for in the developed model, they concluded that MUP had caused the observed reductions. Moreover, in line with previous findings, "the largest relative net reductions in per-adult off-trade alcohol sales were observed for cider and perry" (Robinson et al., 2020, p. 20). However, spirits and beer experienced smaller relative net reductions, although they have a higher market share and contribute more to the overall reduction.

Impact of alcohol MUP in Scotland: observational study of small retailers

Stead et al. (2020) studied the effect of MUP implementation on the price of alcoholic drinks, marketing, and product range changes among small retailers (owner-operated businesses as a single store or a small number of stores owned by the same individual or family) in Scotland. They observed some changes to the price of alcoholic drinks, product range and marketing among these small retailers following the implementation of MUP. Thus, the introduction of MUP increased the sale price of products that had been priced below 50 ppu before its implementation and the average sales price for other products generally. They also reported that some of the alcoholic products that had previously been sold below £0.50 per unit had been discontinued. Manufacturers also altered the size and strength of some of their products to introduce new products in participation of the MUP. The narrowing of price differentials caused by the implementation of MUP resulted in congestion in the number of products sold at, and immediately above, the MUP within and among some product categories. In terms of promotion, a reduction in price promotion was observed alongside other minor changes in other promotion types, with no evidence of their being associated with MUP.

Qualitative study of children and young people's drinking and related behaviour

Commissioned by NHS Health Scotland, Iconic Consulting (2019) studied the impact of MUP on children and young people's own drinking and related behaviour. The study attempted to capture the lived experience of young people already drinking alcohol in Scotland. They found that the introduction of MUP had a limited impact on their use of alcohol and related behaviour. Moreover, the influence of the MUP on how young people acquire alcohol has not been reported. The report notes that MUP had not caused a significant change in the price of many

drinks popular among young people. Nevertheless, they found no negative impacts on children and young people resulting from the introduction of MUP either.

Practitioners' views on the impact of MUP on protecting children and young people

In another qualitative study, Ford et al. (2020) aimed to understand the lived experience of families with children and young people using alcohol and explain the potential role of MUP in protecting children and young people from harms caused by their parents' or carers' harmful use of alcohol. These authors highlighted the potential impact of social security reform and other contextual factors that might have affected the household's income on the expected outcomes from MUP. The report emphasised its "potential to lead to positive change in alcohol consumption among parents and carers who were drinking to hazardous and harmful levels, but not [those] living with a possible dependence" (Ford et al., 2020, p. 65). However, reflecting on the complexity of these families' lives, the report suggested that MUP may have a minimal positive impact on those with alcohol dependency.

Impact of alcohol MUP on crime and disorder, public safety and public nuisance

NHS Health Scotland also commissioned Manchester Metropolitan University Crime and Well-being Data Centre (2020) to study MUP's impact on alcohol-related crime and disorder, public nuisance, and public safety. They hope to identify the types of crime and disorder, public safety, and public nuisance related to alcohol use as part of the study's fundamental requirement to establish them in the form of the expected outputs and outcomes (intended and unintended) of the introduction of MUP.

Public attitudes to MUP for alcohol in Scotland

In another Public Health Scotland's report, Ferguson et al. (2020) investigated public attitudes to MUP in 2019 and compared these to the pre-MUP situation based on the 2013, 2015, and 2019 waves of the Scottish social attitudes survey. They observed that attitudes to MUP appear more favourable between 2015 and 2019 than earlier or later, without establishing a causal relation between the implementation of MUP and the increase in the popularity of MUP.

Impact of MUP on alcohol products and prices

This study (NHS Health Scotland, 2020) was designed to understand changes due to MUP in Scotland in the price, range, and volumes of sales of alcohol products available in both the retail and wholesale sectors. The study was designed to provide a contextual understanding of the impacts of MUP on consumption and health harms. Interestingly, the published study

protocol (NHS Health Scotland, 2020) acknowledged the significance of expected and unexpected and intended and unintended consequences of MUP on the alcoholic drinks industry and aimed to contribute to the way these consequences are understood.

Impact of MUP on population alcohol consumption and alcohol attributable health harms

In the study protocol, NHS Health Scotland (2019) tasked itself with evaluating the impact of MUP on the population's alcohol consumption and alcohol-attributable health harms in Scotland. After all, its impact on health outcomes is at the core of evaluations of MUP, as emphasised by senior government officials and juridical decisions. The study aimed to evaluate the impact of MUP on alcohol-attributable hospital admissions and deaths in Scotland and to evaluate the feasibility of conducting an economic evaluation of its impact. NHS Health Scotland is particularly interested in examining the cost-benefit (cost-consequence) of MUP by trying to evaluate the range of health benefits that MUP may bring about (such as reductions in alcohol-attributable deaths and other alcohol-attributable conditions) as well as some of its non-health benefits (such as the reduction in crime or harms to children) in monetary terms.

Impact of MUP in Scotland on harmful drinkers

This study was designed in four work packages to evaluate the impact of MUP on harmful drinkers[9] by the School of Health and Related Research of the University of Sheffield on behalf of NHS Health Scotland (the University of Sheffield and Figure 8 Consultancy Services, 2017). The first two work packages (WP) of this study rely on primary quantitative and qualitative data collection from users and providers of alcohol treatment services and liver clinics (WP1) and from drinkers who are dependent on alcohol and live in remote, rural or urban areas of Scotland (WP2). The other two work packages analysed secondary quantitative market research data describing harmful drinking patterns (WP3) and primary care data linked to the health outcomes of this group (WP4).

The first work package aims to investigate the impact of MUP on people who are alcohol dependent in terms of the consumption of alcohol, expenditure on it, seeking treatment after its use, and the unintended consequences of using alcohol (the University of Sheffield and Figure 8 Consultancy Services, 2017). Based on the MESAS theory of change, they have outlined a theory of change that illustrates a range of potential outcomes for the dependent population (Figure 4.5).

[9] Harmful drinkers are defined as drinkers who are dependent or non-dependent on alcohol and who consume more than 35 units of alcohol per week (women) and more than 50 units per week (men).

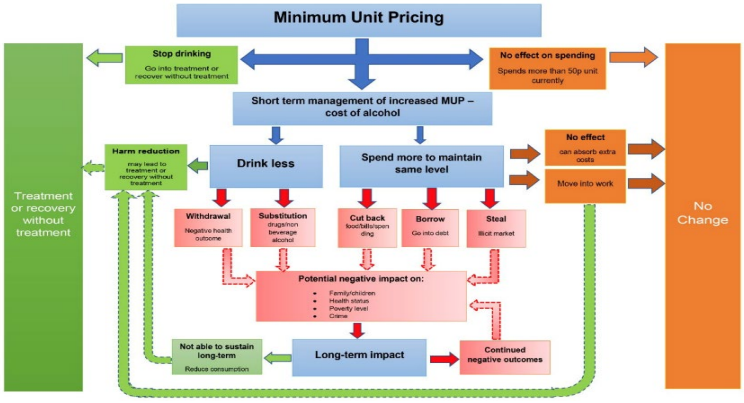

Figure 0.5: Theory of change, the range of potential outcomes for the dependent population (the University of Sheffield and Figure 8 Consultancy Services, 2017)

Conclusion

It is apparent from the review of these studies that there is a lack of clarity over the fundamental assumptions in government-funded MUP's performance evaluations. These include identifying whose performance is being investigated and determining the specific areas of performance that are included or excluded from the studies, together with a methodological approach suited to the study, amongst others.

One notable concern is the methodological diversity among these separate studies. Each study employs its own unique methodologies, which may not be compatible with one another. This raises the issue of how these studies can be effectively merged to produce a comprehensive and unbiased final report. The process of combining diverse methodologies runs the risk of introducing various biases, potentially affecting the overall conclusions drawn from the research.

Despite these methodological differences, there is a common tendency among these studies to adopt scientific approaches when examining social reality. They tend to treat performance as something that can be precisely measured and quantified, rather than recognising it as a complex and evolving social phenomenon that is influenced by a range of contextual factors. In doing so, their view of performance appears as a fixed and objective measure, detached from its changing social context.

This perspective on performance as a rigid and external reality may obstruct a more nuanced understanding of the subject matter. It tends to overlook the dynamic nature of performance, which can be shaped by various social, cultural, and contextual factors. By adopting a more flexible and context-sensitive approach, researchers would probably be better equipped to

capture the complexities and changes inherent in the evaluation of performance within a critical field.

Chapter 5: Findings

5.1. Introduction

The empirical part of this study focuses on the relationship between policy as a social structure and supply chain performance, examining how macro level policy structures enable and constrain the operations of supply chains at the meso level, which, in turn, is influenced by the actions of different actors at the micro level. This empirical analysis is a critical component of theory matching in this research, where iterative cycles between theory and empirical data contribute to refining and enhancing the initial theoretical framework in the specific context.

A detailed narrative of the multidimensional setting was provided in Chapter Four, where I discussed various aspects of the statutory changes introduced by the government into a previously stable, efficient and self-sustaining supply chain. I described how the alcohol industry eventually coped with these radical changes after a prolonged legal battle.

The study's findings, detailed in this chapter, primarily revolve around the "how" of performance. Drawing on structuration theory, the chapter starts by analysing some of the traits that were crucial to the industry's ability to cope with the new policy's environment and requirements and examines how the presence or absence of these traits and processes impacted on the industry's outcomes and their relevance to its operating context. It then focuses on uncovering the underlying processes that facilitates or hindered the realisation of performance in the presence or absence of these traits. The chapter also highlights the interplay between agency, organisational outcomes, structural context, and the effects of past operations on future performance.

The subsequent sections of this chapter discuss the three main themes that emerged from the analysis as the three pillars of performance. Figure 5.1 illustrates the various characteristics and mechanisms that contributed to the overall concept of performance, which resulted from a rigorous analytical process that involves three rounds of coding as discussed in Chapter 3. The process incorporates both theory-driven and data-driven codes to arrive at the structuration model of performance presented in section 5.5.

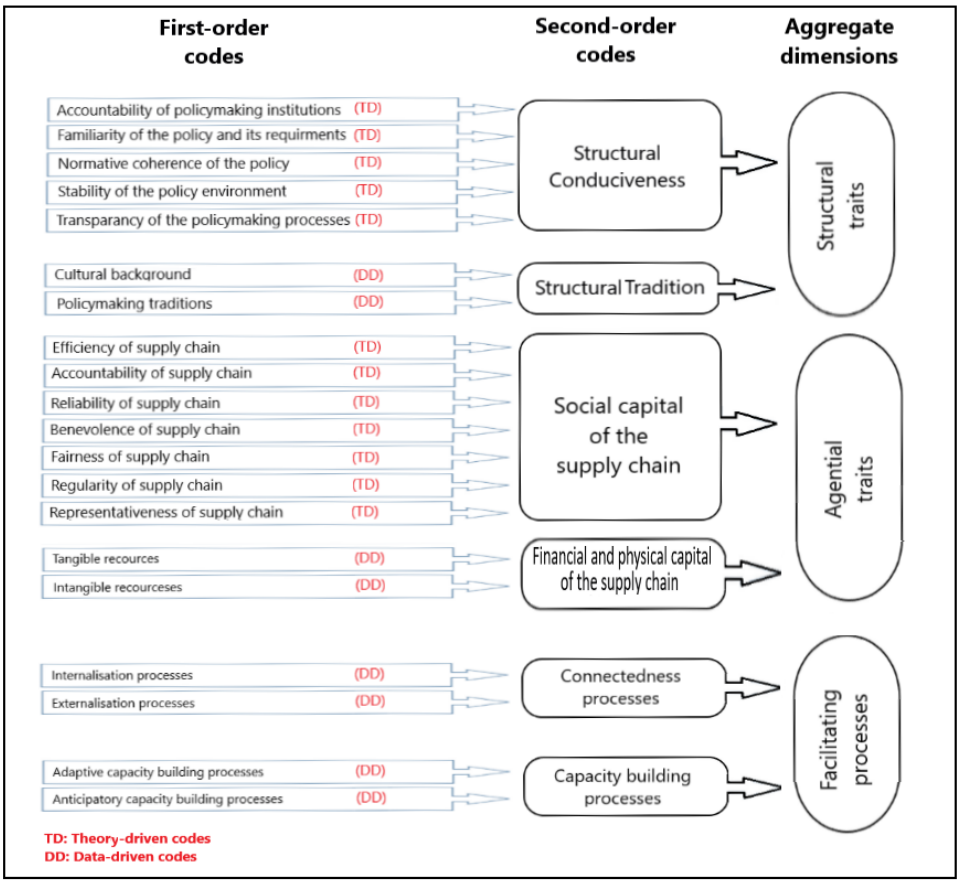

Figure 5.1: The coding schema

5.2. Agential Traits

The agential traits of the supply chain members are the different qualities, attributes and characteristics that they rely on to make their decisive operational decisions and choices. The agential traits of the supply chain members make them "capable and willing to use the opportunities provided by the structural environment" within which they operate (Sztompka, 1999, p. 126). To Sztompka, agential traits play a crucial role in individuals' ability to navigate and respond to social challenges and opportunities. These traits influence individuals' decisions, actions, and choices in their social context. Sztompka's perspective emphasises the

significance of individual characteristics, including their cognitive capacity,[10] motivational traits,[11] volitional traits,[12] and social and relational traits[13] in shaping social dynamics.

We note that Sztompka's perspective focuses on individuals' characteristics rather than those of groups or organisations. Agential traits are seen as the personal resources that empower individuals to act and exert agency in their social environment. However, in the context of the alcohol supply chain, industry players like alcohol producers, retailers, distributors, and supermarket chains possess diverse assets that make them capable and willing to utilise opportunities presented by the structural environment (Luhmann, 1979). Their decisions and choices hinge upon their personal characteristics, serving as a mediating link to adjust to changes and challenges brought about by the policy (Giddens, 1991). As such, this study discovered that the alcohol supply chain relies on these agential traits to address operational challenges posed by the policy.

To make the concept of agential traits compatible with the organisational context, a theory-matching process was employed, borrowing established notions from other areas and theoretical perspectives. This expanded our understanding of agential traits within the organisational environment, in light of the specific dynamics and characteristics of this setting. These traits are collective and are formed from the individual resources that members of supply chains usually own. The utilisation and leveraging of these traits by these members contribute to the overall performance and adaptation of the supply chain as a whole in response to the impact of the policy. I categorised them as "financial and physical capital" and "social capital" (Figure 5.2). These are discussed in subsections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2. The structure of the unavoidably long following section (5.2.1 to the beginning of 5.3) is as follows. In each section I present a description of the concept, then follow it with an analysis of my findings based on the empirical data.

[10] "Cognitive capacity" means an individual's intellectual abilities, knowledge, and problem-solving skills. It enables individuals to analyse situations, assess available options, and make informed decisions.
[11] Motivational traits encompass an individual's desires, values, and goals. Motivational traits drive individuals to pursue particular courses of action, influence their behaviour within social systems, and reflect their preferences, interests, and aspirations.
[12] Volitional traits involve an individual's self-control, self-discipline, and ability to act purposefully. Volitional traits enable individuals to overcome obstacles, resist external pressures, and exercise agency in line with their intentions.
[13] Social and relational traits include an individual's communication skills, empathy, and ability to build and maintain relationships. These traits facilitate collaboration, negotiation, and cooperation with others within social systems.

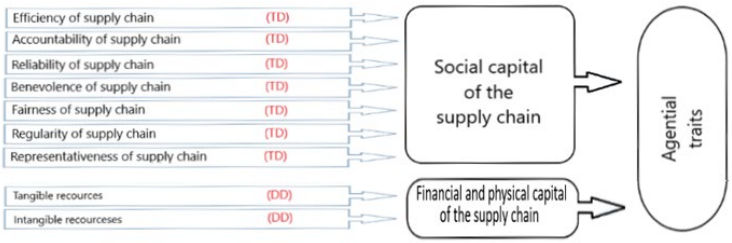

Figure 05.2: Agential traits

5.2.1. Financial, physical and intellectual capital

The supply chain's financial, physical and intellectual capital constitutes established forms of capital distributed across this relatively mature industry. Various forms and types of this kind of capital have been examined in the literature as key resources for firms' operations and economic activity (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998). From a resource-based point of view, "a firm's performance is based on its competitive advantage, which it has when it possesses resources that are valuable, rare, inimitable, and non-substitutable" (Sminia, 2017b, p. 3). As such, operations require various tangible resources upon which the organisation's competitive advantage partly rely.

In the alcoholic drinks industry, its financial, physical and intellectual capital are well-exploited forms of capital that are commonly identifiable and tradable. However, due to the industry's maturity, these resources may be less likely to be rare, inimitable, and non-substitutable. The industry's competitive advantage partly relies on its access to the tangible resources that support its operations.

The implementation of MUP necessitated fundamental alterations in the supply chain. These alterations affected the physical and financial arrangements of different parts of the supply chain, requiring additional resources or making some of them less relevant. The industry's response to the policy varied based on the capital required to accommodate the new regulations and the potential impact of the policy on the resources utilised by certain parts of the supply chain.

For instance, producers generally opposed price interventions, as they saw it as a threat to achieving operational economies of scale. However, distillers had varied responses, with those relying on visitor centres for additional revenue opposing the policy more strongly due to possible restrictions it would place on the experiences of visitors. The Scottish Whiskey Association argued:

> Scotch Whisky distilleries attract 1.2 million visitors each year. Many come from overseas. For many this is a chance to sample Scotch Whisky, and possibly visit the site where their favourite brand is made. For those that choose it, it is an integral part of the distillery tour. Some distilleries make no charge for the tour, and for those that do this tasting is included within the admission fee. On a broad interpretation the provision of a dram as part of a tour could be regarded as falling within this provision. This would mean that Scotch Whisky distillery visitor centres would no longer be able to offer visitors from around the world a taste of the spirit at the distillery where it is made. (SWA, p. 9)

Diageo, another distillery in the alcohol industry, raised concerns about the potential unintended outcomes that may arise from different policies. They suggested that these outcomes could include restricting the commercial success of the industry, which could have negative effects on employment and investment in the alcohol manufacture and drinks retail industries in Scotland, ultimately leading to a reduction in tax revenues (Diageo, p. 14). However, when it specifically comes to visitor centres, they argue:

> Through Gleneagles Hotel and our 12 distillery visitor centres we also bring many important influencers from around the world to experience Scotland's unique heritage and identity to introduce them to the world of Scotch whisky. We therefore rely on a Scottish identity that projects a balanced approach to alcohol consumption. For more than 380 years Scotland's pioneering spirit and identity has been nourished and shaped by those determined to project a Scotland at ease with its alcohol heritage. The fragility of this identity needs to be recognised and accorded appropriate protection. (Diageo, p.5)

In the retail sector, liquor stores (on-trade) supported MUP, as it reduced price competition pressure on them. For example, one of the respondents (Angus) noted that "the vast majority of pubs, clubs and bars in Scotland responded positively to the ban on smoking in public places". They are paying "more for their licences, and some have also agreed to pay an additional levy through Business Improvement Districts". In light of all this, Scottish and Newcastle has warned that "another fee would simply force even more pubs and clubs out of business, further depleting consumer choice and damaging the social infrastructure of communities" (Scottish & Newcastle, p. 3). However, the off-trade sector, such as bars and pubs, generally opposed the policy due to the investments required to alter their operations, such as layout changes, software restructuring, and increased stock-keeping units. Supermarkets, for example, appeared to have

more serious concerns about the operational consequences of the policy and its effect on their resources. ASDA estimated that the "cost of redesigning and reconfiguring" was a minimum of £3 million, which to them sounded "an unnecessary cost burden on the business and a diversion from more productive customer-friendly capital investment" (ASDA, p. 22).

The Scottish Beer and Pub Association (SBPA, p. 21) also highlighted concerns about the government's proposals on advertising. They argued that these measures would prevent the licensed industry from capitalising on their substantial investments, amounting to hundreds of millions of pounds, in making their premises more appealing to customers. The SBPA concluded that such restrictions would diminish the status of pubs, returning them to the perception that they were undesirable places, and resulting in decreased industry revenue, fewer job opportunities, and lower tax contributions to the government (SBPA, p. 21).

These differing responses were influenced by the particular financial and physical capital arrangements of each sector, which necessitated different types and levels of adjustments to comply with the policy requirements. The response of the industry to the new policy highlights the significance of financial, physical, and intellectual resources in the supply chain. The adaptation and utilisation of these resources in response to policy changes play a crucial role in determining the industry's ability to perform and generate revenue.

5.2.2. Social capital

I also identified some of the societal qualities, attributes, and characteristics on which the alcohol supply chain relies when acting and interacting with the policy process. I categorised them as social capital.[14] Social capital exists within spontaneous and voluntary association networks, enabling supply chain members to collaborate effectively towards shared objectives and reinforce their responsible participation in the co-evolutionary process of the MUP policy.

Social capital encompasses attributes such as privileged access to knowledge and information, preferential opportunities for new business, reputation, influence, and an enhanced understanding of network norms. These attributes significantly influence the behaviour and performance of supply chain members within their social context (Inkpen and Tsang, 2005, p. 150). They provide organisations and individuals with a distinct advantage when navigating the challenges, uncertainties, and complexities that the policy has introduced.

[14] Borrowed from seminal works of Pierre Bourdie, Robert D. Putnam and others.

The study findings reveal a fascinating aspect of supply chain dynamics: the critical influence of social interactions and collaboration among supply chain participants on overall performance. This aligns with previous studies that highlight the significance of social capital in supply chain management (Inkpen and Tsang, 2005; Dyer and Singh, 1998). These studies provide empirical evidence of the complementary effect of social capital alongside tangible resources in driving supply chain performance.

MUP introduced a heightened sense of uncertainty in the alcohol supply chain. This uncertainty poses challenges to manufacturers, distributors, and retailers as they face difficulties in accurately predicting demand, managing inventory, and anticipating market trends. In response, supply chain participants must reassess pricing strategies and modify product offerings to comply with regulatory requirements. Adapting to these changes requires substantial effort and resources to maintain operational efficiency and respond to the evolving market landscape.

Industry stakeholders recognise the demanding nature of MUP, as evidenced by their remarks which show their confusion and uncertainty, as well as the unpredictability resulting from the policy. As a result, there is a strong emphasis on fostering social connections, trust, and collaboration among supply chain members. This emphasis on social connections and collaboration underscores the importance of social capital in navigating the complexities of the policy and achieving operational success within the supply chain.

The alcohol industry thus leverages their social capital to optimise the utilisation and effectiveness of their physical and financial resources, aiming to sustain performance in this dynamic environment. They also use it (via trade associations and their campaigning and lobbying) to communicate their preferred way of framing alcohol policy [15] both to policymakers and to the broader public (Drummond, 2004; McCambridge et al., 2014).

However, I found instances in which this social capital was unable to facilitate the attainment of goals and instead became a social liability, prohibiting and obstructing the achievement of desired outcomes (Johanson, 2001). The post-devolution policy arena in Scotland is characterised by a gradual move towards a distinctive, pluralistic policy process that involves a wide range of interested parties and effectively "place[s] the industry on an equal footing with other stakeholders" (Holden and Hawkins, 2013, p. 269). However, in this case, since Westminster held the right to control capital and the labour market through taxation and

[15] This framing generally promotes a partnership approach in which policies are co-produced by policymakers and corporate actors (Anderson, 2007; Hawkins & McCambridge, 2020; McCambridge et al., 2014).

regulations (Holden and Hawkins, 2013), in the early stages of the MUP process, the alcohol industry players were reluctant to engage in the close social dialogue that the Scottish government orchestrated (Keating et al., 2009). This undermined the country's traditional pluralism as they saw no benefit in discussing anything except economic development, infrastructure, and competitiveness with the Scottish Government (Keating et al., 2009), even though its policy capacity was gradually being expanded. At the same time, increasing concerns about public health and the impact of alcohol consumption, combined with mounting evidence of alcohol-related harms, shifted the focus of the public policy discussion towards using more stringent measures to address these issues. Public sentiment also played a significant role, in a growing demand for stronger regulation and interventions to tackle alcohol-related problems. Consequently, the industry's status gradually shifted from being a partner in policy development to becoming the subject of public policy. This change meant that the industry's influence and involvement in policy discussions diminished, and they became subject to regulations, interventions, and pricing mechanisms designed to mitigate the negative impacts of alcohol and prioritise public well-being.

By the time industry players had realised their diminished social status and its effect on their lobbying power, operational environment and performance, a permanent change to the frame of the alcohol debate in Scotland had taken place. This removed the partnership with the industry from the heart of alcohol policy strategies by bringing pricing intervention into the picture (Anderson, 2007). In this new policy arena, the industry appeared to be less successful in influencing public policies despite their wealth of social capital. Hence, they switched to litigation and dedicated their financial and social capital to oppose the change in the policy.

The upcoming section will discuss the facets of Sztompka's theory that were utilised during the initial coding phase and categorised under the social capital theme. While these facets are presented separately for analytical purposes, they are closely interconnected in practice. As before, in each section I present a description of the concept, then follow it with an analysis of the findings based on the empirical data.

Efficiency

As explained in section 2.3.3, Efficiency deals with a fundamental question: Can organisations successfully achieve their goals and provide high-quality products or services, making it worthwhile for society to support them, even if they face certain challenges? This concept focuses on the organisation's overall capability rather than evaluating the cost-effectiveness of a specific technological process (Scott, 2003).

The tradition of the partnership approach in the UK's alcohol policy tends to entrust the alcohol industry with the responsibility of protecting public health, which is considered a valuable national asset. The alcohol industry tried to return this trust by cooperating in policymaking and by the voluntary measures they put in place. My findings highlight the practical measures they took to demonstrate their efficiency in safeguarding their customers' health, not only with respect to alcohol consumption but also in other areas, such as reducing high fat, sugar, and salt content in their products (Sainsbury). However, to gain trust within the social context in which they operate, they need to keep up with the public's evolving expectations. Trust, according to Giddens (1990), is not solely based on complete initiation into the processes of public critique and control or mastery of subject knowledge: instead it relies on establishing solid and integrated mechanisms that form a trustworthy "expert system".[16] The alcohol industry emphasised its ability to provide trusted knowledge and guidance, serving as a reliable resource for addressing complex issues related to the harms of excessive alcohol consumption. The findings suggest that they believe that this expect system made them capable of making informed decisions and offering solutions based on their specialised knowledge and understanding (Giddens, 1990). Consequently, they argue that external measures such as the MUP policy are unnecessary, as the industry's internal expert system can effectively address the challenges associated with excessive alcohol consumption. Industry respondents recognised the distinction between responsible industry players and the minority who violate rules, noting that the majority of industry players and consumers are responsible and considerate of consumer health:

> While we agree that a minority of retailers have irresponsible promotions which may encourage excessive consumption, we strongly disagree with the Government's proposal to end all promotions in order to tackle this minority. (Diageo, p. 4)

Regularity

In Sztompka's perspective, regularity refers to the stability, predictability, and orderliness of social phenomena, characterised by consistent and recurring behavioural and normative patterns that provide a sense of order and coherence within a social system, aiding actors in understanding and navigating their social environment. Implementing the MUP policy has disrupted the industry's established routines and interactions, as well as the motivations underlying their actions, flow, and sequence. The industry's understanding of the new regularities and routines is collectively shaped by their perception of the extent to which the

[16] To Giddens, an expert system refers to a social structure characterised by specialised knowledge and expertise.

previous regularity has been disrupted and the speed at which new routines are established and maintained (Sztompka, 1993). Nonetheless, my analysis revealed that certain routinised actions or objects have remained unaffected by the policy, acting as the anchor for maintaining some degree of order and regularity (Langley and Tsoukas, 2016).

My analysis also highlights the great confusion, uncertainty, and unpredictability resulting from the new policy, addressing which requires attention, resources, and effort from the supply chain members. The path towards achieving a reasonable approximation of order and regularity was not smooth or harmonious among the various actors when the policy was introduced, even before it was officially implemented.

The emergence of a new social structure is driven by the inherent conflicts within the relationships among the actors, leading to the formation of new stability, order, and regularity (Sztompka, 1993). The respondents emphasised that "an open discussion between stakeholders" was "an important prelude to policy making" (Diageo, p. 3), and they repeatedly invited the government to work in partnership with the alcohol industry, claiming that a situation in which "the government and the alcohol industry dr[e]w up standards together" was "the most appropriate and effective approach to tackling alcohol misuse" because they believed that such a "partnership ha[d] the greatest chance of success in changing Scottish consumers' relationship with alcohol". However, most industry players perceived the new policy as something that had been "set by politicians" (ASDA, p. 9), rather than as a collective effort to bring about a new regularity. This perception may stem from a lack of engagement between the industry and policymakers, leading to a disconnect between the desired outcomes and the implementation of the policy.

Accountability

Accountability, as described by Sztompka, means the expectation that actors should take responsibility for their actions, be answerable to others for the outcomes, and adhere to agreed-upon standards or norms, fostering transparency, trust, and the proper functioning of social systems, as well as involving mechanisms for self-criticism and improvement. My findings show that when it comes to the provision of ways to punish irresponsible actors in the alcohol industry, the lack of a mutually defined structure of obligations and expectations led to different arguments between the industry and the Scottish government. The new policy proposed a hierarchically structured mechanism for closely monitoring the alcohol industry. However, the industry preferred to be accountable to self-regulated associations and their

codes of professional responsibility, which had a limited capacity for imposing penalties among themselves (Hardin, 2004):

> Our industry is currently effectively regulated through both legislation and voluntary controls. Recently tightened voluntary codes, e.g. Portman, stronger Broadcast guidelines, e.g. Ofcom, are all adhered to sensitively by our brands and complemented by our own Marketing Code of Practice. (Edrington Group, p. 1)

They thus emphasised their adherence to voluntary codes and guidelines, complemented by their own "Marketing Code of Practice". At the same time, the industry also held the government accountable for its insufficient investment in alcohol prevention, treatment services, and "awareness raising among consumers" (Diageo, p. 3) as well as the "enforcement of existing legislation" (ASDA, p. 7). They argued that there should be a balance of responsibilities between business, government, civil society, and individuals. The industry claimed to have implemented accountability principles. It demonstrated its own responsibility through initiatives such as providing dedicated funds to support the identification, support, and treatment of those who misuse alcohol (see Diageo, p. 7, for example). They also showcased their commitment to accountability in other areas and similar products by remarking on the practical measures they had taken to reduce harm and their readiness to take on more, voluntarily, as responsible businesses:

> ASDA has a track record of responsibility in other areas. For example, we stopped selling tobacco products and knives to 16 and 17-year-olds one and a half years before the law changed in England and Wales. We are showing further leadership on tobacco – within the next six months, we will be trialling a covering up of cigarettes in a store in Scotland, as well as a store in England. (ASDA, p. 5)

Even though these voluntary measures were implemented, there were lingering uncertainties over whether institutional accountability mechanisms were truly successful in preventing the entire industry from prioritising profits over social well-being by other stakeholders (Cook et al., 2009). The industry's perception of its own accountability indicated the existence of internal self-criticism and a willingness to improve processes and procedures (Vigoda-Gadot and Mizrahi, 2014, p. 94). However, the Scottish government argued that these mechanisms were insufficient, given evidence of the scale of alcohol-related harm and the demand for action (Act 2012, p. 1). As a result, the new policy introduced new external measures of accountability to address these concerns and ensure greater accountability in the alcohol industry.

Reliability

Reliability, as defined by Sztompka (1999), is a feature of the consistency and stability of social phenomena or systems, reflecting the ability of social processes to produce similar outcomes consistently, but it can hinder adaptability and change when actors become overly focused on maintaining reliability. I note that the excessive burden on the industry to develop a highly reliable system "under conditions of increasing production pressures and reduced resources" (Scott, 2003, p. 358) was highlighted by many respondents. For example, the Scottish Retail Consortium (p. 5) stressed that the industry needs a system that "supports the businesses of responsible retailers and licensees, rather than imposing unnecessary regulatory hurdles" and Sainsbury explicitly noted the negative effect of added complexity on its operations and competitiveness:

> The introduction of minimum pricing for alcohol in our Scottish stores will mean substantial costs to our business, requiring us to run separate pricing mechanisms for our Scottish stores and the rest of our UK estate. This makes competitiveness an issue and increases costs to our business at a time when we are ambitious about our expansion plans in Scotland. Government adding increasing regulation, cost and complexity into the system makes it difficult for us to be competitive in an increasingly tough trading environment. (Sainsbury, p. 12)

The Wine and Spirit Trade Association (WSTA) was also concerned over the costs associated with maintaining a reliable system that could at the same time satisfy the requirements of the new policy:

> Any system of minimum pricing that meant that the price changed regularly would bring substantial business costs as each change would require the re-pricing of alcoholic products on the market – many thousands of lines. (WSTA, p. 19)

More functionally focused than other respondents, WSTA discussed some of the operational challenges in putting together a reliable working system:

> The proposed bans on promotions and/or the introduction of minimum pricing will require operational changes for retailers operating in both Scotland and England. Either the retailer will have to change its IT systems to allow for different pricing based on the same product bar-code or more likely suppliers will be required to produce different SKU's [stock-keeping units] for England and Scotland with

> different bar-codes. Both options bring significant cost and for smaller suppliers it may not be viable to produce product only for the Scottish market. (WSTA, p. 33)

Fairness

Fairness, as described by Sztompka, encompasses the principles of distributive fairness, involving the equitable allocation of resources and opportunities, and procedural fairness, focusing on fair decision-making processes that are transparent, provide opportunities for actors to voice their concerns, and result in impartial decisions, highlighting the importance of fairness in resource allocation and dispute resolution. I came across many instances in which the Scottish government asserted that the effectiveness of minimum retail pricing in reducing excessive alcohol consumption relies on its being perceived to be fair " to the alcohol industry and retailers but independent of those who profit from the production or sale of alcohol" (Discussion Paper, p. 19). Hence, they argued that "minimum prices should be determined by Scottish Ministers" (Discussion Paper, p. 19). On the other hand, industry players expect a transparent, impartial, and fair process that includes their input. Diageo, for instance, remarked on the need for an independent body to advise the government on setting minimum prices, with industry and stakeholders participating in transparent consultations to establish a pricing formula. SWA (p. 4) repeated this view, stating they doubted that the mechanism proposed to prevent irresponsible promotions was "sufficiently transparent and enforceable":

> The Association would advocate that if the Government is minded to proceed in this area, and it is found legal to do so, then any system should be transparent and enforceable. (SWA p. 11)

They also argued that certain measures proposed by the government, such as the ban on alcohol promotions and the social responsibility fee, were unfair and placed unjustifiable costs and obligations on the industry. ASDA echoes this sentiment, stating that these proposals distort market competition and have a disproportionate impact on low-income customers. They also questioned the fairness of applying a social responsibility fee solely to retailers instead of to all industry participants:

> We believe that many of the measures are unfair to different parts of the drinks industry, placing costs and obligations upon the industry that are not objectively justified. Any policy should be fair and equitable in its application within the industry. (Diageo, p. 12)

My findings reveal, that despite the profit-oriented nature of these organisations, fairness is viewed as "instrumental to the maximisation of long-run profits" (Kahneman et al., 1986, p. 728-729). Morrisons, for example, highlights their commitment to fair treatment of producers and suppliers and advocates equal and fair opportunities for retailers in the market, including equal competition in the sale of alcohol within the confines of licensing laws:

> Morrisons' ability to deliver value and quality depends in part on how we treat our producers and suppliers. Our aim is always to offer a fair deal. For example, Scottish broccoli farmers sell us their whole crop as our pricing policy enables us to sell sizes other retailers would reject. We also think that fairness should characterise opportunities for retailers in the market, whilst recognising the inherent importance of competition. Access to the market should be equal. For the sale of alcohol, within the licensing laws, retailers across the off-trade and the on-trade should be able to compete equally and fairly. (Morrisons, p. 2)

Benevolence

Benevolence refers to a genuine concern for the well-being of others, demonstrated through acts of goodwill, kindness, and compassion, often extending beyond personal gain and involving preferential treatment or assistance based on the needs of others, with its perceived level influenced by contextual factors and the perceived similarity between actors. In the case of the alcohol industry and the government, there was a divergence in understanding the role of benevolence. The industry believed that showing goodwill without expecting immediate returns would foster a healthy relationship with customers, the government, and society over time. They expressed their commitment to supporting various community issues beyond alcohol-related concerns. They also intended to foster the mutual indebtedness that sustained their healthy relationship with their customers, the government, and broader society over time:

> An imposed Social Responsibility Fee ignores the other many-faceted health related issues we are involved in supporting locally and it is questionable whether an alcohol-related Social Responsibility Fee should take precedence over the many important community issues we already support. (Sainsbury, p. 12)

> We fully supported the last Scottish Alcohol Awareness Week, including not advertising alcohol during the period, and will support the event again this October through point of sale materials and are encouraging MSPs to visit our stores during the campaign to better understand the retail environment. (CO-OP, p. 2)

The WSTA lists all the industry initiatives and investments at local and national levels in their response, and most of the other respondents explicitly highlighted the voluntary measures that they had put in place, not only in tackling the misuse of alcohol but, way beyond that, in supporting their customers, local communities, and national health and well-being. However, the government thought differently, as the same time as encouraging optional goodwill:

> We strongly support the voluntary agreement with the alcohol industry which encourages the inclusion of the CMOs' pregnancy advice on all alcohol products and would support action to make such labelling mandatory. (Government Discussion Paper, p. 22)
>
> We are fully supportive of improved alcohol product labelling to enable consumers to make more informed decisions and support the introduction of mandatory labelling in line with the current UK voluntary agreement. (Government Discussion Paper, p. 36)

Nevertheless, the government preferred legally enforced and measurable obligations, emphasising mandatory actions to address alcohol-related issues. This difference in perceptions of goodwill and benevolence played a significant role in the debate between the government and the industry, leading to legal action from the industry against the government's intervention.

Representativeness

Representativeness entails accurately reflecting and representing the interests, perspectives, and characteristics of a larger population or social system, prioritising the majority's interests and seeking compromises among conflicting interests, while advocating others' interests rather than self-enhancement, and fostering inclusivity and participation beyond organisational boundaries. Industry organisations, such as the SWA, the SBPA, and Noctis, view themselves as representatives of their respective sectors. They aim to protect, promote, and grow their industries while considering their communities' economic and social well-being (SWA and SBPA).

By engaging with various stakeholders, advocating good practices, and lobbying against unfavourable proposals, these organisations demonstrated their commitment to representing the interests of their members and the broader community (Noctis, SBPA):

> The Scotch Whisky Association (SWA) is the industry's representative organisation. Its aim is to protect, promote and grow Scotch Whisky worldwide. Our 54 member

companies include distillers, blenders, bottlers, and brokers of Scotch Whisky, representing around 90% of the industry. These companies provide employment to some 40,000 people across Scotland often in less economically advantaged urban areas or in remote rural communities where limited alternative job opportunities exist. (SWA, p. 5)

Noctis represents a heavily regulated group of businesses and we perform a strong advocacy role with local and national government, the police and many other key stakeholders. Noctis engages with all these bodies – promoting good practice and lobbying against poor proposals. (Noctis, p. 1)

The Scottish Beer and Pub Association was originally formed in 1906. Its members are Scotland's brewing and large pub companies representing the licensed trade industry in Scotland. The main aim of the Association is to contribute to the economic and social wellbeing of Scotland through employment, investment and training.… Our members account for 1,500 of the 5,200 licensed public houses in Scotland. (SBPA, p. 2)

The Co-operative Group provides "the Co-op Brand" range, comprising some 4,000 lines, including alcohol products, to all Co-ops. All Societies operating supermarkets and convenience stores are members of the Co-operative Retail Trading Group (CRTG). CRTG is operated by the Co-operative Group on behalf of CRTG members and provides a buying and marketing function to them. We are responsible retailers of alcohol and committed to playing our part in tackling alcohol misuse. (CO-OP, p. 1)

We are proud to offer our customers a great range of beers, wines and spirits, including many from Scotland. Currently we stock products from 36 distilleries and 19 breweries from Old Pulteney in the north (Wick) to Hendrick's Gin in the west (Girvan) and Valhalla Brewery in the Shetland isles (Unst). We believe this is the best range available from any retailer, and we are constantly looking to bring our customers new, innovate and distinctive products from Scotland and beyond…. [W]ith over 126 stores and 24,000 staff in Scotland, we have an important role, and a keen interest, in Scotland's economy, health and wellbeing. (Tesco, p. 2)

The WSTA represents 328 businesses who work across the entirety of the supply chain in wines and spirits in Scotland and throughout the UK. Our membership includes producers, importers, wholesalers, bottlers, warehouse keepers, logistics

> specialists, brand owners and off-licence retailers, including supermarkets and specialist stores. (WSTA, p. 2)
>
> The Edrington Group is a leading private employer in Scotland with a workforce of approximately 900. As the producer of The Famous Grouse, The Macallan, Highland Park, and most recently a majority partner in Brugal (a Dominican golden rum) it has a track record of responsibility in the Scottish marketplace. Owned by the Robertson Trust it also plays a significant role in the fabric of Scottish life with charitable contributions from the Trust averaging £7 million per annum. (Edrington Group, p. 1)
>
> The Portman Group is the dedicated social responsibility organisation for UK drinks producers. We speak on behalf of our members on issues related to alcohol social responsibility. (Portman Group, NA)

5.3. Structural Traits

Structural traits are the "culturally sustained rules and resources" (Machado-da-Silva et al., 2006, p. 46) that enable specific types of operations that would otherwise not be possible and that constrain others by limiting the range of possible choices of actions and thoughts (López and Potter, 2005). I use the two concepts of structural conduciveness and structural traditions to describe the different structural traits I observed.

Based on Sztompka (1999), my analysis emphasises the role of structural conduciveness in redefining outcomes and regulating acceptable modes of achieving goals. It includes factors like the normative coherence, stability, transparency, familiarity, and accountability of social structures. I also utilised Sztompka's notion of structural traditions, which represent the past structural effects that crystallise and become the current conditions for future operations, creating an ongoing and contingent cycle (Sztompka, 1999). However, Sztompka's perspective focuses mainly on the individual level, so I expand on his notion of structural traditions by introducing two data-driven notions of cultural background and policy-making traditions (Figure 5.3).

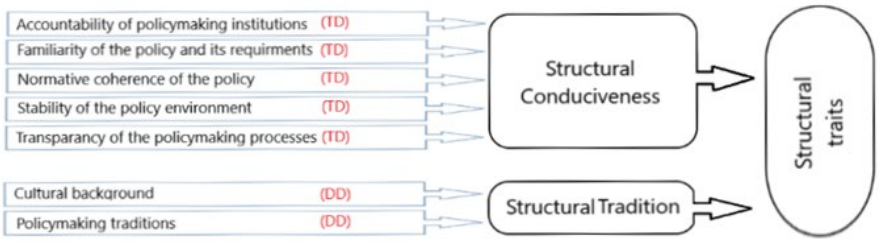

Figure 5.3: Structural traits

The findings demonstrate that organisational performance is both influenced by and influences the social environment. The alcohol industry and its players are not entirely autonomous but are constrained by their immediate social environment. These organisations operate within an interdependent social context that imposes structure on their behaviour. These external structures act as constraints on their free initiative (Giddens, 1984), providing both benefits and obstacles (Leenders and Gabbay, 1999). They make some actions possible while limiting others, thereby shaping the range of choices for action and thought (Benton and Craib, 2001; López and Potter, 2005).

When considered together, structural conduciveness and tradition provide additional clarity and predictability, enabling the design of operational processes. Without these structures, organisations would constantly need to improvise due to the contingent nature of the environment. However, when they understand these structural aspects, organisations can plan and implement predefined processes. This offers them efficiency and effectiveness in navigating the complexities of their environment. As in the previous section, the structure of the unavoidable long following section is as follows: In each section, I present a description of the concept, followed by with an analysis of the findings based on the empirical data.

5.3.1. Structural conduciveness

Structural conduciveness refers to the extent to which the structural characteristics of a social system or environment facilitate certain behaviours, actions, or outcomes. It examines how five features of social structures: their normative coherence, stability, transparency, familiarity, and accountability, shape and enable specific modes of achieving goals or pursuing actions.

The concept of structural conduciveness is rooted in the functionalist tradition of value-added theory, which suggests that certain conditions must be in place for collective behaviour to occur (Smelser, 1963). It plays a role in redefining outcomes and regulating the acceptable ways to achieve those outcomes by providing a conducive environment that either facilitates or hinders actions and outcomes.

These conditions represent the default structural arrangements that permit or constrain the actions of organisations. They are the macro-societal conditions that set the context for organisational actions. In 1999 Sztompka (1999) identified these five aspects of structural conduciveness. They are subject to practical intervention and institution-building efforts, and when present, they enable specific social behaviours. Thus, a high level of performance can be anticipated "if the structural opportunities and agential resources coincide" (Sztompka, 1999, p. 121). In other words, when the conducive structural conditions align with the capabilities and resources of the actors involved, it increases the likelihood of achieving high-performance outcomes.

In this study, I discovered that the alcohol industry employed a variety of strategies to navigate and capitalise on the structural traits related to the new policy and its challenges. Each characteristic is discussed in detail below. The alcohol industry primarily comprises large transnational firms with a global presence, making them familiar with alcohol policy, policing, price interventions, and MUP for alcoholic products (Jernigan, 2009). Similar policies have already been implemented in Canadian provinces since the 1990s and in several Eastern European countries since 2008 (Fergie et al., 2019; Jiang and Room, 2018; Katikireddi et al., 2014). As a result, these international industry players had a clear understanding of the necessary changes required to implement MUP, the operational challenges they would face, and the potential effects on their revenue, as well as anticipating long-term government interventions in their businesses (Sharma et al., 2017).

However, policy formulation was a relatively new concept for the post-devolution Scottish Government as the Scottish Office was primarily engaged in policy implementation before devolution (Cairney et al., 2016). The Scottish Government believed that their strategic objectives, aimed at making Scotland wealthier, fairer, safer, healthier, smarter, and greener, necessitated action to tackle alcohol misuse (Hawkins and McCambridge, 2020; Scottish Government, 2008). Consequently, it questioned the legitimacy of the conduct of those involved in the alcohol supply chain, claiming that their operations contradicted these strategic objectives (Hughes et al., 2019).

Ironically, an industry known for its outstanding performance, efficiency, and effectiveness found itself being blamed for the increasing affordability of alcohol. Although in many other situations, the criterion of cost-effectiveness is usually interpreted as a sign of an industry's outstanding performance, the fact that alcohol had become 62% more affordable since 1980 (Scottish Government, 2008) was used to associate the industry with the harms caused by

affordable alcohol in Scotland. Industry players viewed the MUP policy as an attack on the efficient operational systems they had established to produce alcohol at low prices and saw it as introducing new costs to address the perceived issue.

However, the policymaking process surrounding MUP was characterised by co-evolution and unpredictability. I found that this co-evolution process defined what could be achieved realistically for all involved (Hawkins and McCambridge, 2020). Alcohol was framed and debated from various perspectives, including economics, leisure, health, and policing (Katikireddi and Hilton, 2015). The enaction of MUP into law was a slow process marked by significant shifts in public debate, which themselves were often influenced by ongoing pressure from the industry (Hawkins and McCambridge, 2020). By the time MUP came into effect, six years after it was introduced, the industry had developed a mature perception of the new social order and felt confident it could operate efficiently within the boundaries of the altered social structures.

I also noted that although the protracted legal battle at the beginning of the introduction of MUP seemed to undermine the Government's efforts to establish a consensus on its alcohol policies, it played a crucial role in the smooth and effective implementation of the policy. This was because the legal battle provided the industry with sufficient time to comprehend the various dimensions of the new order and prepare themselves to operate within the parameters of the new environment.

Normative coherence

As described in section 2.3.4, normative coherence refers to the social rules and agencies that regulate actors' conduct, and that provide a solid framework for social life by enhancing predictability, orderliness, and security (Sztompka, 1999). Thus, normative coherence allows organisations to anticipate the outcomes of social interactions and plan for the future, offering the clarity and predictability that enable them to design optimal operational processes (Svensson, 2018). Without normative coherence, organisations would face constant improvisation in response to a contingent environment, hindering their ability to plan and establish predefined processes.

I found a significant divergence in the understanding of normative coherence among different actors involved in Scotland's alcohol policy-making discourse, because different actors relied on different sets of structural norms to pursue their differing agendas and priorities.

On its part the industry itself emphasised the need to change alcohol culture and consumption patterns, framing their arguments around the economic benefits of doing so, combined with cultural integrity and responsible business practices. They argued that a price-based intervention was a blunt instrument that could not address the complex sociocultural issue of alcohol misuse and its related harms. To them, changing the alcohol culture and the way in which alcohol was consumed was the right way to reduce its harms. Therefore, as a recurrent theme throughout the consultation responses, their argument centred on efforts to stigmatise excessive consumption and delegitimise anti-social alcohol-related behaviour (O'Donnell, 2006). Using their functional understanding, they discussed the benefits of the alcohol industry to the economy and cultural integrity of Scotland and its representation of the Scottish identity; as well as socially acceptable norms for operations in their beliefs. This approach had the dual advantage of "diffusing responsibility for change among a variety of stakeholders and … [making this reform dependent] on gradual change over time, rather than [taking] measures designed to reduce aggregate alcohol consumption in the short to medium term" (Hawkins and Holden, 2013):

> Problems relating to alcohol misuse are of growing concern in Scotland, as in the rest of the United Kingdom. However, it should be acknowledged that the shifts in drinking patterns and accompanying problems likely reflect deeper societal changes of which alcohol misuse is but a symptom. Any effective strategy to address alcohol problems, therefore, should be broad-based, involve a multi-component approach, and should be implemented in concert with other measures to address behavioural and social issues. (SWA, p. 8)

In contrast, the Scottish Government adopted a moralising and paternalistic approach, aiming to legislate and promote a "civilised" drinking culture while questioning the industry's compliance with broader strategic objectives (Nicholls, 2012, Greenaway, 2003). This approach was intended to stop the Scots from making bad decisions about their health by using the discourse of panic; scaring the public away from where they were heading with their drinking habits (Spracklen, 2014). Thus, the government clearly focused on different normative structures although, at the same time, they acknowledged that the alcohol industry (and the whisky industry, in particular) were key contributors to economic development. This allowed the government to legitimise their intervention and challenge the industry's conduct along the supply chain, claiming that the way they operate defied the strategic objectives of making Scotland wealthier and fairer, safer and stronger, healthier, smarter and greener in one way or another.

Stability

The stability of social order is crucial for organisational decision-making, as it provides a consistent framework of shared norms and values (Sztompka, 1999). However, the implementation of the new alcohol policy resulted in social instability, leading to a breakdown in consensus and established patterns of action within the industry. This created uncertainty in the operating environment and posed challenges for industry players in influencing public policies. As a result, they turned to litigation to delay the implementation of the policy and discourage further actions to promote it.

With this disruption of the existing consensus and shared norms, the industry struggled to rely on past experiences and coordinate their actions effectively. The changing environment introduced difficulties and decreased their confidence in navigating the new landscape. Despite extensive lobbying efforts, they found it difficult to have a substantial influence on public policies (Elster et al., 1989).

The new policy was a process characterised by unpredictability and instability, in which alcohol was framed in various ways as a matter of economics, leisure, health and policing. Over time, the industry's perception of the new social order gradually developed, enabling them to adapt and operate efficiently within the changed environment. Enacting the policy into law was slow, and public debates on alcohol underwent significant shifts under continuous pressure from the industry. It can be argued that by 2018, the industry's perception of the new social order had matured enough for them to feel secure in operating efficiently within the relatively stable new social environment. From this perspective, although the introduction of the new policy disrupted the social order in the industry and destabilised the operations' environment, by understanding it and adapting to it, industry players were able to navigate the changed environment, understand the new social order as it stabilised and ensure their continued operation.

Accountability

In the policy arena, most often, aggregated actors form groups based on their shared set of normative and causal beliefs to further their policy objectives on core policy issues. As noted by Sabatier (1986, p. 25), "the end result is legislation or governmental decrees establishing or modifying one or more governmental action programs at the collective choice level". However, public policy takes place within the norm of responsibility and accountability. The strong institutionalisation of this norm implies that policymakers are, indeed, responsible for their decisions, actions, and outcomes of implementation (Lane, 1987).

Sztompka notes that, “for enhancing accountability, the most important task is to consolidate democratic institutions” since “from the very top of the political system, democratic governments are accountable through elections, the division of powers, and mutual checks and balances, as well as the constitutionalism and rule of law, binding them equally as citizens”. He emphasises that a “crucial role is played by judicial reviews of legislation, [and] independent courts, as well as the efficiency of enforcement agencies of all kinds” (Sztompka, 1999, p. 136). Thus, from this perspective, the prolonged social, legal and political battle over the Act 2012 was used to fill this structural framework with appropriate actions.

When it comes to the accountability of the Scottish government in manipulating the market of one of the key products with a distinct Scottish identity, the story is more complicated. Indeed, the newly elected SNP government was interested in demonstrating its capacity and authority to formulate distinctly Scottish policies for addressing social and economic issues at the Scottish level, independent from the Whitehall policy network. However, as the direct descendant of the old Scottish Office, the Scottish government had limited policy capacity and knowledge, despite the gradual increase in its staffing and other resources after devolution. Political leadership was weak, and “most functions were the responsibility of junior ministers without their own authority” (Keating, 2010). Unsurprisingly, when the Scottish government implemented the minimum alcohol price at £0.50 per unit in 2018, it used the same level that it proposed in 2012. As observed by Holmes et al. (2018, p. 203):

> [T]he effectiveness of MUP at this level has declined markedly over time, because price inflation and market changes have reduced the proportion of off-trade (i.e. shop-bought) alcohol sold below £0.50 per unit from 72% in 2010 to 51% in 2016. The 2010 figure is significant, as this was used in the modelling on which the Scottish government’s decision to focus on £0.50 was based.

Barrett and Fudge (1981, p. 276) explain the symbolic policy situation where

> policy may become a substitute for action, to demonstrate that something is being done without actually tackling the real problem … [and] governments or policymakers wish to be seen to be responsive without necessarily really wanting to take responsibility for intervention.

From this perspective, keeping to the orignal £0.50 per unit helped the government to “avoid tackling the real issue of attempting to change the ‘negotiated order’ or upsetting powerful groups which might show up only too clearly the limits of the policy-makers’ power” (Barrett and Fudge, 1981, p. 276). From this point of view, as observed by Hawkins and McCambridge

(2020, p. 16), “the industry’s efforts to influence alcohol policy were not completely unsuccessful. The significant resources expended in opposing MUP failed to prevent its introduction but succeeded in delaying wider progress in alcohol policy”.

Transparency

Sztompka’s emphasis on the need to make information available and transparency in social structures points to the importance of creating a clear and accessible flow of information in a society. This includes providing individuals and organisations with knowledge about how the social system functions, its efficiency, levels of achievement, failures, and pathologies. Transparency in social structures enables effective decision-making and allows actors to understand the consequences of their actions.

According to Donnelly (2014, p. 286), the former deputy chief medical officer for Scotland from 2004 to 2008, the government attempted to be as transparent as possible, explaining the situation clearly for the alcohol industry:

> [T]he industry could, and should, take another tack. As the deputy chief medical officer for Scotland … I met with industry representatives and took great pains to make it clear that we were not against their businesses, trade, or profits. To the contrary, my colleagues and I agreed with the alcohol producers that their financial success was a boon for the Scottish economy and, within reason, good for the public’s health. But as health officials, we reminded these companies that we were seeking just one thing: to decrease the total amount of ethanol consumed by the Scottish population so that it did not cause so much damage to its collective health.

The government aimed to address the industry’s concerns and make it evident that their focus was not to hinder business or profit but rather to reduce the overall consumption of alcohol for the sake of public health. However, despite these efforts, the industry remained sceptical of the government’s proposals, particularly regarding the transparency and enforceability of measures. Moreover, the industry’s players were not convinced about many of the government’s proposals. For example, the SWA was not convinced that

> it is possible for the Government to introduce a regime to prevent the sale of alcohol as a loss-leader that is sufficiently transparent and enforceable. Only through a ban on sales below tax (excise duty and VAT), with all alcoholic drinks taxed at the same duty rate according to alcohol content, could a step in this direction take place with the necessary transparency. (SWA, 2008, p. 4)

After devolution many major industry players preferred to continue to deal with Whitehall and ignore the Scottish level of policy-making (Keating, 2010, Cairney, 2008, 2011). However, I noted that the Scottish government managed to bring them into the Scottish policy communities, albeit through a slow but steady process of adaptation. In comparison to what it used to be, in the Scotland's new policy arena "there is undoubtedly much more political competition, more pluralism in interest politics, more transparency and more consultation"; facts that took the industry players a while to realise (Keating, 2010, p. 257). In effect, due to limitations in its powers, resources, and policy capacities, a consensual and transparent policymaking process through cooperation with outside groups appeared to be a necessity rather than a choice for the Scottish government. As the result, a new and distinctive politics which was constituted by transparency and the broadening of participation in the policy process had been shaped in Scotland by the time that the Act 2012 was debated by the policy community in Scotland (Cairney, 2011).

Familiarity

In situations where objective standards are lacking, actors tend to rely on social comparisons to make decisions about their actions (Festinger, 1950), and familiarity plays a role in judging competence potentially influencing decision outcomes (Pfeffer et al., 1976). As noted above, to the alcohol industry, which is characterised mainly by a number of large transnational firms with a global presence (Jernigan, 2009), the concepts of alcohol policy and policing, price interventions and even minimum pricing for alcoholic products were quite familiar. They already had a clear understanding of the implementation challenges, effects on operations and revenue, and potential government interventions, based on their familiarity with such interventions (Sharma et al., 2017). This familiarity instilled confidence in their understanding of the international legal dimensions of such legislation (Svensson, 2018). Consequently, according to Casswell (2013), the global alcohol industry aimed to diffuse and normalise drinking in emerging markets before adequate policies could be implemented to address heavy drinking and its associated harms.

Overall, I found that the familiarity of the alcohol industry with price intervention policies helped them deal with the MUP policy in Scotland by providing them with the insights, preparedness, and ability to articulate their concerns and perspectives effectively. For instance, the SWA was active in pointing to its expertise in international trade discussions and legal dimensions, emphasising to government its experience and involvement in complex negotiations (Hawkins and McCambridge, 2020).

5.3.2. Structural traditions

While Sztompka's concept of structural traditions provides valuable insights into the macro-societal conditions that influence individual actions and decision-making, it may not fully capture the complexities of broader cultural influences and historical policy practices that impact specific industries and government interactions. I hence expand on his notion of structural traditions by introducing two data-driven notions of cultural background and policy-making traditions. These two notions, allow us to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the intricate factors shaping the context and decision-making processes in the case of the alcohol industry and MUP policy.

The notion of cultural background allows us to explore how deeply ingrained cultural norms, values, and attitudes toward alcohol consumption in society have influenced the industry's behaviour and government responses. Cultural perceptions of alcohol, social attitudes toward alcohol use, and prevailing drinking practices can have a significant impact on how the industry operates and how policies are formulated and implemented. For instance, in a society with a strong drinking culture like Scotland, the alcohol industry may face challenges and opportunities that differ from those faced by a society with a more conservative approach to alcohol consumption. Understanding cultural background provides valuable insights into how societal norms and values interact with policy initiatives and shape the overall context for decision-making.

Additionally, an examination of policy-making traditions enables us to study the historical approaches and experiences of governments in dealing with alcohol-related issues. By analysing past policy practices and their outcomes, we can identify patterns, successes, and failures in addressing alcohol-related concerns and their operational and performance implications for the industry. This historical perspective sheds light on the evolving nature of alcohol policy and governance and informs decision-making processes in the present.

By incorporating these data-driven notions into Sztompka's framework, I have arrived at a more holistic and nuanced understanding of the interplay among the individual actions, cultural influences, and policy practices that shaped the interactions between the alcohol industry and the government and the implications that arise for the operations and performance of organisations within the supply chain of alcohol. This expanded perspective helps us comprehend how the broad context and historical precedents influence decisions, outcomes and performance of different actors.

Policymaking tradition

It can be argued that the Act 2012 is primarily a product of an emotional, post-devolution commitment to the promotion of Scottish interests. To Rosie and Bond (2007), the distinguishing characteristics of Scottish attitudes are a commitment to the welfare state, collectivism, and equality, and these justify interventions by the government into market processes. However, as observed by Keating et al. (2009, p. 57), immediately after devolution the Scottish government, which had descended directly from the Scottish Office, "had little policy-making capacity since its main task was to implement Whitehall policies [and as a result] the Government relies on policy-making networks and professional groups more than the UK government". At this stage the government had been committed to consultation and cooperation with the Scottish level of organisation. Unsurprisingly, by 2007 big businesses had established links with the Scottish government through which they effectively influenced the policy debate (Cairney, 2008). On the other hand, small and medium-sized businesses were more reliant on public goods and services provided at the Scottish level than big businesses and were engaged with the policy debate long before big businesses realised the benefits of these sorts of policy-making engagements.

To Jordan and Richardson (1982, p. 3), the typical UK policy process contains a "predilection for consultation" with interest groups, a "strong desire to avoid actions which might challenge well entrenched interests" and some degree of "avoidance of radical policy change". This is typically a reactive rather than anticipatory approach to policy, favouring consensus with interest groups rather than the imposition of policy (Cairney, 2008). Even before devolution, "top-down" policy process accounted for only a small proportion of the policies set in place and interest groups were almost always central to the policy-making process in the UK, as noted by Cairney (2008).

Indeed, the alcohol industry in Scotland found the Act 2012 to be a top-down rather than a pluralistic policy process. However, the weighty debates among the Scottish government and the alcohol industry on the new alcohol policy and its process were deeply rooted in their different interpretations of the "pluralistic policy process" and the different types of body each referred to as an interest group. Each side defined majoritarian policy styles and consensual democratic approach to policy-making quite differently from the other. Because each decoded the term "interest groups" differently, they disagreed on who should determine the actual process of policy-making.

While the industry emphasised inner-circle negotiation, the government included "any organisation that is seen as being active in the policy process with the function or aim of influencing policy outcomes" (Jordan et al., 2004, p. 200) in the policy process and effectively "place[d] the industry on an equal footing with other stakeholders" (Holden and Hawkins, 2013, p. 269). To the latter, to deliver the long-term sustainable change that was required, it was "essential that Government works in partnership with a wide range of partners" (Scottish Government, 2008, p. 4). Therefore, the government argued that MUP was by no means an instance of top-down policy-making but a change in the Scottish government's approach to policy-making. By changing the rules of engagement the government took complete control over the consultation agenda and kept it out of the reach of other policy participants.[17] Thus, the Act 2012 was a process of policy-making in which consultation was displaced rather than rejected (see Cairney, 2008 for other examples of such situations).

In effect, devolution had changed the policy consultation processes in Scotland (McGarvey, 2008). While the new government was more familiar with implementation than policy formulation and found consultation necessary to source information and legitimise decisions (Keating, 2010), "a smaller political arena (with closer personal contacts and easier coordination)" led it toward its own version of policy process in which social dialogue was central to policy-making (Cairney, 2008, p. 358).

However, industry and business players were reluctant to engage in the close social dialogue orchestrated by the government in the early days of devolution (Keating et al., 2009). This was because, to them, devolution reserved to Westminster the actual control over capital and the labour market through taxation and regulation of the labour market (Holden and Hawkins, 2013). They saw neither benefit nor necessity in discussing anything except economic development, infrastructure, and competitiveness with the Scottish government (Keating et al., 2009). Taking their own influence for granted, they failed to distinguish between being consulted and being influential in the post-devolution policy-making arena in Scotland. As a result, the industry gradually lost its prominent position as a key partner in the policy process. This post-devolution gap in Scotland's policy environment provided the opportunity for other interest groups (trade unions, the voluntary sector, and the education, legal, and health professions) to increase their influence (Holden and Hawkins, 2013). Thus, the diminished status of the industry in the policy process led to the elevation of the status of other interest groups. Together with the minority SNP Scottish government, these other interest groups

[17] Any social entity that actively seeks to intervene in policies politically.

advanced a radical and purposeful divergence from the typical pre-devolution policy process (Parry, 2008), which then became the mainstream argument in Scotland's alcohol debate after the 2011 election. They successfully use the gap in the policy arena to make a permanent change to framing the alcohol debate in Scotland by removing the partnership with the industry from the heart of alcohol policy strategies and by bringing pricing intervention into the picture (Anderson, 2007).

This degree of participation of different interest groups and their influence on the policy agenda were totally new phenomena in the UK and can explain (in part) the hesitation and confusion of the industry players in keeping up with and engaging with this process. Although in comparison with the pre-devolution situation, Scotland's distinct policy-making style is "a less mature process of bureaucratic accommodation, [with] … shifts of policy formulation outside the bureaucratic arena and occasional periods of top-down policymaking", "the general principle of consultation and partnership is followed, [yet] outcomes vary according to the maturity of the network" and "the strength of groups and their ability to make binding decisions on behalf of their constituencies", as observed by Cairney (2008, p. 368). Thus, "despite [their] easy access to decision-makers and comprehensive and persistent lobbying, industry actors were frustrated in their attempts to influence policy to the same extent and through the same channels that they had previously been allowed", simply because a more socially oriented approach was needed to perform well in this new arena (Holden and Hawkins, 2013, p. 256). As the result of this malperformance, they failed to promote a framing of the alcohol policy that favoured and secured their commercial interests. More than anything else, it was the industry's lack of engagement with the policymaking process that let them concede the policy arena to their competitors. By the time they realised the capacity of social performability in promoting or hampering their overall performance it was already too late to change the policy path.

Cultural background

From a structuration perspective, the influence of the Scottish cultural background on the acceptance of the policy and the challenges faced during the policy process and the outcomes of the MUP policy can be understood by focusing on the interplay between structure and agency. I found various and often interrelated aspects of Scottish culture that contributed to shaping the policy's acceptance, implementation, industry response, potential challenges, and outcomes.

Scottish culture has a longstanding and distinct drinking culture wherein alcohol plays a central role in social gatherings and celebrations. These cultural norms act as structuring forces that influence how the MUP policy is perceived. Deeply ingrained beliefs about alcohol consumption and personal freedoms presented a significant challenge to the policy's acceptance. Some perceived the MUP policy as a threat to their cultural practices and traditional values (Jones et al., 2017). On the other hand, actors who recognised the detrimental effects of excessive drinking were more supportive of MUP and aligned their agency with the broader goals of public health and harm reduction (Purshouse et al., 2013). This demonstrates how cultural norms can influence attitudes, behaviour, and responses toward a policy.

Within the Scottish political landscape, policymakers and legislators are not immune to the influence of cultural norms. Their agency is shaped by both their cultural backgrounds and the cultural expectations of their constituents. Consequently, the political decision-making process over the MUP policy was influenced by the need to respond to the demands of the cultural context while addressing public health concerns. This delicate balance between cultural expectations and policy objectives can significantly impact on a policy's outcomes.

The presence of the alcohol industry in Scotland represents another significant agent in this structuration process. Industry actors, influenced by their own cultural norms and values, engaged in lobbying efforts to protect their interests. These efforts were aimed at influencing policy outcomes to maintain the status quo or protect their market share, often by leveraging cultural sentiments around personal freedoms and economic impacts.

Another crucial aspect of the Scottish cultural background that affected the MUP policy is the stigma associated with alcohol-related problems. This cultural stigma influences how issues related to alcohol consumption are perceived and discussed. It creates barriers to open discussions about alcohol harm and may hinder support for evidence-based policies like MUP. Addressing and understanding this cultural structure was crucial for crafting effective policies and garnering public support. I found that cultural norms also influenced the perception of policy effectiveness. Scepticism about the MUP policy's impact on heavy drinkers, and the belief that they would find alternative ways to obtain alcohol are shaped by cultural norms about alcohol consumption and access to it. To comprehend and navigate performance in the complex social context surrounding the MUP policy in Scotland, it is essential to acknowledge and understand the cultural influences at play.

5.4. Facilitating Processes

Facilitating processes, as I call them in this study, are mechanisms that play a fundamental and central role in shaping a firm's performance and overall outcomes. Facilitating processes are dynamic processes by which form and consistency are imposed on operations and shape policy development, its implementation and its outcomes at the same time. I argue that these processes are at the core of firm's performance and underpin what can be realised in their operations and have a direct impact on subsequent outcomes and performance.

A theory-matching process, as explained in 3.5.2, helped me to expand on Sztompka's structuration perspective by elaborating the underlying process that are in play here. I did this by introducing the concept of facilitating processes and its two subcategories: connectedness processes and capacity-building processes (Figure 5.4). These are both data-driven concepts that were not originally part of the initial structuration perspective I started my analysis with. Connectedness processes revolve around building and maintaining relationships within and outside the firm, ensuring effective communication, coordination, and collaboration as well as making sense of the social space and its values and norms and reflect on them. On the other hand, capacity-building processes focus on enhancing the firm's capabilities and competencies to tackle challenges and achieve objectives

I argue that these processes are located at the core of a firm's performance, determining what can be achieved through its operations. When these processes are effective, firms can harness their potential and achieve their objectives through well-informed and well-executed operations. Conversely, any unrealised potential or shortcoming can often be attributed to defects, malfunctions, or misalignments in these processes. Such deficiencies in these processes can hinder a firm's performance and limit its ability to accomplish its goals.

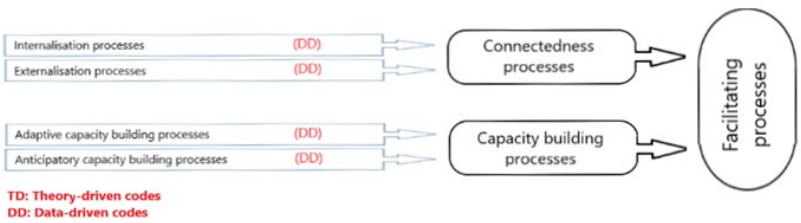

Figure 5.4: Facilitating processes

5.4.1. Connectedness processes

I noticed that the supply chain continuously internalised external value patterns to reinforce its social potentiality, aiming to present itself as a responsible part of society. This process involved updating their understanding of what was deemed acceptable by the wider society and then

externalising this potentiality through their operations, using legitimate means to achieve legitimate ends. Here, rather than conforming to a pre-planned course of action, operations are the unending result of the supply chain's ongoing effort to generate spontaneous but legitimate outcomes.

I hence further found that the connectedness processes include two recursive process of internalisation and externalisation, as illustrated in Figure 5.5. Together, internalisation and externalisation processes constitute a dynamic interplay between the supply chain and its social context. The supply chain continuously absorbs external value patterns, integrating them into its operations, while also responding and adapting to the social context through innovative operational strategies.

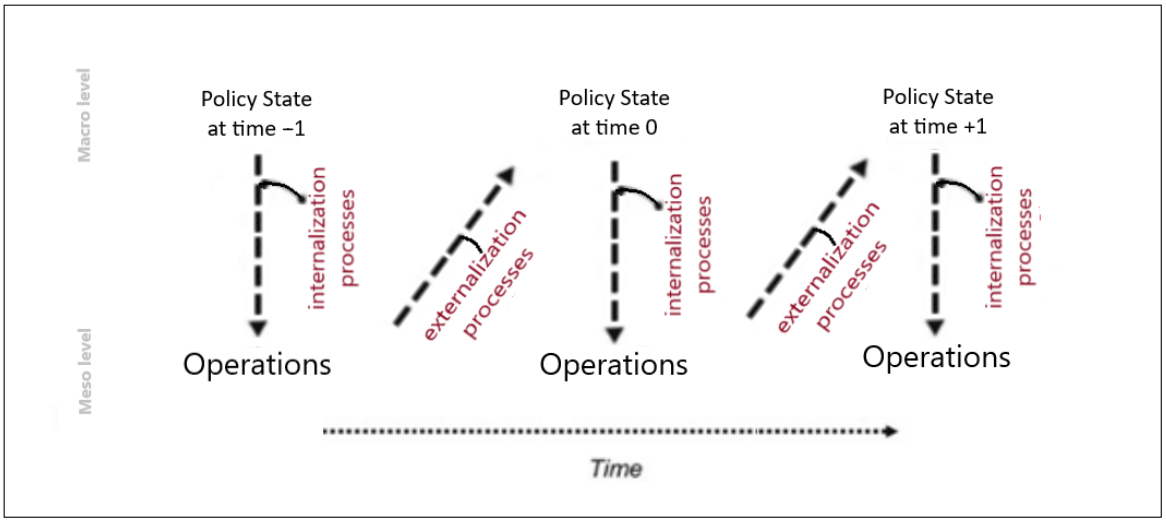

Figure 5.5: Connectedness processes over time

Internalisation processes

Internalisation processes integrate macro level influences, including external value patterns and broader societal norms, into the operations of individual supply chain members. When faced with a new policy like the MUP policy, supply chain members strive to understand and internalise its implications and requirements, leading to adjustments in their operations, production processes, or marketing strategies to align with the policy's goals and requirements. By internalising these external values, the supply chain can demonstrate that its engagement with society is responsible and ethical.

In response to societal concerns about alcohol consumption, various supply chain members expressed their commitment to promoting responsible drinking. For instance, Bacardi Brown-Forman advocated an end to irresponsible practices in the industry, and on changing consumer attitudes towards excessive consumption. Chivas Brothers Limited, part of Pernod Ricard, highlighted their commitment to marketing products responsibly and encouraging responsible consumption. The SBPA recognised the vital community role played by many pubs and their contribution to the responsible drinking agenda. These responses by supply chain members illustrate their efforts to align their organisations with societal expectations and demonstrate their commitment to responsible alcohol practices. By integrating external values and societal norms, the supply chain aimed to address the concerns about alcohol consumption and to contribute positively to the social system.

Externalisation processes

The concept of externalisation processes captures how the meso level influences the macro level and is a tool for discovering how supply chain members respond to and adapt to their social context, including policy changes and societal demands, by improvising operational strategies. For instance, when faced with the MUP policy, alcohol supply chain members improvised new ways to package and market their products to comply with the policy's requirements while maintaining their profitability and customer satisfaction. Similarly, on the issue of alcohol advertising and promotions, companies like Diageo and SABMiller emphasised the need for responsible advertising and a balance between their right to advertise in a competitive market and society's expectations and promised they would engage in responsible advertising. The Portman Group acknowledged the improvements in alcohol marketing through self-regulation but also recognised that legislation may be necessary in certain areas to address alcohol-related harm. Taking a different approach, Scottish Retail Consortium justified using promotions as meeting customer expectations and providing value, especially in challenging economic times, rather than as a way of promoting hazardous consumption. These adaptive operational strategies demonstrate the supply chain's responsiveness to the social context and its ability to adapt to changing external conditions.

In combination, addressing recursive internalisation and externalisation processes can explain how and why the alcohol supply chain eventually accommodated the MUP policy by making certain operational adjustments over time. These processes a crucial role in the supply chain's performance and help supply chain members focus on the functional significance of their attainments. This includes understanding and aligning with the values, rights, and wrongs

perceived by others in their social context, and reflecting this understanding in their operations. In this way they deepen the firm's understanding of the broader policy landscape, regulatory requirements, and industry best practices. Moreover, these processes ensure efficient coordination among various members of the supply chain, establishing clear lines of communication and collaboration, minimising misunderstandings, enhancing responsiveness, and streamlining operations. Without these processes, the supply chain would struggle to address the requirements of its social surroundings, leading to potentially illegitimate or irrelevant outcomes.

5.4.2. Capacity-building processes

Capacity-building processes are the other data-driven set of processes that I identified in my analysis. Capacity-building processes aim at enhancing the firm's capabilities and competencies to tackle challenges, seize opportunities, and achieve its strategic objectives. By developing a robust capacity base, the firm is better equipped to handle policy development complexities, navigate implementation hurdles, and achieve desired outcomes.

In the context of policy development, capacity-building processes involve investing in research and development, innovation, and data analytics to analyse industry trends, consumer behaviour, and regulatory changes. A firm with strong capacity can anticipate potential challenges and devise effective strategies to address them more efficiently. As social structures like public policy unfold over time, the operational responses of the firms also evolve. Hence, to make sense of how the alcohol supply chain dealt with the uncertainty, multiplicity, and complexity of the emerging policy context we examined not only what had been done in the past but also what was being done at any given time, and what might be done in the future. This is how we captured the connection among past, present, and future actions and events.

There were two analytically distinct sets of processes by which supply chain members were influenced by, and exerted an influence on, their social context. The first was the adaptive capacity of operational structures in dealing with known complexities by transforming them into routine operational structures. The second was the anticipatory capacity of these operational structures to deal with new and therefore unknown complexities. I noticed that only when supply chain members were reassured that appropriate mechanisms were in place to deal with known complexities that they started dealing with unknown complexities more effectively. Figure 5.6 shows how these two features join micro and meso level processes over time.

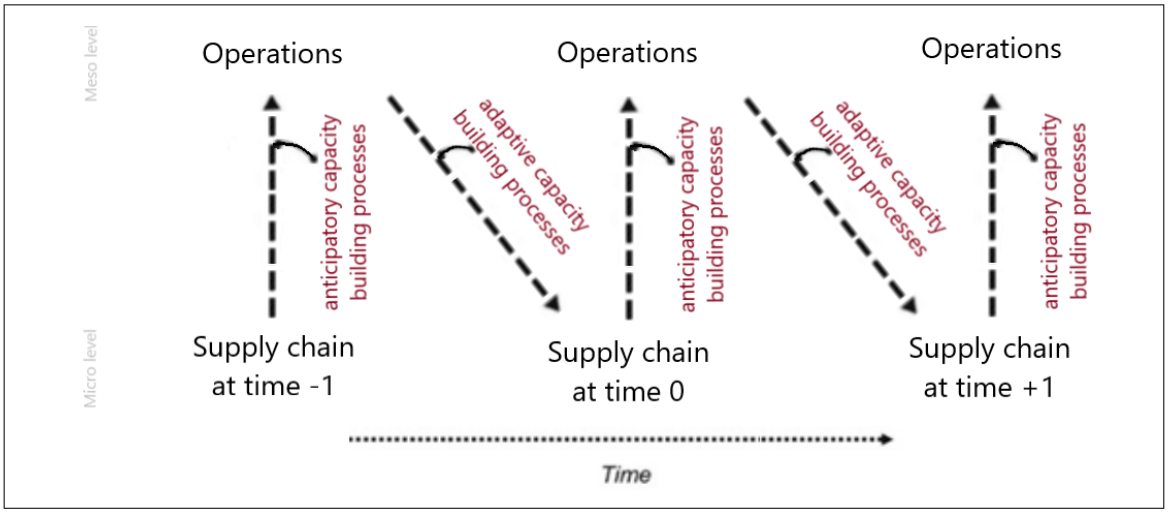

Figure 0.6: Capacity-building processes over time

Adaptive capacity-building processes

The first set of processes revolves around the adaptive capacity of supply chain members. When faced with the known complexities and challenges of the new policy, alcohol supply chain members utilised their existing operational structures and routines to deal with such issues. Over time, they transformed these challenges into routine practices, effectively integrating them into their day-to-day operations. This adaptive capacity allowed them to respond efficiently and effectively to situations, drawing upon their past experiences and accumulated knowledge by transforming known complexities into routine operational structures. This enhanced their confidence in dealing with familiar challenges, making them more assured in their ability to address such issues in the future. As a result, they developed a level of comfort and reassurance in handling these known complexities.

The concept of adaptive capacity-building processes, sheds light on how supply chain members align their operational routines with the demands of their social context. I called it adaptive because it enables organisations to respond appropriately to the requirements of the social context they encounter. However, while adaptive capacity-building processes primarily address known and seemingly stable issues, they also entail making changes to both organisational operations and the surrounding environment. Note that, from a processual perspective, constant change is inherent in all aspects (Tsoukas and Chia, 2002). Therefore, supply chain members strive to maintain familiarity and stability amidst this constant change, and this, too, involves engaging in adaptive capacity-building processes.

Anticipatory capacity-building processes

The second set of processes focuses on the anticipatory capacity of supply chain members. This involves the ability of firms to proactively prepare for and navigate unknown complexities. Unlike known complexities, new and emerging challenges usually lack a clear precedent or established solution. However, firms with strong anticipatory capacity exhibit forward-thinking behaviour and a willingness to embrace uncertainty.

The alcohol industry proactively adjusted their operations to be prepared for the potential shifts resulting from the new policy. With prior (second-hand) experience from their relationships with the tobacco industry, they were able to anticipate the policy's implications and strategically plan their future actions. They engaged with other actors in the field to gain a clearer understanding of their actions and connected their current practices to their anticipated futures accordingly. By the time the 2012 Act came into effect, they had already implemented the necessary changes to their operations in anticipation of the policy's demands. However, they did so with limited knowledge of the extent to which future events could be anticipated and how to address them. To address these unknown complexities, supply chain members adopted a future-oriented perspective. They invested in research, data analysis, and innovation to gain insights into potential shifts in the market and consumer behaviour.

Unlike predicting specific future events, anticipatory capacity-building required agents to develop a mindset of preparedness and agility, and to acknowledge that the future is inherently uncertain and complex. This proactive approach allows them to anticipate changes, identify emerging trends, and prepare for potential disruptions by building the capabilities and resources necessary to navigate future challenges effectively, in light of various scenarios and possibilities. Continuously evaluating its operations ensures the organisation remains adaptable and ready to seize opportunities or address potential risks. Anticipatory capacity-building does not aim to predict the future with certainty; instead, it focuses on fostering resilience and responsiveness to thrive in a rapidly changing business landscape, regardless of specific future outcomes.

The interaction between these two capacities (adaptive and anticipatory) takes place at both the micro and meso levels within the supply chain. At the micro level, individual firms develop adaptive capacity to manage known complexities and create routines, while at the meso level, the collective capacity of the entire supply chain influences decision-making and policy implementation.

As shown in Figure 5.6, the adaptive and anticipatory capacities work in conjunction over time. As supply chain members become more adept at dealing with known complexities by exercising their adaptive capacity, they gain confidence and are more willing to venture into addressing unknown complexities through their anticipatory capacity. The reassurance derived from their ability to handle known complexities effectively serves as a foundation for tackling novel challenges.

Overall, the integration of adaptive and anticipatory capacities enables supply chain members to navigate their social context more effectively, respond to policy changes, and contribute positively to the evolving social context. By continuously building these capacities, firms can position themselves as resilient and adaptable players in the market, well-prepared to handle both present and future uncertainties.

5.5. A Structuration Model of Performance

In this section, as the abductive case study approach proposed by Kovacs and Spens (2005) suggests (Figure 3.2), I describe my model to explains how all the constructs that emerged in previous steps come together to form a structuration model of performance. Following the structuration way of thinking, the model embraces the notion of performance as the compound effect of agency, agent, and structures. This means that all the actions and decisions of individuals, groups and organisations within the supply chain, together with their attributes and characteristics, and the broad social, economic, and political contexts all play a role in shaping the overall performance of the supply chain. Hence, the model offers a coherent and nuanced understanding of how the identified constructs, processes, and levels interact to influence performance, offering valuable insights for both academic research and practical applications.

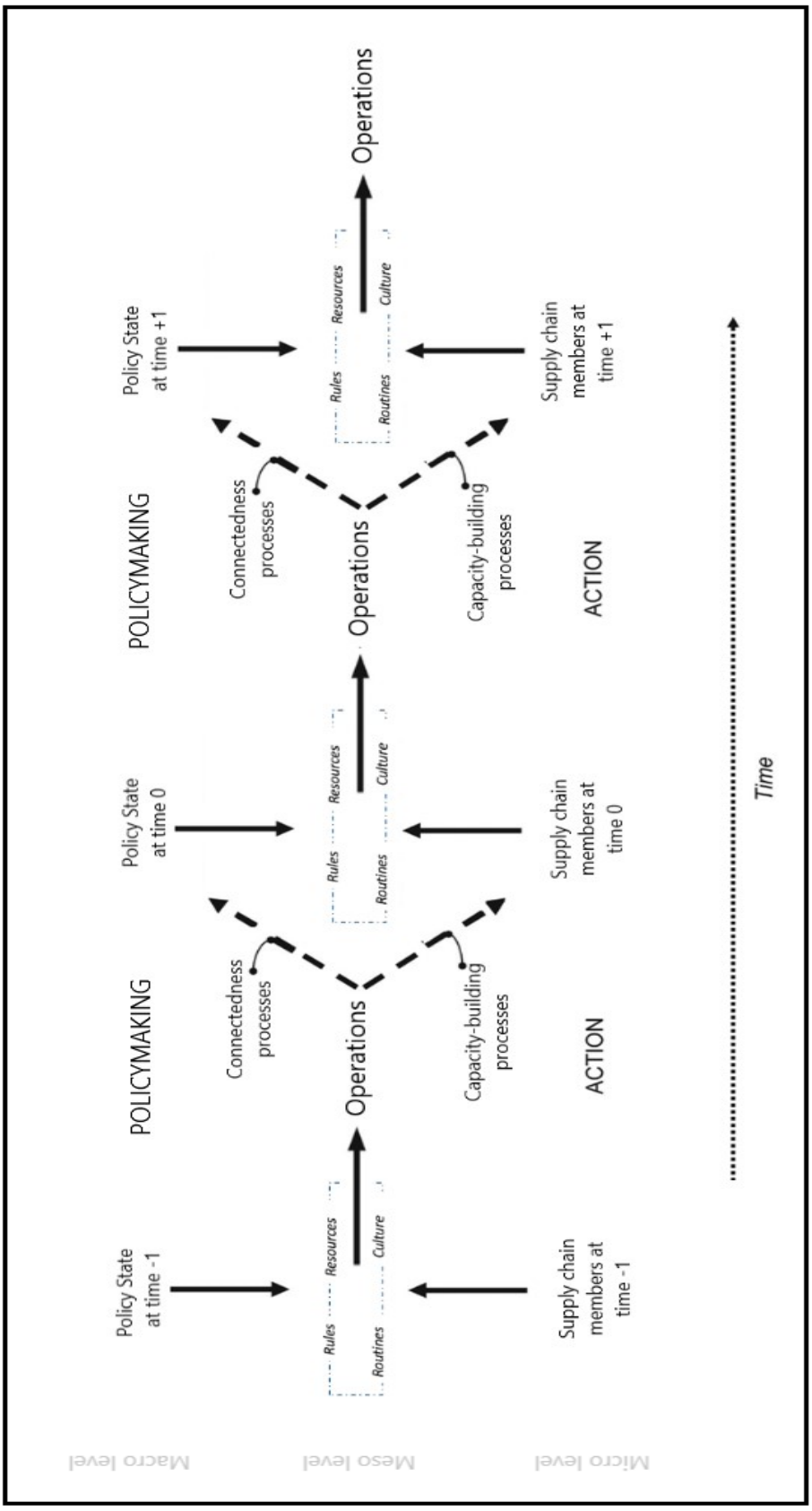

Figure 5.7: The structuration model

The process model presented in Figure 5.7 emphasises the interactions and dynamics between the micro, meso, and macro levels. At the heart of these processes are organisations, which operate within the boundaries of their social context but are driven by a strong desire to explore and capitalise on the various opportunities presented by socially enforced structures. This model reinstates the view that operational achievements are the product of some of the traits of organisations combined with some of the traits of relevant social structures and underscores the dynamic interplay between organisational traits and social structures in determining operational outcomes.

The model recognises the dynamic interplay between social structures and organisational agency. It underscores the complex relationship between the two, as organisations actively engage with and respond to their social context, shaping their operational landscape and outcomes. It recognises that social structures, including norms, regulations, and cultural practices, have a large impact on the decisions and behaviours of organisations. By creating the framework within which organisations operate and navigate their choices, these structures play a crucial role in shaping the available options and opportunities for organisations. They define what is permissible and what is not, setting boundaries and guiding decision-making. However, as the model shows, despite this influence organisations are proactive and take an active role in their operations. They are not solely determined by external forces but actively interact with their social context to make the most of the opportunities presented by their social context.

Moreover, in this dynamic relationship, organisations' present actions and decisions also have an impact on future social structures. As organisations act upon their environment and make choices, they contribute to shaping the social context in which they will operate in the future. This creates a continuous and evolving feedback loop, where present actions become part of the accumulated result of past phases and also influence the starting point of future processes.

Following a structuration way of theorising, I treat micro, meso and macro levels as analytically distinct realms. Hence, I have been able to give each sufficient weight to avoid reifying social structures or, alternatively, the notion that social structures determine the outcomes. Social structure is reified when it is treated as a fixed and permanent entity rather than a dynamic and evolving construct shaped by multiple societal actors and forces (Hajer, 1995), which can lead us to disconnect it, conceptually, from its social context.

In the case of MUP policy, the notion that policy determines the outcomes derives from the idea that policy is the sole or primary factor that determines outcomes, without considering

other factors such as individual agency, norms, cultural practices, or economic forces (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993). When social structures are seen as deterministic in this way, they can obscure the complex interplay of factors that shape performance and limit our ability to see it as a multifaceted and multilevel social phenomenon. By assigning sufficient weight to social structures, without overemphasising their impact or assuming they are the sole determinant of outcomes, I have developed a nuanced and compelling understanding of performance as a structuration process in which their relative effects on each other can also change as they co-evolve in their social context.

Time ordering plays a critical role in comprehending performance as a structuration process in the proposed model. By tracking the co-evolution of the system over time, the study captures how micro level actions and macro level structures continually interact and adapt to each other. At the micro level, actions taken by individual organisations or actors in the supply chain contribute to the overall performance of the system. These actions are not isolated events but are influenced by past experiences, decisions, and interactions. As time progresses, these micro level actions continually interact with each other, forming patterns and routines that shape the operational practices of the organisations.

On the other hand, at the macro level, broad social structures, such as policies, regulations, and societal norms, create the framework within which organisations operate. These structures are not static; they can evolve and adapt in response to changing circumstances and societal demands. As time passes, the macro level structures continually interact with the micro level actions, shaping and influencing the decisions and behaviours of organisations.

The open-ended model illustrated in Figure 5.7 offers a dynamic and flexible approach to understanding performance as a social process. It acknowledges the agency of organisations to actively engage with, challenge, and co-create social structures through their actions and interactions. By emphasising the agency of organisations, the proposed model challenges the notion of social structures as static entities. Supply chain members play an active role in shaping the social context in which they operate, such as by challenging existing policies and co-creating new practices and relations. This dialectical process of engagement and interaction between supply chain members and social structures is central to the proposed model. This recognition of agency enriches our understanding of how social structures are established and maintained, moving away from a deterministic view and acknowledging the active role of agents in shaping their social environment (Parker, 2000; Klassen and Whybark, 1999). This dialectical process of engagement and interaction is central to the model's understanding of

performance. Recognising the agency of organisations also enhances our comprehension of how social structures are established and maintained.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Discussion

> Science is not a magnificent march toward absolute truth, but a social struggle amongst the scholars of the profession to construct truth.
>
> (Cannella and Paetzold, 1994, p. 332)

This study sheds light on how organisations interact with social structures, how they are both influenced by and contribute to the social context, and the essential processes and capabilities that enable them to respond and adapt effectively to the changing environment. Moreover, it explores how organisations sustain their performance while pursuing their objectives amidst evolving social structures. By examining these socially oriented aspects of performance, this study provides valuable insights into the dynamic relationship between organisational performance and the broader social context.

To achieve this gaol, I have examined the dynamic interplay between social structures and organisational performance from a structuration perspective. The structuration perspective posits that social structures are not external constraints but are produced and reproduced through the actions and interactions of individuals and organisations. Thus, this study elucidates how organisations engage with social structures as active agents, shaping and being shaped by the social context in which they perform.

This research focused on a case study of alcohol policy in Scotland to examine how performance was affected by the implementation of new structural forms. It investigated how these new structures influenced and reshaped operations within the context of emerging social structures. The study emphasises the reciprocal interactions between agency (the ability to act), agents (actors), and structures (established patterns and rules). The central argument is that social structures are not only utilised to legitimise outcomes and the processes leading to those outcomes; they themselves are also subject to change as organisations adapt to new structural forms. In other words, while organisations draw upon existing social structures to justify their actions and results, they also actively contribute to reshaping those very same social structures through their actions.

This research highlights the dynamic relationship between organisational agency and social structures, providing valuable insights into how performance is influenced and shaped by the interplay between organisational actions and the evolving social context. It also examines how these social structures impact the overall performance of organisations, whether positively or negatively.

Furthermore, this research uncovers how collective efforts, collaborations, and the performance of various organisational entities contribute to the evolution and transformation of social structures over time. The proposed structuration model recognises that organisations, through their collective actions and collaborations, play an essential role in shaping the social context in which they operate, influencing and adapting to changes in social structures.

The study also highlighted the factors and processes that organisations rely on to effectively monitor, analyse, and deepen their understanding of the evolving social context. This involves examining the strategies and practices employed by organisations to gather information, assess social dynamics, and interpret the implications of changes in the wide society on their performance.

Moreover, the proposed model pinpoints the way that organisations reflect on and assess their comprehension of the changes in their social context and how they impact on their performance. This involves the processes through which organisations critically evaluate and learn from their experiences, and adapt their strategies, operations, and practices accordingly. The model also highlights the important forward-looking perspective of organisations, which includes the processes through which organisations proactively anticipate and prepare for changes in social structures, pursing their goals while navigating the uncertainties and future challenges posed by evolving social structures.

The model highlights the key processes and capabilities that enable organisations to effectively respond to evolving social structures and sustain their performance. This involves expanding their ability to leverage resources and capabilities to thrive amidst changing social dynamics.

The model also takes into consideration the temporal aspect of organisations' engagement with social dynamics. It captures the way that supply chain members' endeavours to influence the social structures process are simultaneously informed by their understanding of past experiences, their awareness of present circumstances, and their anticipation of the future. These agents take on board historical experiences, lessons, and precedents to inform their strategies and decision-making processes. By understanding the past, they can identify effective interventions and approaches that have yielded positive results.

By adapting a structuration perspective, this study has been able to provide valuable insights into the reciprocal relationship between the social context and organisational performance and answered the questions (RQs 1 to 7, outlined in sections 2.4.1 to 2.4.4) that guided this research. The notion that performance is a structuration process allows us to understand how social

structures affect their performance within and across various entities (RQ1). From this perspective, social structures constitute the framework in which organisations function by setting the boundaries for acceptable actions of the relevant entities while establishing the limits they face on alternative courses of action.

At the core of the way that social structures impact on organisational performance is the notion of "structural conduciveness", including normative coherence, stability, transparency, familiarity, and accountability of social structures. These elements provide a reliable framework for social interactions, enhancing predictability and orderliness of the social context in which organisations perform. When these favourable structural conditions align with the abilities and resources of the organisations themselves, the probability of achieving positive performance outcomes is increased.

Another influential structural dimension affecting organisational performance is the set of relevant structural traditions in which it is embedded, including the cultural background and policy-making traditions. These features enhance our comprehension of performance as a social process by inviting us to dig into the deeply rooted norms, values, and attitudes that affect the way that organisations operate within a specific social context.

The collective endeavours and collaborations of organisations, as well as the effect of different organisational units on the development and alteration of social structures (RQ2) contribute to the system's co-evolution over time, as shown in the open-ended model in Figure 5.7. This figure demonstrates that organisations actively participate in, and collaboratively shape social structures through their actions and interactions. By foregrounding the idea of organisational agency we challenge the idea that social structures are fixed entities. We can show that members of a supply chain play an active role in influencing the social environment, thereby contributing to the ongoing dialectical process of engagement and interaction with social structures. By recognising their agency, we are able to understand how social structures are formed and maintained and we can pinpoint the active role as agents in shaping their social environment.

Organisations must be proactive in order to navigate their dynamic landscape effectively and deal with evolving social structures. This involves a continuous commitment to monitoring their social context and being attuned to current societal trends, cultural shifts and the evolving expectations of stakeholders. Organisations rely on their own unique set of agential traits to monitor, analyse and understand the evolving social context in which they operate (RQ3).

Crucially, an organisation's comprehension of its social surroundings hinges on their qualities, attributes, and characteristics to accommodate shifts and overcoming challenges.

Yet, to attain a profound understanding of social structures they need to go beyond surface appearances and comprehend the underlying dynamics and subtleties inherent in the social context. This calls for organisations to engage in a reflective process that is both timely and insightful. The study's findings show that this is achieved by two recurring processes: internalisation and externalisation; which together constitute a dynamic interplay between the supply chain and its social context. Recourse to these elements allow the supply chain to continually absorb external value patterns and integrate them into its operations while adapting and responding to the social context through innovative operational strategies.

Organisations evaluate their understanding of the shifts in their social context affecting their performance (RQ4) by engaging in internalisation processes. They do this by addressing macro-level influences and incorporating their responses to them into their operations at the meso level. By trying to grasp and internalise the implications and requirements of their environment, organisations can prepare themselves to respond strategically to their social context and adjust their operations to align with its requirements.

Organisations also engage in externalisation processes to adapt to changing social structures, meet evolving requirements and sustain their performance (RQ5). This illustrates how the meso level influences the macro level. They do so by responding to societal demands, often by improvising operational strategies, which constitute a visible demonstration of the supply chain's responsiveness to its social environment. This ensures a sustainable performance trajectory that aligns with evolving societal norms and dynamics.

The crucial processes and capabilities that empower organisations to respond and adapt to evolving social structures while pursuing their objectives (RQ6) are the processes they use to adapt and build up their own capacity (via adaptive capacity-building processes). When faced with familiar complexities inherent in their social context, organisations leverage their existing operational frameworks and established routines to incorporate their responses to these challenges into their day-to-day operations, transforming them into familiar, routine practices. The concept of adaptive capacity-building processes thus allows us to shed light on how supply chain members align their operational routines with the requirements of their current social environment. We use the term "adaptive" to indicate that to succeed organisations must address the demands posed by their social context in appropriate and responsive ways.

To proactively foresee and prepare for changes in social structures organisations depend on anticipatory capacity-building processes to ensure their performance in the future can be sustained in optimal ways (RQ7). Unlike familiar challenges, which are typically addressed by adaptive capacity-building processes, there is often a lack of established precedents or clear-cut solutions to novel and emerging issues. The anticipatory capacity-building process allows organisations to adopt a forward-looking stance and a readiness to embrace the uncertainties that may arise.

6.1. Theoretical Contributions

Viewing performance as a structuration process offers several theoretical contributions that enrich our understanding of organisational performance and its dynamics. It allows us to explore the intricate interplay between organisational actions, practices, operations and strategies and their relationship with social structures. It allows us to examine how social structures shape and influence the way organisations perform while also shedding light on how the actions and strategies of organisations contribute to the emergence and transformation of these very structures.

By adopting this perspective, we gain a more holistic understanding of performance as an outcome of the continuous interaction between organisations and the social context within which they operate. Henceforth, this perspective acknowledges that organisational actions are profoundly intertwined with their social environment. As organisations adapt and respond to the social structures surrounding them, they simultaneously participate in shaping and reshaping these structures through their strategies and practices.

The offered structuration model hence provides a nuanced lens through which we can explore the complex and dynamic relationship between organisations and their social context. It highlights the mutual influence between these two elements, offering a deeper understanding of how performance outcomes emerge from this interplay.

Ultimately, embracing the social structuration perspective enriches our comprehension of organisational dynamics and performance by bridging the gap between micro level actions and macro level social structures. It emphasises the reciprocal relationship between collective agency and the broad social context, showing how the actions of organisational members collectively shape and are shaped by social structures. This integration allows for a more comprehensive analysis of performance dynamics including:

6.1.1. Dialectical approach to performance

The theoretical framework of performance as a social structuration process leads to a dynamic and dialectical approach to understanding performance. This perspective emphasises their interconnectedness and continuous interaction and postulates that performance outcomes are not fixed or predetermined but are shaped through ongoing negotiations and the co-evolution of organisations and their social context over time.

Using a dialectical perspective to study performance and social structuration allowed us to recognise that organisations are not passive entities operating within a static social environment; rather, they actively engage in shaping and being shaped by their social context. This reciprocal influence involves a constant interplay of actions, decisions, and responses between organisations and the broader societal structures.

As a result, organisational performance is not isolated from the social context (Scott, 2003) but emerges through a dialectical process of mutual adaptation and adjustment. Organisations are influenced by their environment's norms, values, regulations, and cultural practices. Concurrently, their actions and decisions contribute to the evolution and transformation of the social structures within which they perform. This dynamic and co-evolutionary process continuously shapes and reshapes performance outcomes. By embracing this dialectical perspective, we recognise that performance is not a fixed outcome (Weick, 1992) but a result of ongoing interactions, negotiations, and feedback loops between organisations and their social environment. This perspective hence allows us to engage in a deeper exploration of the mechanisms through which performance emerges and evolves over time.

6.1.2. Agency and social structure co-construction

As discussed, this model for performance asserts that these social structures are dynamic and pliable and are co-constructed through the agency of organisations. Hence, organisational agency is fundamental in shaping and reconfiguring these structures over time. By embracing this understanding of the active role of organisational agency in the co-construction and transformation of social structures, we open up fresh avenues for exploring the dynamic nature of organisational performance and to explore the intricate ways in which these interactions shape an organisation's performance outcomes.

6.1.3. Contextualisation of performance outcomes

Seeing performance as a structuration process also requires us to recognise that performance is contingent upon the complex and ever-changing social environment in which organisations

operate. Social structures, such as industry norms, market conditions, political climate, and societal expectations, profoundly influence organisational operations and performance (Hatch, 1997, Schein and Schein, 2016). These external forces create opportunities, constraints, and pressures that organisations must navigate and respond to effectively (Scott, 2014). This widely accepted recognition of the significance of context has prompted us to explore exactly how social structures interact with organisational actions to produce specific outcomes. It also shows that organisations must be adaptive and agile in response to changes in the social environment.

Hence, the structuration model of performance offered underscores the need to consider the broader social context when researching organisational performance. By recognising the contingent nature of performance, organisations can better anticipate and prepare for shifts in the social context, thereby enhancing their resilience and ability to thrive in complex and dynamic landscapes.

6.1.4. Multi-level analysis

The proposed structuration perspective also permits the examination of performance phenomena across various levels of analysis, encompassing the micro, meso, and macro dimensions. This multilevel perspective enables us to analyse the intricate interplay between these levels, and explain how micro level interactions and decisions collectively give rise to meso level patterns, which, in turn, exert influence on macro level social structures and vice versa.

At the micro level, this model allows us to scrutinise interactions within organisations (Ostrom, 2005). It focuses on actions, behaviours, and decision-making processes that coalesce to form patterns and practices within organisational units (Meier and O'Toole, 2011). This allows us to identify the agency and choices of different actors in shaping performance outcomes. Moving to the meso level, we are able to investigate the interactions and dynamics between organisations and thereby, we can discern how they contribute to overall organisational performance (Tokar and Swink, 2019).

At the macro level, we focus on the broad social structures and institutions that influence organisational operations and performance to explain how meso level patterns aggregate and intertwine to form macro level social structures (Hall and O'Toole, 2000). This multilevel analysis provides us with a holistic understanding of the performance process (Roberts, 2020).

The structuration model offered here acknowledges that performance outcomes are not solely determined by one level of activity but are co-created through intricate interactions across multiple levels. This perspective hence enriches our understanding of the mechanisms through which performance is influenced, providing us with a broader canvas to paint a vivid picture of organisational dynamics and societal implications.

6.1.5. Historical and temporal factors

This structuration approach to performance embraces the profound significance of historical and temporal factors. Time ordering becomes the crucial lens through which to comprehend performance as a dynamic and evolving process and to track the system's evolution over time. Performance outcomes are not isolated instances but are deeply influenced by past interactions and adaptations. The historical context shapes the present, and decisions made today will have implications for the future. By examining how agency, agents and structures continually interact and adapt to each other over time, we may gain valuable insights into the reciprocal influence between organisational operations and broad social policies within the ever-changing social context.

In the pursuit of sustainable success, organisations must be adept at navigating their dynamic and evolving landscape (O'Reilly and Tushman, 2013). The temporal perspective enriches our comprehension of the complex interplay between performance and social structures. It reveals the interconnectedness of past, present, and future actions, shedding light on how organisational decisions reverberate through time. This perspective helps us distinguish the performance trajectory and how it aligns with the changing social landscape.

6.1.6. Reflexive and adaptive research approach

The structuration approach to performance emphasises reflexivity, urging us to critically examine our own assumptions and perspectives on performance. A reflexive approach allows us to recognise our own biases, preconceptions, and theoretical frameworks, all of which might influence our study of performance (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2017). By acknowledging that we hold potential biases, we can strive for a more objective and unbiased understanding of our data. Moreover, this perspective entails an adaptive approach to understanding performance.

Taking an adaptive perspective encourages us to adopt a longitudinal and iterative approach to studying performance and to track the evolution of performance and social structures over time since organisations and their social context evolve, so do the patterns of performance and

the interactions between them. Embracing an adaptive perspective also underscores the importance of context and situational awareness in studying performance. Different social, economic, political, and cultural contexts may shape performance outcomes in various ways. Hence, the approach invites us to consider the specificities of the social environment within which organisations operate and how it influences performance processes.

6.1.7. Exploration of unintended consequences

The complex and intricate ways in which organisational decisions and practices interact with the broad social context can lead to ripple effects that resonate throughout the organisation and the social environment, potentially generating unintended consequences (MacKay and Chia, 2013). Exploring performance as a structuration process can bring to light the unintended consequences that may arise from organisational actions and changes in social structures.

Understanding unintended consequences is of paramount importance for organisations seeking to navigate the complexities of their operational landscape effectively (Weick,1995). This heightened awareness allows them to anticipate potential negative outcomes and implement measures to manage and mitigate these risks. In the same way, those who are aware of unintended consequences can strive to detect the factors and mechanisms that contribute to their emergence, so they can then manage and mitigate potential risks.

6.1.8. Power and control in organisational performance

This perspective also sheds light on the role of power and control within organisations and their social context. These dynamics influence organisations' decisions, actions, and strategies (Scott, 2014), which, in turn, contribute to the maintenance or transformation of social structures (Weick, 1992).

By analysing how organisations exert power to shape their performance outcomes and how this power may be influenced or challenged by broader social forces, we deepen our understanding of how power dynamics affect performance. Understanding power dynamics from this perspective also provides insights into how organisations may respond to external pressures or attempts at social change. It hence highlights how organisations may adapt or resist changes in social structures to maintain their performance goals and interests.

6.1.9. Social capital and performance

Another theoretical contribution of viewing performance as a structuration process is that integrating it with the concept of social capital offers a profound understanding of the intricate dynamics at play within organisations. This perspective recognises that organisations are deeply embedded within social networks and relationships, significantly influencing their behaviour and performance outcomes.

By considering the significance of social capital in organisational performance from this perspective, we can gain valuable insights into how relational networks and social ties impact organisational behaviour. The strength and quality of relationships among individuals, teams, and external stakeholders are fundamental in shaping organisational performance based on the developed model. For instance, cohesive and supportive relationships within a team or across the chain of supply can foster cooperation and innovation, leading to improved performance. Similarly, strong ties with external partners can provide access to valuable resources and knowledge, enhancing the organisation's competitive advantage.

Moreover, this structuration perspective sheds light on how organisations actively leverage their social capital to enhance their performance. Organisations strategically build and manage their social networks to access resources, information, and support from diverse actors in the external environment. A deliberate effort to make use of their social capital can lead to better decision-making, enhanced problem-solving capabilities, and increased resilience in the face of uncertainties.

By digging into the dynamics of social capital, the model used in this study helps identifying effective ways to leverage these valuable resources to foster organisational success and adapt to ever-changing contexts. These include, for instance, ways by which organisations can cultivate strong partnerships with other entities in their industry to share knowledge and best practices, leading to mutual benefits and improved overall performance.

6.1.10. Organisational learning and performance

In addition, this perspective encourages the exploration of organisational learning processes and their relationship to performance. This is an essential aspect of organisations' adaptability and ability to respond to changes in the social environment (Argyris and Schön, 1996). Organisational learning involves acquiring, transferring, and integrating knowledge and experience (Alerasoul et al., 2022). Effective learning processes can enhance performance by facilitating continuous improvement and innovation (Lau et al., 2019). By studying how

organisations learn and adapt, we can understand how they respond to challenges and opportunities in their social context. We can also examine the role of knowledge sharing, communication, and feedback mechanisms in organisational learning. This will 'improve our understanding of the mechanisms through which organisations evolve and develop over time, ultimately impacting on their performance outcomes.

6.2. Contributions to Practice

Viewing performance from this structuration perspective brings unique implications to performance management practice. Operations managers must consider content (what they do), context (where they do it), and process (how they do it) over time, necessitating longitudinal methods of measurement for a comprehensive understanding. However, this perspective also adds complexity to performance management, requiring managers to engage precisely with the context to effectively address these challenges.

This perspective hence encourages practitioners to constantly assess alternative courses of action to understand their potential impact on performance outcomes. This structuration perspective also validates deliberate decision-making and managerial creativity, even if they do not require a change in operational practices.

Moreover, this perspective empowers operations managers to proactively challenge social structures. By liberating managers from restrictive performance models, this approach enables them to address operational unpredictability, emergencies, and uncertainties effectively. With a deeper understanding of the dynamic interplay between organisational actions and the social context managers will recognise that performance outcomes are co-created through interactions with social structures and thus they may managers take up a more adaptive approach to achieving organisational goals.

Another key practical implication is that this structuration provides managers with the tools to identify how social structures, such as norms, regulations, and cultural practices, shape behaviour and decision-making within and beyond their organisations. Understanding the actual nature and mechanisms of these influences may empower managers to create an environment that aligns with their organisation’s values and objectives, facilitating better performance and organisational success.

Furthermore, recognising agency among individuals, teams and organisations encourages managers to empower their employees to engage with and challenge existing practices

proactively. This approach hence fosters a culture of creativity, innovation, and adaptability, as employees are encouraged to co-create new solutions and approaches.

Because this structuration perspective also underscores the importance of time and the iterative nature of performance, it may encourage managers to anticipate future challenges and opportunities by tracking the evolution of social structures and organisational practices over time. This would enable them to prepare for changes in the social context and align their strategies accordingly, ensuring continued performance and competitiveness.

This perspective also fosters continuous learning and improvement within the organisation. By reflecting on their understanding of the social context and its impact on performance, managers can identify areas for growth and refinement. This reflective approach encourages a culture of adaptability and resilience, enabling organisations to thrive even in uncertain and changing environments.

Ultimately, embracing this structuration perspective of performance enables managers to navigate the complexities of the organisational landscape more effectively. It allows them to leverage the interplay between social structures and agency to drive sustainable performance, innovation, and success for their organisations. This approach fosters flexibility, collaboration, learning, and strategic decision-making, positioning organisations to proactively respond to changes, anticipate risks, and align with stakeholder expectations for long-term success.

6.2.1. Emphasising flexibility and adaptability

In the proposed structuration perspective, optimal performance is seen to depend on an organisation's ability to be flexible and adaptable, and to respond swiftly to the constant fluctuations in their dynamic social context. The key importance of flexibility and adaptability becomes evident, as it is crucial for achieving the desired objectives in this ever-changing landscape.

This perspective acknowledges the continuous change in social structures and organisational practices. By embracing this fact, organisations can equip themselves to respond adeptly to the variations in the business environment. By understanding the intricate interplay between organisational actions and the evolving social structures, managers can proactively adjust their strategies and practices, skilfully anticipating and leveraging the shifting social dynamics they encounter. This proactive foresight would ensure that their organisation remains at the forefront of change, by making sound decisions that align seamlessly with the evolving social

context. This approach to organisational performance fosters a culture of forward-thinking, propelling organisations towards sustained achievement.

6.2.2. Fostering collaboration and engagement

This structuration model underscores the significance of fostering collaboration and engagement in achieving organisational excellence. Acknowledging the co-creative nature of performance outcomes and the organisation's interdependence with the social context, managers encourage a collaborative work culture, enhance knowledge sharing, and create a more cohesive organisation. These emphases are of paramount importance in enhancing organisational performance and achieving strategic goals (Bryson et al., 2006).

By adopting this view, managers gain a deeper understanding of the interconnectedness that exists not only within their own organisation but also between members of the supply chain and different entities in the larger social context. When they can recognise this interdependence, they will understand how collaboration and cooperative efforts can yield superior overall performance (Huxham and Vangen, 2005).

This knowledge encourages managers to nurture collaboration and knowledge sharing amongst their employees and stakeholders, too. The dismantling of silos and encouraging open communication across departments, teams, and organisations contributes to a harmonious and unified culture stretching across the entire supply chain (Whiteside and Dani, 2020). Such a collaborative work environment promotes harnessing the collective expertise and creativity of the workforce, leading to more effective problem-solving and decision-making.

Beyond that, this perspective highlights the role of agency, acknowledging the diverse actors within the organisation, each of whom brings their own unique perspectives and competencies to the forefront of organisational performance. By fostering engagement and involving employees in decision-making, they are empowered to exercise their agency and contribute profoundly to the organisation's trajectory (Afram et al., 2022).

By adroitly tailoring their strategies and practices in response to the ever-changing dynamics of the social context in these ways, managers may safeguard the organisation's responsiveness and resilience.

6.2.3. Promoting learning

The perspective of performance as a structuration process promotes learning and innovation as an essential aspect of organisational performance and growth. It encourages organisations

to learn continuously from their experiences and the changing social context. Managers can promote a culture of innovation and experimentation, allowing the organisation to evolve and improve over time.

At the heart of this perspective lies a recognition of the reciprocal relationship between organisational actions and the complexities of the social context in which they operate. Using it, organisations are encouraged to look inward and reflect on past experiences and outcomes. Through this introspection, managers can analyse the impact of their previous actions and decisions, gaining valuable insights that may inform future strategies (Cannon and Edmondson, 2005). This reflective approach facilitates identifying and enhancing strengths, addressing weaknesses, and identifying areas with potential for growth and refinement, ultimately leading to more effective practices and improved performance (Chen et al., 2023).

Furthermore, this perspective acknowledges the ever-changing nature of social structures, norms, and expectations. As time brings new challenges and opportunities, managers must remain vigilant in observing and tracking these shifts. Incorporating this profound structuration perspective fuels the quest to build a learning organisation – one that continually refines and adapts itself, and is harmoniously aligned with the ever-changing social landscape.

6.2.4. Anticipating and managing risks

From this structuration perspective, effectively anticipating and managing risks requires a thorough understanding of the interconnectedness between an organisation's actions and the constantly changing social structures that surround it. By understanding exactly how social structures shape and are shaped by organisational behaviour, managers can proactively identify potential risks and opportunities.

One key aspect of this approach is the ability to foresee changes in social structures and their potential implications for the organisation. For example, changes in government policies, industry regulations, or societal values can create new challenges or opportunities for the organisation. By closely monitoring these changes, managers can anticipate the potential risks that may arise, such as increased compliance requirements, market shifts, or changes in customer preferences.

Anticipating risks also involves understanding the broader social context in which the organisation operates. Social, economic, and political factors can all influence the organisation's performance. By analysing and deepening their own understanding of the

evolving social context, managers can improve their assessment of potential risks and their potential impacts on the organisation.

Furthermore, this structuration perspective encourages managers to consider not only the potential negative impacts but also the emerging opportunities that arise from changes in social structures. For instance, shifts in consumer preferences towards sustainable products could present an opportunity for the organisation to develop new environmentally friendly offerings and gain a competitive advantage.

By proactively managing risks and capitalising on emerging opportunities, organisations can position themselves for long-term success and resilience. This approach emphasises the importance of adaptive strategies and forward-thinking to navigate the complexities of the social environment and achieve sustainable performance.

6.2.5. Encouraging innovation

Viewing performance as a structuration process opens up new avenues for organisations to embrace and harness experimentation and risk-taking as integral drivers of innovation. This perspective demonstrates that innovation often thrives when organisations are willing to venture into uncharted territory and embark on journeys that involve various risks. The beauty of this structuration outlook lies in its recognition that organisations possess the agency to actively shape the social structures surrounding them and influence norms through their actions.

Managers are pivotal in this dynamic landscape to cultivating an environment that fosters and nurtures experimentation and risk-taking. They become instrumental in creating a supportive culture that not only tolerates but actually encourages the exploration of new ideas and the embrace of novel approaches. This allows organisations to become a fertile ground for innovative ideas to thrive and blossom.

Using such a fertile environment, taking measured risks is an essential element of the innovation process. Managers following this method therefore actively promote a mindset that appreciates the potential rewards of stepping into the unknown and understands that failures are stepping stones to progress. Failure is not stigmatised; rather, it is celebrated as an opportunity for valuable learning and growth. This perspective acknowledges that every failure provides valuable insights that pave the way for subsequent successes.

6.2.6. Enhancing organisational resilience

This structuration model of performance also brings forth a transformative perspective that empowers organisations to cultivate resilience in the face of challenges. Embracing this outlook entails recognising that organisational performance is not limited to rigid and unchanging structures but is rather an ever-evolving process shaped by the intricate interactions between the organisations and the dynamic social structures that surround them. From this viewpoint, the concept of resilience takes on new depth and significance, as it is not simply about enduring hardships (Ponis and Koronis, 2012) but instead about proactively navigating and adapting to the ever-changing social landscape.

In short, using this structuration perspective empowers organisations to build a resilient foundation that is dynamic and adaptive. It encourages them to be agile in their responses, acknowledging that the social context is fluid and subject to constant change. By embracing this perspective, managers are encouraged to foster a culture that embraces learning, innovation, and continuous improvement, and to recognise that these qualities are essential for navigating the complexities of the social environment.

Ultimately, adopting this structuration perspective gives organisations a strategic advantage in building up resilience. Rather than being constrained by fixed structures, they become adept at harnessing the power of interactions and mutual influence between their own entities and the social structures encompassing them. This heightened awareness and proactive mindset enable organisations to not only survive but to thrive in an ever-changing world, solidifying their position as resilient and forward-looking entities.

6.2.7. Aligning with stakeholder expectations

From the perspective of the proposed structuration model for performance, aligning with stakeholder expectations involves recognising that organisational performance is not determined solely by internal processes and goals but is also influenced by the broad social context in which the organisation operates. Social structures play a crucial role in shaping how stakeholders perceive and evaluate the organisation.

Managers can enhance the organisation's alignment with stakeholder expectations by actively considering the impact of social structures on the organisation's performance. This involves understanding the values and priorities of various stakeholders, including customers, employees, investors, regulators, and the community at large. By considering these

stakeholders' expectations, managers can develop strategies and initiatives that resonate with their values and interests.

For example, if sustainability is an important social expectation, the organisation can proactively adopt environmentally friendly practices and communicate its commitment to sustainability to stakeholders. By aligning with this societal expectation, the organisation may improve its reputation and attract environmentally conscious customers and investors.

Furthermore, this perspective encourages managers to engage in dialogue and communication with stakeholders to understand their expectations better. By seeking feedback and involving stakeholders in decision-making processes, managers can demonstrate their responsiveness to stakeholder concerns and build trust.

6.2.8. Supporting strategic decision-making

This approach recognises that organisations both shape and are shaped by their social context and that strategic decisions should consider this reciprocal relationship. Managers hence can benefit from this perspective by gaining a nuanced understanding of how their organisational practices and actions influence the social context in which they operate. For example, implementing new policies or adopting certain business practices may have ripple effects on the broader community, the industry, and even society at large (Girschik, 2020). These effects can influence stakeholder perceptions, regulatory responses, and competitive dynamics (Banerjee, 2008).

By recognising this reciprocal relationship, managers can make informed strategic decisions that align with the social context in which the organisation operates. They can assess how their actions may be perceived by stakeholders and the society at large and anticipate potential reactions or consequences.

Moreover, understanding the reciprocal relationship between organisational actions and social structures encouages managers to develop more adaptive and flexible strategic plans. They can proactively identify areas where their actions can positively influence the social context, thereby creating opportunities for growth and success. At the same time, they can anticipate potential challenges and prepare contingency plans to address any negative consequences or resistance.

6.3. Criticisms of the Structuration Approach

Despite its contributions to our understanding of organisational performance and the dynamics involved, viewing performance as a structuration process and modelling it accordingly has its own limitations that we should be aware of. Some of these limitations return to the fundamental assumptions inherent in the structuration way of thinking. Others are specific to this study and the developed model.

This perspective relies on fundamental assumptions, such as the interconnectedness and mutual shaping of social structures and agency. While this provides a valuable lens for examining performance, some scholars may question the prevalence or validity of these assumptions, potentially impacting on the generalisability of this research findings. Moreover, complexity of this approach, which arises from the multitude of interactions and influences involved in shaping performance outcomes, can pose challenges for comprehensive analyses. The scope of the theory may also fall short of capturing all relevant factors influencing performance, limiting its applicability in certain contexts or industries. However, despite the challenges and limitations discussed below, this study finds that adopting this temporal, engaged, and humanised account of agency is a promising way to view the social reality of performance.

6.3.1. Complexity and subjectivity

Researching performance as a structuration process can be criticised due to its inherent complexity and subjectivity. The dynamic and ever-changing nature of both organisational behaviour and social structures contributes to the complexity of the research process. This complexity arises from the multitude of actors involved, the power relations among them, and the historical contingencies that influence their actions as social structures and agency mutually shape each other, adding layer upon layer of intricacy to investigating performance outcomes (Sztompka, 1991).

Because organisational performance outcomes are the result of a constant interplay between various factors, the challenge lies in accurately capturing and analysing all the multitude of interactions, underlying mechanisms and causal relationships at play (Hernes, 2008). Moreover, the interpretation of these interactions can be subjective, leading to potential biases in the research findings. As researchers engage in data collection and analysis, their own perspectives and preconceptions can influence the conclusions they draw (Orlikowski and Baroudi, 1991). This subjectivity can affect the identification of relevant patterns, hindering the objective assessment of performance outcomes and the underlying dynamics.

To address these challenges, I have tried to be transparent about my own subjectivity and the potential biases it may introduce; as Hernes (2014) suggests, incorporating reflexivity and acknowledging the influence of the researcher's standpoint on the interpretation of findings can help mitigate subjectivity. Additionally, I employed multiple data sources and adopted an iterative research method with several rounds of coding and analysis to enhance the credibility and reliability of the findings with greater rigour and credibility, advancing our understanding of the reciprocal relationship between organisations and their social context in shaping performance outcomes.

6.3.2. Weakness in identifying causality

One notable criticism of the structuration perspective is its weakness in identifying causal relationships in organisational performance. While the approach acknowledges the reciprocal influence between organisations and social structures, it may be unable to define accurately the specific causal relationships involved. One fundamental limitation is in distinguishing the primary influences on specific events in a process – whether they stem from management agency, the surrounding context, or social structures (Sminia, 2017a). The interplay of multiple factors can make it challenging to isolate the direct effects of individual actions on outcomes, as these actions are often intertwined with social dynamics (Ritzer, 1990). In researching performance as a structuration process, its complex and multifaceted nature makes it challenging to pinpoint specific actions or interventions that consistently lead to desired results.

However, I see this as an inherent part and unavoidable of the nature of performance. I acknowledged and communicated this inherent complexity and uncertainty over identifying causal relationships in my findings. Additionally, in the theory-matching process, I complemented the structuration approach with other theories and concepts that I borrowed from different scholarly traditions to offer a more comprehensive understanding of performance dynamics and help mitigate this challenge (see Figure 5.1 for a list of data-driven concepts).

6.3.3. Weak predictive power

The complex and nonlinear nature of the structuration perspective makes it challenging to use this approach to predict future performance outcomes accurately. Unlike some other theories or models that may offer more robust predictive capabilities, this model focuses on understanding performance as an ongoing and dynamic process, emphasising the reciprocal relationship between organisations and their social context in shaping outcomes. This

characteristic of the structuration process means that small changes or actions can lead to large and unexpected outcomes, also making it challenging to predict how specific actions will result in particular outcomes (Archer, 1982). Because it is not easy to isolate specific causal factors precise predictions about future performance are difficult in this model. As a result, relying solely on the structuration perspective may not provide the level of predictive power that is desirable in understanding and optimising organisational performance. To address this limitation to some extent I compensated for it in the theory-matching phase by including other theories and concepts with more predictive power.

6.3.4. Scope and scale

One potential challenge of researching performance as a structuration process is that its focus on the dialectical relationship between micro level actions and macro level social structures may not fully account for other contextual factors that influence performance. Various factors at the individual, group, or industry levels can significantly affect performance outcomes. These contextual factors may include individuals' capabilities and motivations (Salanova et al., 2005), group dynamics and collaboration (Stefanini et al., 2020), and industry-specific trends and market conditions (Coulmont et al., 2022). Neglecting these additional factors could restrict the scope and scale of the analysis, leading to an incomplete understanding of performance dynamics. To analyse performance as a structuration process, it is crucial to simultaneously acknowledge the interplay between micro level actions, meso level interactions, macro level social structures, and other contextual factors. In this study, a rigorous in-depth case study was conducted to ensure that relevant contextual factors were included.

6.3.5. Data collection and analysis challenges

Another potential challenge of researching performance as a structuration process pertains to the specific type of data required for such an analysis. Extensive data collection and analysis are essential to capture the interactions between organisations and social structures and comprehensively understand performance within this framework. However, this process is both resource-intensive and time consuming, particularly during the unique circumstances of a pandemic-induced lockdown, under which this study was conducted.

For a comprehensive analysis of performance as a structuration process, data needed to be collected at micro, meso, and macro levels, encompassing a wide range of elements. These data individual behaviours, organisational practices, institutional norms, market conditions, policy debates, and other external influences. When common data collection methods, like

face-to-face interviews or on-site observations, were impractical due to the pandemic, gathering data was difficult.

Furthermore, the structuration perspective emphasises the importance of understanding performance dynamics over time, as the relationship between micro, meso, and macro elements evolves and shapes organisational outcomes. The use of longitudinal studies is often recommended to capture these dynamic processes accurately (Pettigrew, 1997). However, conducting such information within the timeframe of a PhD research project necessitated the adoption of a novel approach to data collection. To address the constraints of resources and time, an alternative data set was explored using archival data meticulously recorded prior to, during, and after the implementation of MUP in Scotland. These records acted as deposits that reflected the social process, which were created, disseminated, and utilised in a socially coordinated manner (Atkinson and Coffey, 2004). They provided the researcher with an important insight into understanding of the ambitions, intentions, and social connections of the era they depict (May, 2011). The comprehensive data set was compiled from diverse sources reflecting viewpoints of informants at different levels, including documents from the Scottish MUP public consultation, transcripts of parliamentary evidence sessions, committee reports, parliamentary debates, the post-devolution alcohol-related acts of Scotland, judicial documents related to MUP, and studies from the MESAS alcohol strategy programme. Additionally, the general literature on the history of alcohol, alcohol-related policies, and Scotland's political debates on alcohol and health provided valuable context.

6.3.6. Weak capacity for generalisability

While it is valuable for understanding the context-specific nature of performance outcomes, it may be hard to generalise findings across different organisational settings and industries using the structuration perspective. It has been argued that the emphasis on the uniqueness of each process course may obstruct the development of universally applicable general theories or frameworks (Aram and Salipante, 2003). This approach also has been criticised for its weak ability to generate testable hypotheses about the relationships between constructs, variables, and performance indicators (Langley, 1999).

However, proponents of the structuration perspective argue that the search for scientific knowledge should prioritise context-specific understanding over the quest for universal laws and principles (Sminia, 2017a). Knowledge of practice in a professional domain is often customised and connected to the experience, making it more relevant to specific situations (Weick, 1992). A theory that is oriented to social practice is more likely to satisfy its objectives

than one based on metatheoretical considerations (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Thus, instead of seeking generalisability, the focus should be on understanding how events cohere in specific contexts.

Thomas et al. (2002) question the notion that generalisability is a key indicator of research quality and suggest that the content- and context-dependency of processual phenomena do not imply they are unable to generate relevant insights beyond the cases investigated. Sminia (2017a) notes that a focus on the context- and content-dependency of a process raises questions about the inherent utility and universal effects of specific tools or techniques. In this context, the usefulness and practicality of a structuration theory of performance lie in the transferability of the findings and the versatility of the results rather than in strict generalisability. Research should aim to uncover the general in the specific, rather than seeking to generalise the specific (Sminia, 2017a). Overall, while the structuration perspective may not lead to universally applicable theories, it can provide a nuanced understanding of performance phenomena in specific contexts.

6.3.7. Overemphasis on social structures

The structuration perspective acknowledges the importance of organisational agency, but there is a risk of overemphasising the influence of social structures on performance outcomes, potentially overlooking the significance of individual actions and strategic decisions that drive performance improvements.

One concern with the emphasis on offering a multilevel analysis is that it may inadvertently lead to a macro contextualist view, neglecting the micro level manifestations of the behaviours of competing interest group and the day-to-day routines of practitioners and obscure the nuances and complexities of individual agency and decision-making processes (Caldwell, 2005). Similarly, other researchers, such as Whittington (1996) and Johnson et al. (2003), have argued that processual research needs to consider the characteristics and micro level particulars of human agency for a more comprehensive understanding. Likewise, Sminia (2017a) notes that adopting a structuration way of thinking can make it very difficult to distinguish whether specific events in a process are due primarily to the agency of management or to the influence of the surrounding context and social structures. This difficulty in disentangling the effects of agency and structure may limit the clarity of the research findings.

To strike a balance and achieve a comprehensive understanding of organisational performance, it is necessary to acknowledge both the impact of social structures and the autonomy of organisational agency. Emirbayer and Mische (1998) offer a valuable perspective

on “human agency” in describing it as the temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments, which both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations. Consequently, this study takes a balanced approach, recognising the significance of both social structures and organisational agency in shaping performance outcomes to provide a nuanced understanding of the factors influencing organisational performance.

6.3.8. Insufficiently contextual

On the other hand, the approach can be criticised for being insufficiently contextual (Pettigrew, 1985). For instance, one might argue that the context has been treated merely as a descriptive background or a list of antecedents without a deeper exploration of its influence on the process. However, I contend that investigations into processes, context, and outcomes can occur at different levels and depths and that their relationships is dependent on the context. The current research draws upon context and social structures to demonstrate how actors and groups mobilise or activate aspects of structure and context to achieve their desired outcomes (Pettigrew, 1985). This research hence is effective in portraying the multilevel dialogue between trends and forces in the evolving alcohol industry, shedding light on the relationships, actions, and initiatives of various agents striving to adapt to changing social conditions. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that the theories we have developed to explain anomalies are influenced and constrained by our existing repertoire of theories and methodologies (Van de Ven and Johnson, 2006). While the structuration perspective provides valuable insights, its application may be limited by the available theoretical frameworks and research methods.

6.4. Further Research

This study has laid the foundation for a temporal, engaged, and humanised understanding of how supply chain members interact actively with the social environment as they perform. Several interesting questions could be explored in subsequent studies. For instance, future research could explore a broader range of theoretically possible relationships between performance as a process and different social structures and evaluate the suitability of the model in a diverse and strategically selected case population. These investigations could be conducted through single or cross-sectional studies, allowing for a deeper exploration of performance as a structuration process. Future studies could also adopt a more deductive approach and test the model across multiple cases to investigate its applicability in different social settings.

6.4.1. Comparative analysis

Conducting a comparative analysis to explore performance as a structuration process can be a promising avenue for advancing our understanding of this complex phenomenon. By conducting comparative studies across different organisations, industries, sectors, or regions, further studies can gain valuable insights into how variations in social structures and contextual factors influence performance outcomes. While this type of analysis allows us to examine how different social structures, norms, and practices influence performance in unique ways, by studying multiple cases, we can identify patterns and trends that may be obscured when focusing on a single case. Different industries or sectors may face distinct challenges and opportunities, and varying social and institutional factors may influence their performance. By systematically comparing organisations operating in different contexts, we can identify the impact of specific social structures and how they shape performance dynamics. Moreover, we can identify best practices that have proven successful in specific contexts through comparative analyses. Lessons from high-performing organisations in different industries or regions can be applied to other settings, providing valuable insights for performance improvement strategies.

Furthermore, by exploring variations among social structures and contextual factors, we can improve our understanding of the boundaries and limitations of the structuration perspective. This can lead to the refinement and development of this model, ensuring its applicability in diverse organisational settings. However, we need to approach comparative analysis with a careful consideration of the complexities involved. Contextual differences among organisations may be vast, and we must take these variations into account to make meaningful comparisons. Additionally, factors such as cultural differences, historical contingencies, and institutional frameworks may influence performance outcomes and require thorough investigation and interpretation.

6.4.2. The impact of leadership

Examining the impact of leadership on performance as a structuration process presents an exciting avenue for future research. Leadership is a critical source of agency in the structuration way of thinking, and the way that leaders utilise their agency can significantly influence the enactment of social structures (Giddens, 1984). Furthermore, exploring the role of leadership can help identify the mechanisms through which leaders influence performance outcomes. For example, studies may be undertaken to examine how performance may be affected by leaders' approaches to communicating and disseminating organisational values,

fostering a culture of accountability and innovation, or building and sustaining relationships with employees and stakeholders.

By studying leadership in this context may improve our understanding of the factors that mediate and moderate the relationship between leadership and performance at micro, meso and macro levels. This can lead to the development of more nuanced and context-specific models of leadership suitable for addressing the unique challenges and opportunities that organisations face.

Moreover, from a structuration point of view, leadership is not a static phenomenon and leaders' actions and decisions evolve in response to changing circumstances (Denis et al., 2012). Studying leadership in this context requires examining how leadership practices are adapted and transformed in response to internal and external influences (Archer, 1995), and thus provide valuable insights into effective leadership practices and enhance the overall performance of organisations.

6.4.3. Organisational culture and performance

Exploring the relationship between organisational culture and performance from this perspective can reveal how cultural norms, values, and practices in a single organisation or across a particular industry contribute to or hinder performance. Organisational culture encompasses the shared norms, values, beliefs, and practices that define the identity and character of an organisation. These cultural elements influence behaviour, decision-making, and interactions, ultimately affecting the organisation's overall performance (Cameron and Quinn, 2006). Grasping the interplay between organisational culture and performance entails understanding how cultural norms and practices shape agency and vice versa. In additon, the structuration perspective encourages us to explore how changes in organisational culture over time influence performance outcomes. As social structures, including organisational culture, are not static, understanding the process of cultural transformation and its impact on performance requires a longitudinal perspective (Sztompka, 1991).

6.4.5. Inter-organisational dynamics

Researching the impact of inter-organisational dynamics on performance as a structuration process presents a valuable opportunity for understanding how organisations co-create outcomes through complex relationships and collaborations, where multiple actors interact and influence each other's actions and decisions.

The interactions, collaborations, and partnerships between different organisations are called inter-organisational dynamics. These dynamics are common in various contexts, including supply chains, alliances, joint ventures, and industry networks. Understanding performance as a structuration process in these collaborations involves exploring how the social structures and agency of each organisation mutually shape the outcomes of their collective efforts. For instance, in supply chain collaborations, each organisation's practices, decision-making processes, and cultural norms can influence the overall performance of the entire chain. By studying these interactions through a structuration lens we can gain insights into how power relations, trust, communication, and coordination influence the efficiency and effectiveness of the supply chain as a whole. Moreover, methodology encourages us to consider the role of broad institutional and environmental factors in shaping inter-organisational dynamics and, consequently, performance outcomes. For example, government regulations, industry standards, and market forces can significantly affect the interactions and behaviours of organisations in a collaborative network.

6.4.6. Performance in different contexts

Differences in various types of organisations, such as start-ups, non-profits, or public sector entities, present a valuable opportunity to investigate performance. Each organisational type operates in its unique social environment and faces specific challenges and opportunities (Scott, 2014). Using the proposed method we can gain insights into how these organisations navigate and adapt to their social context and how they, in turn, influence social structures. For example, in the case of start-ups, research could focus on understanding how their flexibility and dynamism enable them to respond quickly to contextual demands, as well as how they deal with challenges related to limited resources and how they establish stable routines. On the other hand, non-profit organisations may present different complexities, as altruistic motives often drive their operations, and their performance heavily relies on the engagement of volunteers and support from donors.

Similarly, applying this perspective to studying performance in public sector entities involves analysing how bureaucracies and formal regulations interact with the actions of civil servants and policymakers. This approach may show how organisational and governmental structures and societal expectations shape these organisations' practices, decision-making processes, and performance.

In summary, by focusing on these diverse contexts we can understand how performance, as a structuration process, manifests differently across organisations. This provides valuable

insights into the mechanisms contributing to effective performance and organisational success in various settings. Moreover, it can help identify best practices and strategies that can be adapted and applied in different organisational contexts to enhance their performance outcomes.

6.4.7. Performance in crises and uncertainty

By applying this perspective to crises and uncertainty, we can gain valuable insights into how organisations adapt, evolve, and reconfigure their structures and practices to navigate challenging circumstances and effectively ensure performance resilience. This line of research examines the emergence and influence of crisis management structures, shedding light on how organisations respond during uncertain times. It may lead to a thorough understanding of how organisations establish crisis management teams, communication channels, and decision-making processes to handle crises effectively and minimise their impact on performance. Moreover, investigating how organisations capture lessons from past crises and integrate them into new routines and procedures can enhance crisis preparedness. Learning from past experiences allows organisations to develop adaptive strategies, which in turn contribute to their resilience and ability to cope with future uncertainties more effectively.

In addition to crisis management practices, further research can explore the role of specific organisational practices, such as flexible work arrangements, agile project management, or remote collaboration technologies. Understanding how these practices facilitate effective responses to unexpected disruptions can highlight their significance in maintaining performance continuity during challenging times.

Finally, I have developed a process model of performance to establish the foundations of performance as a social structuration process. This model explains the interplay between micro, meso, and macro levels, providing a comprehensive understanding of how performance operates in different contexts. During the theory-matching step of my analysis, I integrated concepts, frameworks, and theories from various scholarly traditions and lines of research. While some components of the model may have appeared independently in the existing literature, their integration within a structuration perspective offers a holistic conceptualisation of performance as a social process. The model developed contextualises these concepts by crystallising their interplay at the micro, meso, and macro levels, forming a socially oriented understanding of performance from a structuration perspective. My aim is to encourage a temporal, engaged, and humanised approach to operations management, which promises an insightful view of the social reality of performance. Through this work, I hope to contribute

to the advancement of performance research and foster a deeper appreciation of the dynamic and interconnected nature of organisational performance.

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Appendix 1

Produced by	Sector	Document title
ASDA	Off-trade retailer	ASDA, Common Ground with Fairness and Equity. ASDA's Response to the Scottish Government's Consultation Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol, 9th September 2008.
Bacardi Brown Forman	Producer	Bacardi Brown Forman, Response by Bacardi Brown-Forman Brands to the Scottish Government's Discussion Paper Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol, undated.
Beam Global Spirits and Wine	Producer	Beam Global Spirits and Wine, Letter to the Scottish Government, 2 September 2008.
British Institute of Inn Keeping	Trade association	BII [British Institute of Inn Keeping] Scotland, Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol: A Discussion Paper on Our Strategic Approach. BII Scotland's Response, undated.
CEEV	Producer	The CEEV [Comité Européen des Enterprises Vins], Consultation Questions; Consultation on Alcohol. Response from The CEEV , via email, 29 September 2008.
Chivas Brothers and Pernod Ricard	Producer	Chivas Brothers and Pernod Ricard, Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol. A Joint Submission from Chivas Brothers Limited and Pernod Ricard UK Commenting on the Consultation Document from the Scottish Government, 9 September 2008.
The Cooperative Group	Off-trade retailer	The Cooperative Group, Letter to the Scottish Government, 8 September 2008.
Diageo	Producer	Diageo, Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol. Response by Diageo to the Scottish Government's Discussion Paper, 3 September 2008.
The Edrington Group	Producer	The Edrington Group Response, The Scottish Government Strategy for Alcohol: The Edrington Group Response, undated.
The Gin and Vodka Association	Trade association	The Gin and Vodka Association, Consultation Questions; Consultation on Alcohol. Response from The Gin and Vodka Association, via email, 30 September 2008.
The National Association of Cider Makers	Trade association	The National Association of Cider Makers, Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol. A Discussion Paper on Our Strategic Approach. Response by The National Association of Cider Makers, undated.
Scottish Late Night Operators Association	Trade association	Noctis and SLNO [Scottish Late Night Operators Association], Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol. A Response from by Noctis and SLNO, 8 September 2008.
The Portman Group	Producer	The Portman Group, Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol. A Response from The Portman Group, September 2008.
Punch Taverns	Producer	Punch Taverns, Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol: A Discussion Paper on Our Strategic Approach. Response from Punch Taverns Plc, undated.
Retail of Alcohol Standards Group	Trade association	Retail of Alcohol Standards Group, Response to Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol: A Discussion Paper on Our Strategic Approach, undated.
SAB-Miller	Producer	SAB-Miller, Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol: A Discussion Paper on Our Strategic Approach. A Response by SAB-Miller, undated.
Sainsbury	Off-trade retailer	Sainsbury's, Sainsbury's Submission to the Scottish Government's Consultation Paper Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol: A Discussion Paper on Our Strategic Approach, August 2008.
The Scotch Whisky Association	Trade association	The Scotch Whisky Association, Response to the Scottish Government's Consultation Paper Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol: A Discussion Paper on Our Strategic Approach, undated.
Scottish and Newcastle	Producer	Scottish and Newcastle, Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol. Scottish and Newcastle's Response to the Consultation, undated.
The Scottish Beer and Pub Association	Trade association	The Scottish Beer and Pub Association, The Scottish Beer and Pub Association's Response to the Scottish Government's Consultation Paper Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol: A Discussion Paper on Our Strategic Approach, September 2008.
	Trade association	The Scottish Grocers Federation, Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol: A Discussion Paper on Our Strategic Approach. SGF Response, undated.
The Scottish Licensed Trade Association	Trade association	The Scottish Licensed Trade Association, Response to the Scottish Government's Consultation Paper Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol, undated.
The Scottish Retail Consortium	Trade association	The Scottish Retail Consortium Response, Scottish Retail Consortium Response to the Scottish Government Consultation Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol: A Discussion Paper on Our Strategic Approach, September 2008.
	Off-trade retailer	Tesco, Tesco Plc Submission to the Scottish Government Consultation Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol, undated.
William Grant and Sons	Producer	William Grant and Sons, Letter to the Scottish Government, 9 September 2008.
The Wine & Spirit Trade Association	Trade association	The Wine & Spirit Trade Association, The Wine & Spirit Trade Association Submission to the Scottish Government Consultation Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol: A Discussion Paper on our Strategic Approach, 4 September 2008.
Morrison	Off-trade retailer	WM Morrison Supermarkets Plc, Changing Scotland's Relationship with Alcohol. Response to Discussion Paper, undated.

Produced by	Sector	Document title
MESAS	NHS Health Scotland	Minimum Unit Pricing (MUP) for alcohol evaluation: Compliance (licensing) study
MESAS	NHS Health Scotland	MESAS monitoring report 2019
Frontier Economics	Separately funded study	Evaluating the impacts of minimum unit pricing for alcohol on the alcoholic drinks industry in Scotland: baseline evidence and initial impacts
Iconic Consulting	Separately funded study	Minimum Unit Pricing in Scotland: A qualitative study of children and young people's own drinking and related behaviour
MESAS	NHS Health Scotland	Evaluating the impact of Minimum Unit Pricing (MUP) on sales-based consumption in Scotland: a descriptive analysis of one year post-MUP off-trade alcohol sales data
MESAS	NHS Health Scotland	alcohol evaluation The impact of MUP on protecting children and young people from parents' and carers' harmful alcohol consumption: A study of practitioners' view
University of Stirling and University of Sheffield	Separately funded study	Evaluating the impact of alcohol minimum unit pricing in Scotland: Observational study of small retailers
MESAS	NHS Health Scotland	Evaluating the impact of Minimum Unit Pricing (MUP) on sales-based alcohol consumption in Scotland: controlled interrupted time series analyses
MESAS	NHS Health Scotland	MESAS monitoring report 2020
MESAS	NHS Health Scotland	Public attitudes to Minimum Unit Pricing (MUP) for alcohol in Scotland
University of Glasgow	Separately funded study	Studying individuallevel factors relating to changes in alcohol and other drug use, and seeking treatment following Minimum Unit Pricing implementation
MESAS	NHS Health Scotland	Using alcohol retail sales data to estimate population alcohol consumption in Scotland: an update of previously published estimates
University of Newcastle Australia, University of Sheffield and Figure 8 Consultancy Services	Separately funded study	Impact of Minimum Unit Pricing among people who are alcohol dependent and accessing treatment services: Interim report: Structured interview data
MESAS	NHS Health Scotland	Evaluating the impact of Minimum Unit Pricing (MUP) on the price distribution of off-trade alcohol in Scotland
MESAS	NHS Health Scotland	MESAS monitoring report 2021
Manchester Metropolitan University	Separately funded study	Evaluation of the Impact of Alcohol Minimum Unit Pricing (MUP) on Crime and Disorder, Public Safety and Public Nuisance

Produced by	Sector	Document title
Scottish Courts	Jurdical System	Opinion of Lord Doherty in the petition of The Scotch Whisky Association and Others [2013] CSOH 70
First Division of the Inner House of the Court of Session	Jurdical System	First Division of the Inner House of the Court of Session ([2016] CSIH 77): OPINION OF THE COURT delivered by LORD CARLOWAY, the LORD PRESIDENT in the reclaiming motion The Scotch Whisky Association and others against the lord advocate and the advocate general
European Court of Justice	Jurdical System	Court of Justice (Case C-333/14, ECLI: EU:C:2015:845): Judgment of the Court (Second Chamber) of 23 December 2015. Scotch Whisky Association and Others v The Lord Advocate and The Advocate General for Scotland. Request for a preliminary ruling from the Court of Session (Scotland).
UK Supreme Court	Jurdical System	JUDGMENT: Scotch Whisky Association and others (Appellants) v The Lord Advocate and another (Respondents) (Scotland)

Produced by	Sector	Document title
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Bill as introduced, 31 October 2011
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	SPICe Briefing (SB 12-01) on the Bill, as introduced, published 5 January 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Health and Sport Committee 1st meeting, 10 January 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Health and Sport Committee 2nd meeting, 10 January 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Health and Sport Committee 3rd meeting, 17 January 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Health and Sport Committee 4th meeting, 24 January 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Health and Sport Committee 5th meeting, 31 January 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Health and Sport Committee 7th meeting, 21 February 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Subordinate Legislation Committee 16th meeting, 20 December 2011
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Subordinate Legislation Committee 2nd meeting, 24 January 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Finance Committee 14th meeting, 21 December 2011
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Finance Committee 2nd meeting, 18 January 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Stage 1 report (Health and Sport Committee) published on 7 March 2012 (2nd Report)
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Subordinate Legislation Committee, 3rd. Report, 25 January 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Finance Committee 24 January 2012 Report on the Financial Memorandum of the Alcohol (Minimum Pricing) (Scotland) Bill.
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Consideration by Parliament Stage 1 Debate, 14 March 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Subordinate Legislation Committee 11th meeting, 24 April 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Health and Sport Committee 14th meeting, 1 May 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Bill as amended at Stage 2, 2 May 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Subordinate Legislation Committee 13th meeting, 15 May 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Subordinate Legislation Committee, 25th Report, 16 May 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	SPICe Briefing (SB 12-34) on the Bill (Parliamentary Consideration prior to Stage 3) published 17 May 2012.
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Consideration by Parliament Stage 3 Debate, 24 May 2012
Scottish Parliament	Parliament	Alcohol (Minimum Pricing) (Scotland) Act 2012
National Association of Cider Makers (NACM)	Trade association	Submission from the National Association of Cider Makers (NACM) to the Finance Committee (FC) of the Scottish Parliament
Scottish Grocers Federation	Trade association	Submission from the Scottish Grocers Federation to the Finance Committee (FC) of the Scottish Parliament
Scotch Whisky Association	Trade association	Submission from the Scotch Whisky Association to the Finance Committee (FC) of the Scottish Parliament
Wine and Spirit Trade Association	Trade association	Submission from the Wine and Spirit Trade Association to the Finance Committee (FC) of the Scottish Parliament