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Antecedents, mechanisms and processes of deinstitutionalization and institutional change

a case study approach to understanding enterprise under duress

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ANTECEDENTS, MECHANISMS AND PROCESSES OF DEINSTITUTIONALIZATION AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE: A CASE STUDY APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING ENTERPRISE UNDER DURESS

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Adopting a grounded theory methodology, the study describes how an event and pressure impact upon a process of deinstitutionalization and institutional change. Three case studies were theoretically sampled in relation to each other. They yielded mainly qualitative data from methods that included interviews, observations, participant observations, and document reviews. Each case consisted of a boundaried cluster of small enterprises that were not industry specific and were geographically dispersed. Overall findings describe how an event, i.e. a stimulus, causes disruption, which in turn may cause pressure. Pressure is then translated as a tension within the institutional environment, which is characterized by opposing forces that encourage institutional breakdown and institutional maintenance. Several contributions are made: Deinstitutionalization as a process is inextricable from the formation of institutions – both are needed to make sense of institutional change on a conceptual level but are also inseparable experientially in the field; stimuli are conceptually different to pressures; the historical basis of a stimulus may impact on whether pressure and institutional change occurs; pressure exists in a more dynamic capacity rather than only as a catalyst; institutional breakdown is a non-linear irregular process; e*thical* and *survival pressures* as new types were identified; *institutional current*, as an underpinning mechanism, influences how the tension between institutional breakdown and maintenance plays out.

Key words: *Institutional theory; entrepreneurship; institutional maintenance; pressure; rural enterprise*

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1.1 Aims and Objectives

This project started with the general aim of exploring organizations in relation to their social and natural environments. All organizations have some degree of embeddedness in their wider environment but small enterprise seems to show much more inseparability from their non-economic contexts. Grounded theory allowed for these relationships to emerge and for this general aim to evolve.

More specifically, the social and natural environments pertaining to the enterprises explored embodied a pressure and/or changing stimuli. Thus, the project revolved around the relationship between pressure and/or changing stimuli and the organization, largely in respect to how the former impacts on the latter.

Over the course of the project, this very general aim became much more focused as a result of observations from the field itself: Institutional theory was identified as an appropriate and valuable theoretical framework early on; constructs emerged that encouraged a more specific framework that revolved around institutional change, deinstitutionalization, and institutional maintenance in response to pressure and/or changing stimuli.

Thus, whilst the theoretical aims and objectives were developed within the early stages of the project rather than prior to its start, the write-up presented over the subsequent chapters incorporates the following aim and objectives:

Aim

- To build and demonstrate new theory that describes how changing stimuli and pressure can impact on the organizational and institutional environments of enterprise.

Objectives

- To contextualize the overall project within institutional theory as the theoretical lens.

- To illustrate how a version of grounded theory methodology is employed to encourage data that are emergent and not 'forced' as a basis for theory building.

- To describe three empirical cases, theoretically sampled in relation to each other, as so to build theory on institutional change and deinstitutionalization.

- To demonstrate that stimuli and pressures are conceptually different to each other.

- To reveal underpinning mechanisms that may be influential on whether change is embraced or refuted.

- To state several original contributions to knowledge, via a model that encapsulates the relationship between a stimulus, pressure, tension between a drive for change and its rejection, and underpinning mechanisms.

These aims and objectives encapsulate the significance of the project, of which the outcomes contribute to knowledge on the interplay between pressure (and/or changing stimuli), and organizations, especially in relation to their subsequent strategies.

1.2 Theoretical lens

As stated above, institutional theory provides the theoretical lens. The theory is relevant and advantageous in light of the contextual dynamics in this project, where very early on I observed how social (and natural) phenomena closely interacted with enterprise. There is evidential diversity in institutional theory's historical application and contemporary use across the social sciences. In conjunction, its fundamental principles of exploring deeply embedded social structures are not inextricably tied to any one particular discipline. Taken all together, these considerations indicate an attractive lens through which to explore the data of the cases accessed, which incorporate complex environments.

The theory is not without its critics. As David and Bitektine (2009) suggest, the growth of institutional theory as an influential framework of analysis is ambiguous. 'Growth' as a term perhaps implies a solidification of the approach underpinned by empirical cohesion. Yet growth in this context is equated to the increase and diversification in the number of academic and disciplinary areas that the theory has been applied to. This is enabled in part by the high level principles of the theory being concerned with the formal and informal constraints on human behaviour, or the 'rules of the game' as North (1990) and Yeager (1999) have described it. This gives the theory an advantageous flexibility but conversely it also generates

a simultaneous weakness: The flexibility in the theory's application encourages a higher uptake of the framework by researchers working on a diverse academic spectrum whilst at the same time leading to an inevitable fragmentation in the body of institutional literature as a whole.

This latter concern has been noted by some to be of particular concern: Tolbert and Zucker (1996), for example, talk of the 'deinstitutionalization of institutional theory'. In terms of the implications for this project, it would seem that a solid literature review – or a 'conceptual overview' as I have termed it in this project – will serve a further purpose in addition to the usual function of 'setting the theoretical scene': That the validity of the basic constructs to emerge under the guise of an institutional theory framework – deinstitutionalization, for example – can be increased by incorporating explicit statements at the end of the appropriate chapter as to how the definitions of key terms have been scoped within *this* project.

1.2.i Selection of theory

My selection of theoretical frame is slightly biased in that I am influenced by the principles of substantivist economics. However, there is a great deal of synergy between the overall data that the project yielded and my argued position that economic forces are intrinsically influenced by non-economic entities, especially at a micro-economic level. At this point the implication is that I have used specific cases to justify a substantivist economic position, which in turn justifies the use of my specific cases, i.e. I present a circular argument, which clearly invites criticism.

The rationale for my position is embedded in the methodology employed for this project: A version of grounded theory. When the first case was accessed it was done so on the basis of ignorance of substantivist economics or the eventually selected lens. The case was entered 'blind'. I am not suggesting that I was devoid of theoretical awareness on any level but the depth of my theoretical understanding pivoted on aspects of clinical forensic psychology (reflecting my background), whilst my breadth of knowledge incorporated other aspects of psychological based theory and some management based areas. My knowledge of economics was limited to some basic principles strongly ingrained in classical economics. This afforded me the opportunity of ensuring that the data from the first case and my lack of a specific

theoretical reference point drove the subsequent theoretical framing. Thus, to this end, not only was emergent theory grounded in overall dataset, the selection of theoretical lens was also grounded in the same way.

Several themes emerged at a cognitive level whist I was in the field of my first case. The community, on which the first case was based upon, was essentially entrenched in a conflict between the philosophical drives of the community and the need to survive. Economic survival equated to the literal survival of the community: Economic systems of support for people unable to work, children, the sick, and so on, were generated by the community itself, being based in a country with no welfare state but which were woefully inadequate. What seemed to be hindering the development of the community as an economic identity was the over-riding ideological principles on which the organization was based, which permeated all spheres of community life, i.e. work, social, family, etc.

Prior to entering the community I had become interested in the idea of regulations and the effect of these on enterprise. Leaving the community I was armed with a reasonably clear perspective that overt, 'tangible' regulations were supplemented by more covert and intangible 'forces' that seemed to be significantly influential. My discovery of institutional theory enabled much of what I had experienced in the first case to be explained within the principles of an established and credible theoretical framework. It allows for a non-discriminatory approach towards exploring the drivers of change, i.e. the principles of the theory allow for the motivators of change to be economic, social, or ideological and so on in basis. This flexibility also accommodated grounded theory principles more adequately where the aim was to build theory rather than to test it.

This latter point became more important as the first case developed. There was experiential evidence that change involved two symbiotic components to the process: how the 'new' is adopted and how the 'old' is discarded. But of equal high impact was that the literature base revolving around institutional theory only seemed to incorporate the former, i.e. that institution uptake or formation has been researched but its opposite has been neglected. The logical implication is that new institutional norms, values and rules must have replaced an existing system. This suggests a conceptual gap in the literature and whilst a research base into the formation of institutions is quickly developing, deinstitutionalization remains an under-researched area.

I suggest that the value of pursuing research to contribute towards filling this gap is two-fold. First, as I argue above, exploring how institutions break down – how they are discarded and rejected – is one half of the process of institutional change. By ignoring the current bias in our understanding of this process is potentially pursuing a knowledge track that is incomplete and that potentially does not hold validity due to its partiality. Second, and sequential to the first point, is that our understanding of deinstitutionalization transcends the activity of pursuing knowledge for knowledge's sake alone. The implications for applied management are clear, as supported by some of the scant research already carried out into deinstitutionalization, as discussed in the next chapter. Thus, the use of pursuing this knowledge track has applied advantages in addition to merely contributing to filling a conceptual gap within a theoretical context.

I find support in my arguments for the benefits for exploring the breakdown of 'rules', norms and values from within the field itself. The need to pursue deinstitutionalization as an under-researched area was commented on by Dacin, Goodstein and Scott (2002) in the prelude to a special research forum for the *Academy of Management Journal*. Despite their call almost ten years ago, major gaps still exist in the research base to the point that it would be more efficient to outline what has been researched, rather than what has not. Several years later Scott (2008) echoes this viewpoint, describing the existing literature base on deinstitutionalization as extensively fragmented. In the two years that have followed, the same level of progress seems to have been made, i.e. volume has increased but the extent of the diversity in the research mass – for example, differentiating on the unit of analysis, industry, geography and so on – renders the body still largely fragmented, and therefore somewhat limited.

1.3 Cases and development of the project.

This project makes contributions to institutional theory on conceptual and empirical bases by exploring some of the constructs, characteristics and influencing factors that leverage processes of deinstitutionalization and institutional change. In addition some aspects of institutional maintenance are also contributed to, albeit in a more limited way, following exposure to some sort of stimulus and/or pressure.

As a multiple case study strategy, three cases are used to build theory in this area. The first case serves the function of driving the choice of theoretical lens, i.e. institutional theory and deinstitutionalization. It provides a basis for non-deterministic exploration and allows for themes to emerge in the most faithful way possible to fundamental grounded theory values.

Case two enabled a different contextual environment for the exploration of change. The focus of industry was different − rural agriculture − as was the population type, the degree of and type of boundaries around the community, and the extent of its geographical isolation. I entered the field of the second case with theoretical pre-understanding, i.e. between the first and second cases I became familiar with institutional theory. I also brought with me on a cognitive level the themes that had emerged from the first case, in particular the construct of 'pressure', although this presented in a different format once in the field than had been expected.

Case three served the purpose of replication − a key function of the utilization of a multiple case study orientated project (Yin, 2009) − although there was some difference in the extent to which the community was boundaried, cultural difference, as well differing characteristics surrounding the event, i.e. the stimulus. Inevitably, I entered the case with a posteriori understanding that was embedded experientially from the first two cases. The third case was also instrumental in defining a stimulus to be quite a separate entity from the concept of pressure.

After the third case was completed, several strong themes emerged from the datasets, and these formed the basis of a model. This represents an attempt to *build* theory on deinstitutionalization, institutional change, and maintenance as responses to stimuli and/or pressure in the environment. The model also outlines a key micro-process that underpins the overall phenomenon.

Additionally, as a sub-narrative, the project implicitly describes the process of applying grounded theory using multiple cases. The cases exist on a sequential methodological trajectory, which changes via the momentum of the gathering of experiential knowledge. Thus, as the overall theoretical basis takes form, the application of grounded theory to the differing cases also evolves in its format.

1.4 Chapter contents

The study's aims, objectives and theoretical concepts relating to institutional theory, are grounded in and emergent from the data collection and analysis of this study. This is contrary to a more positivist orientated approach, which would entail research questions being guided wholly from the extant literature base that would be accessed prior to the study's fieldwork. For reasons of clarity though I have structured the write up of the project in a way that is influenced by the mainstream, traditional sequence found in most management research papers: An introduction and conceptual overview are followed by a methodology section, individual case write-ups, the findings – depicted by a model – of the overall study, and finally a discussion.

<u>Conceptual Overview</u>

The next chapter discusses the literature applicable to institutional theory. The aim is to give a wider contextual background to the theoretical framing that was identified as giving value added by the first cases themselves. Thus, the second chapter of the project incorporates a discussion on how institutional theory has been developed and defined along various differing lines. This includes how the principles of neo-institutional theory have developed from the late 1970s as well as examples of how much wider areas of inquiry have influenced institutional change.

Some of the more pertinent literature to the more specific themes that emerged within each case is discussed within the case chapters themselves.

<u>Methodology</u>

A methods chapter follows the conceptual overview. The choice of methodology is discussed in the context of the appropriate ontological and epistemological paradigms – detailed in more depth in *Appendix A*. Grounded theory is then discussed as the methodology for this project, although this is preceded by a consideration of an ethnographic influence on the design of the study.

Owing to the diversity and fragmentation of grounded theory in how it has been interpreted as a methodology (Suddaby, 2006), I state the assumptions under which the project was carried out to try and increase methodological transparency. The methodology chapter closes with a

description of the overall strategy employed in the project, in terms of the overall application. 'Tactics' for the individual cases are detailed in the appropriate case chapters.

Case one

The next chapter details the first case – a township in India – and starts off with a contextual description of the field and rationale for the sampling of the case. Methodological tactics and specific methods employed to this case are then discussed.

Findings are presented and these illustrate the data that suggests organization around several very loose based questions. Pressure is discussed as a key construct as are the organizational and institutional landscapes pertaining to the case. The discussion that follows revolves firstly around how the key observations compare to the extant literature base and it is at this point that Oliver's model on deinstitutionalization – a major reference point for the project – is introduced fully (Oliver, 1992). The findings are also considered in a much wider context of institutional theory, i.e. that which discusses other aspects than deinstitutionalization or institutional change per se. The case concludes with a discussion of the findings and their implications for the second case, as well as its limitations.

The first case also identifies a key methodological conflict between a principle of grounded theory – that of 'emergence' – and the carrying out of research that is ethical. This is detailed in-depth in *Appendix D*.

Case two

The second case concerns a small farming community in the Indian Himalayas. This follows the same structure in terms of write up, as the chapter which depicts the first case.

The field was entered on the basis of a semi-state of pre-knowledge. Theoretical familiarity with literature pertaining to institutional theory and deinstitutionalization, was a given before entry to the field.

The findings from this case reflect a more extensive breakdown in the institutions of the environment and at this point several themes are identified via the comparison of data from this case to that of the first case. Again, limitations are discussed after enfolding relevant extant literature and contributions to this point are summarized.

Methodological reflections

This chapter reflects on how schema formation forces a change in how the methodology is applied. As mentioned above, the development of how the methodology was implemented along the trajectory of the project is an implicit sub-narrative. The discussion in this section reflects on how the knowledge set gathered to this point compels a more positivist styled application of grounded theory for the last case, where inevitably more questions are tested to verify relationships between constructs and so on.

<u>Case three</u>

The third case is detailed in this chapter. It focuses on a small village in the north of England. In terms of structuring its write up, the format of the case follows that of the previous two. The case reflects the institutional maintenance following an event, rather than institutional change. The dataset of this case is strongly orientated around historical documentation, rather than interviews or participant observation, for example. The case is also instrumental in demonstrating a conceptual divide between a stimulus and pressure. This is discussed at length in the latter part of the case, as are the usual limitations and so forth.

<u>Model: Pressure and its effects on institutional frameworks</u>

A model is presented in this chapter that outlines the process of how a stimulus and/or a pressure may impact upon an institutional framework. The datasets from the three cases contribute themes and relationships that are now depicted to reflect this, along with how established institutions may breakdown or be maintained. A key underpinning mechanism – institutional current – is also incorporated here, again as a direct result of the overall dataset. The model is discussed in-depth with regard to each of the components and stages.

<u>Discussion</u>

The chapter starts off with a methodological reflection where the use of grounded theory is considered critically over the project as a whole. Specific case limitations are again considered. The next section considers the contributions made by the findings of the project over all. These in the main are orientated around theoretical insights, although two methodological considerations are also considered. This section is sequential to suggestions for further research that, with some closing remarks, conclude the chapter.

2.1 Introduction

As noted in the introduction, this literature review has aims that are not particularly comparable to a deductive approach, where a discussion on extant literature reveals knowledge gaps, which in turn produce research questions to be tested. Instead, the aim of this chapter is to provide a broad background to institutional theory, as discussed in the introduction to represent a framework comprising of norms, values, routines, and schemas that becomes a defining authority of acceptable behaviour (Scott, 2001). This chapter demonstrates how the theory has evolved and diversified, as well as illustrating some of the value in considering related literature sets to the theory's development. In other words, the goal is to provide a theoretical context to the overall study.

A further aim is to strengthen the validity of the project in light of the theory's fragmentation in how it has been applied and understood in the context of its assumptions and definitions. Although Tolbert and Zucker in 1996 discuss how the development of institutional theory has, like any other theory, undergone its own procurement of tacit understanding of what the term means and encompasses, more recently David and Bitektine (2009) have noted the theory's divergent agendas and multiple paradigms of application and understanding. Institutional theory's flexibility and wide scope is both its advantage and downfall. Thus, earlier parts of this chapter inform my own definitions and assumptions surrounding the theory, which I argue are crucial to state because of the theory's fragmentation.

The overall structure of this chapter is as follows:

First, I give an overview of 'old' institutionalism in *Section 3.2* to demonstrate the breadth but also the longevity of the approach's development. Perspectives from economics, political science, and sociology are outlined.

I then move on to discuss how institutional theory was developed in the USA, with an emphasis on how there seemed to be a differentiation in the theorizing of neo-institutionalism between East coast and West coast researchers. Academia in this part of the world seemed to

be the main driver of institutional theory in its new form. The coastal split in some ways is superficial: Although the development of the theory was being carried out quite separately between the different pools of academics, there was considerable overlap, which in itself increased the rigor and validity of the theory's development in the process. *Section 3.3* discusses this.

This is followed by a much wider discussion of neo-institutionalism in *Section 3.4* before I consider the various ways in which overall development can be structured in *Section 3.5*. I focus in on Scott's "*schematic framework*" (2001: 52), as an efficient and effective organizing model. I discuss the scope of his 'pillar' approach to understanding institutional theory: I justify the appropriateness of this way to organize understanding as it allows for a wide ranging scope of application whilst simultaneously encouraging unification of the various disciplinary approaches – for example, economic and sociological orientations with their emphasis on tangible 'rules' and norms respectively.

The early mistakes and flaws that neo-institutional theory made are then discussed in *Section 3.6* as a basis for how more contemporary theory has – and can continue to – adjust as part of the ongoing development of the theory. Subsequent to this, I briefly discuss wider literature sets in *Section 3.7* and consider their contributory value: What they have offered to the core development of institutional theory, as well as a theoretical discussion on how extant literature on 'power' – as an example – could potentially contribute to further development.

Finally, in light of the chapter's earlier discussions, I consider the problems of defining the theory as a whole in *Sections 3.8*, and of seeking a unified definition and set of assumptions in *Section 3.9*. This deliberation, as well as the earlier discussions in the chapter, drives my own set of definitions and assumptions that I take with me to the project as a whole. I state these at the end of the chapter in *Section 3.10* to increase the validity of the findings and subsequent model presented in *Chapter 8.*

2.2 'Old' institutionalism

The first challenge of this chapter concerns identifying the meaning of institutional theory, i.e. its literal definition, as well as the theory's associated concepts. Many theories have the luxury of being cohesive in their definitions and underpinning principles. Not so with institutional theory: Its fragmentation is perhaps owing to its ambiguous origins, historical longevity, and development within several specific disciplines. It would seem that early institutional theory was developed and contributed to in the main by economic, political (scientific), and sociological disciplines.

Within economics, the dominant idea that actions could be explained purely atomistically was challenged in the late nineteenth century. More abstract concepts such as human behaviour and historical change were urged as relevant. Thorstein Veblan and John Commons were amongst the most prominent: The former talking specifically about institutions as, "…*settled habits…*" (Veblan, 1898: 389) and the latter proposing the economy as a "…*moving, changing process…*" (Commons, 1924: 376), in conjunction with human activity revolving around "…*coercion…and…defrauding…*" (Commons, 1924: 7).

The ideas of Veblan and Commons, as well as others, eventually took form as a temporary fad that could not repel the force and popularity of neo-classical thought. Despite efforts of a small but vociferous minority including, for example, Joseph Schumpeter (1926), Karl Polanyi (1944), and Gunnar Myrdal (1944), it would seem that the contribution by economists to the development of institutional theory until the late 1970s withered.

Political science made more of a consistent and strong contribution to the development of institutional theory. Yet this strand, perhaps inevitably, contrasts somewhat with economists' contributions, even though similar time frames were at play. Whilst, the small band of economists, mentioned above, failed to impact their 'deviant' ideas to any great extent into mainstream economic thought, institutional theory was embraced by their political scientist cousins and the approach became very popular within their working environment.

Emphasis was placed on the 'institutions' of the legal system and political bodies, including government, parliament, and the rules, rights and procedures of political systems (Bill & Hardgrave, 1981). The popularity of the theory within political science circles is perhaps not surprising in the context of the historic period in which it flourished, i.e. as Eckstein (1963) notes, policy and constitution making was the order of the day.

By the mid 1930s however, a behaviouralist approach was in vogue and this encouraged more in-depth consideration to the behaviour associated with, for example, voting patterns. Thus, the approach to institutions as 'static' political organizations seems to have fallen out of favour by this time.

Yet, it is sociologists who seem to have made the most fundamental contribution to the development of institutional theory. Certainly this argument is strong in light of the theory's modern day position and when compared to the impact of economic and political science driven achievements with the approach.

The earliest sociological contributor to institutional thought is Herbert Spencer, whose early work – first published in 1876 – predates even that of Veblan (1898). Sumner closely follows, who first started writing in 1906. A strong biological influence can be seen within both writers' musings on how they approached institutions. But nevertheless they are championed for being amongst the first to argue that society is a changing organic system, in direct contrast to the pure 'hard science' fashion of the time.

Both Spencer (1876) and Sumner (1906) hint at the issue of interdependency – a key assumption of new institutionalism, which emphasizes a mutual reliance between human beings and social structures. Cooley (1902) also contributes to this notion and defines institutions more specifically and tangibly within Spencer and Sumner's framework, giving examples of institutions as 'the family', 'language' and 'the church'. These sociological ideas seem to have a longevity that economics and political science could not seem to muster. Writers, such as Hughes (1939), were writing as late as the 1930s and making direct reference to the ideas of Cooley and so on, as discussed further below.

Perhaps inspired by the earlier work of Spencer, the advent of Durkheim, Weber, and Parsons also brought new ideas that would also be fruitful for the development of the theory. Amongst Durkheim's contribution was his work on 'symbolism', 'schemas', and 'shared meanings' (Durkheim, 1912), which he described as '*social institutions*' (Durkheim, 1961). Weber wrote extensively on how he understood cultural rules to '…*define and shape social structures…*' (Weber, 1924), and Parsons (1937) argued that behaviour becomes normative when it is aligned with wider social based rules. Parsons emphasized that it is these wider societal rules that drive behaviour, i.e. the need for social assimilation takes precedence over behaviour that is considered to be purely self-serving and is to the detriment of others.

Schulz (1967) builds on Cooley's ideas, arguing that it is the three-way interaction between individuals and their social environment that brings about shared understanding. This in turn elicits behaviour that is taken for granted and becomes a subconscious entity as it meets the expectations of other individuals and the social structure which has been shaped by this common understanding.

In 1934, Mead echoed Schulz's ideas – and by default Cooley – by describing interdependency between the individual and social structures, as well as acknowledging the importance of symbolism in the creation of shared meaning. Elements of Schulz's argument can also be seen in the relatively more recent work of Berger and Luckmann (1967) who emphasize that social reality is in itself socially constructed by the interactions with the collective behaviour of humans.

By this point in time, ideas are starting to mutate and are diversifying rapidly. The thoughts of Berger and Luckmann (1967), for example, are most readily applied to methodological paradigms and more specifically to the growth of phenomenology. By the late 1970s, neo-institutionalism begins to develop as mainstream set of principles, and heralds a distinctive direction in the historical development of the theory that I have described in this section.

2.3 East coast versus West coast variants

The difference between neo-institutional theory and historical institutional theory as just described, seems to pivot around the degree to which conformity to institutional norms and values is a consciously evoked process in terms of decision making (March and Olsen, 1989). Yet there are strong similarities and overlap between the two perspectives. Early neo-institutional theory focused purely on concepts of organizational homogeneity and legitimacy but these are ideas that are also synonymous with a historical perspective on the theory (Connelly, Ketchen & Slater, 2011).

Neo-institutional theory was developed primarily in the USA and involved, in the main, two separate strands of research. First, John Meyer and W. Richard Scott at Stanford started to explain educational systems (and then later on other organizations) in terms of their social structures of order being influenced by social norms and rules. (Meyer, Scott & Strang, 1987). 'Actors' and their behaviour within the institutional environment were *constructed* socially,

and were not merely socially *influenced*. The emphasis for Meyer, Scott, and other colleagues at Stanford, was on widely shared symbolism.

Simultaneously, Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell on the East coast were also developing ideas surrounding institutional theory but with a slightly different emphasis. Like Meyer and colleagues, they were concerned with explaining why organizations frequently seemed to be homogenous to each other. However, whereas Meyer and colleagues explained homogeneity in terms of organizations commonly seeking rationality, DiMaggio and Powell emphasized the degree of connectedness between organizations. These connections, they argued enable coercive or normative pressures radiating from, for example, the State or professional bodies, as '*institutional agents*'.

Yet, the divergence in emphasis does not fragment the development of the theory to any fundamental level – both accept the existence of culturally networked systems, for example – rather the key word is 'emphasis'. Without prejudice (Meyer and Scott's specific contributions are discussed later), DiMaggio and Powell's 1983 paper, *The Iron Cage Revisited*, became an extensively influential piece of work and was the forefront to the ideas that I briefly outline here. This influence continues, despite the shift towards other aspects of the institutional process in more recent work, again, discussed later in this chapter. The number of citations for DiMaggio and Powell's 1983 paper is almost fifty percent greater than for any other piece of research on institutional theory, determined by a recent EBSCO search, as detailed later in this chapter. The paper discusses several pivotal ideas that have fundamental implications for the structural versus agency debate but also for the development of institutional theory at a general level.

Whereas some researchers had focused their empirical efforts on examining institutional effects at the level of the organization, DiMaggio & Powell (2003) introduced the concept of the '*field*'. They emphasized that whilst the organization was an entity in itself, it existed in a wider context. This context extended beyond exogenous social forces: It incorporated *any* entity that could be feasibly and justifiably correlated to the organization. Thus, rather than focusing their work on the seemingly over-simple interaction between the organization and social forces as variables, a network of interrelation was proposed as the optimum components: According to the principles of DiMaggio & Powell (1983), the field could consist of the organization, its competitors, suppliers, and customers, appropriate professional

bodies, and so on. This had the impact of eliciting an alternative and far more appropriate backdrop for the exploration of institutional effects but also the degree to which organizational agency was active could now be better explored. By accessing the field, acts of deviance and entrepreneurship could be better identified, for example, their value being enhanced by the ability of the researcher to compare organizational activity across whole industries.

A second impact on the development of institutional theory has been DiMaggio and Powell's emphasis on isomorphism. The uptake of this concept by subsequent researchers served to move towards at least a partial consolidation in ideas within the theory, with many theorists giving a nod of approval. Both structuralists and agency theorists agreed on the importance of the term and more importantly the philosophy behind it – seeing it as a sort of institutional litmus test. Yet they differed in how they saw its role within the *process* of institutionalization. Structuralists utilized the concept to mark the *end* of a process of institutionalism: Homogeneity – or isomorphism – amongst organizations exposed to the same social forces was procured as a terminal point of institutionalization, i.e. a group of organizations could be said to be institutionalized if there was a high degree of sameness. Agency theorists also utilize the concept but in a different way. They see the degree of isomorphism as being fertile ground for deviant organizational activity where firms may actively choose to disrupt the homogeneity within the field: For agency theorists, isomorphism is very often the catalyst for institutional disruption and change (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

If we accept DiMaggio & Powell's assumption of isomorphism, regardless of whether an agency or structural approach is taken, the attraction of their three proposed pressures to inter-organizational homogeneity is clear:

1. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) first identify that when organizations face uncertainty, they mimic each other. Often the 'template' is provided by organizations that have a strong sense of visibility or ultra-successful organizations. Thus, for both agency and structuralists, the level of uncertainty within the environment is a crucial component for isomorphic characteristics.

2. Professionalization serves as an additional pressure. Organizations seek membership of professional bodies for the purpose of enhancing legitimization but their

membership is contingent on a number of qualifying characteristics, i.e. the organization must show adherence to other organizations within the membership body, again stimulating isomorphism, via normative control.

3. Coercive pressures exist from two differing sources: First, governmental pressure that stipulates organizational deference to relevant legislation; and second, organizations or other actors that have an intrinsic value to the existence of the organization, where a substitute is not readily or easily available.

A justifiable question surrounds the relevance of DiMaggio and Powell's seminal work, which was carried out almost thirty years ago, to more recent neo-institutional theorists in addition to this specific project. For example, it may be that the number of citations, as mentioned above, that *The Iron Cage Revisited* receives are superficial, i.e. that no real 'deep' use is made of DiMaggio and Powell's core ideas, and that their citation is more of tick box exercise.

Yet, there is strong evidence to suggest that DiMaggio and Powell's research depicted in their seminal work is still theoretically robust. This can be seen, as measured in a multitude of ways, not least through the empirical support that the paper continues to receive. Heugens and Lander (2009), for example, utilizing meta-analysis techniques on 144 studies, found support for all of the three types of isomorphic pressures. On the basis of this they even recommend future research to move away from testing for DiMaggio and Powell's key concepts, suggesting a strong basis of establishment via saturation.

The magnitude of DiMaggio and Powell's seminal paper should not detract however from the parallel contributions made by the original West coast researchers. Whilst DiMaggio and Powell (1983) identify the organizational field to reflect the institutional importance of the organization existing in a wider context, Meyer and Scott (1983) were using the term 'societal sector' in a similar way, for example.

2.4 Subsequent early neo-institutionalism

At this point, the geographic divide within the theory was blurred with both East coast and West coast researchers (and others) focusing on three differing themes that began to emerge that showed some sympathy towards early institutional theorists' work.

First, Tolbert and Zucker (1983) spearheaded research that explored how institutional sets are diffused within the organizational field. The emphasis here was on exploring *institutional effects* and perhaps typified the assumption at the time that the relationship between institutions and the behaviour of organizations was a one way process: That organizations somehow passively absorbed institutions akin to a hypodermic syringe and that institutions were created exogenously, detached in a vacuum.

This assumption is also seen in a second band of research that typically looked at when institutional sets become disrupted or when conflicting institutional sets are not harmoniously juxtaposed. However, rather than the emphasis being on institutional change per se and incorporating elements of deinstitutionalization or explorations into how new institutional sets are formed, early neo-institutionalists focused on the effects that this institutional challenge or disruption had on organizations.

A third branch was focused on exploring the systems and processes at play within the organization field, which construct the relevant rules and 'institutional logics'. Again, the emphasis was very much on looking at the 'middle' part of the institutional process and in the context of institutional effects, rather than looking specifically at how institutions were formed in the first place.

2.5 Further bases of diversification

At this point in time, despite cohesion in assumptions concerning the positive value of the field and the rough but identifiable grouping of research into three strands, theory development became increasingly diversified. Up to this point, apart from some limited empirical work, much of the efforts to develop the theory had been carried out on a theoretical basis (Scott, 2008). Now however, more empirical 'testing' was being carried out, which I argue inevitably fragmented the theory further.

The attraction of simplicity in being able to present a cohesive theory aside, I question the value for this project in trying to force together differing approaches and perspectives, all of which fall under the banner of institutional theory. For this reason alone, I suggest that a *purely* chronological approach is not appropriate. Even though a time centred approach elicits some understanding on the approach's development – especially when comparing 'old' institutionalism to neo-institutionalism – it is also in danger of lending a false impression of being able to arrive at a single point.

Figure 1 below indicates some of the ways in which neo-institutional theory could be structured.

FIGURE 1

STRUCTURING NEO-INSTITUTIONAL THEORY
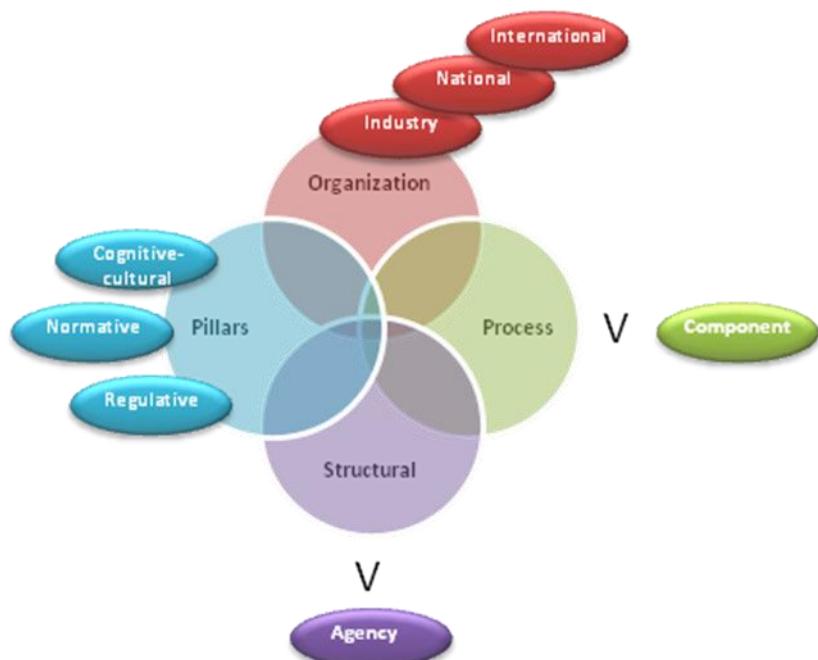
Starting at the top of *Figure 1* is just one of the ways in which institutional research can be divided: By the level or unit of analysis that researchers apply. This is not to take away from the notion of the field, which seems to be increasingly popular. Rather the division comes

from where the emphasis is placed, i.e. at an industry or organizational level, for example. Similarly, are the differing approaches that researchers have taken towards how institutions play out, i.e. as a process or as a series of components, as seen on the right hand side of *Figure 1*

2.5.i Agency v Structure

A further way, to divide the work of neo-institutional theorists is to reflect on one of the major debates still raging within this area of research. As indicated at the bottom of *Figure 1*, the debate pivots around whether the emphasis in institutional theory best lies with examining the 'agency' of the process or on more the 'structural' elements. This to a large extent relates to the more primitive division of grouping the research in terms of its emphasis on the structure or process of the entity. Heugens and Lander (2009) identify this debate as the '*central quarrel dividing institutionalists*' (61). The debate revolves around the level of determinism on organizational behaviour. Neither camp – structuralists nor agency theorists – deny the existence of structure or organizational agency: Again, it is the specific *emphasis* that each places on their favoured entity, which distinguishes the two.

Thus, structuralists see the primary source of organizational behaviour lying in the macro based social forces in the external environment. It is because the sources of influence are exogenous to organizations that isomorphic tendencies are often seen in industries, i.e. the same forces impact upon all organizations and thus similarity is inevitable. Templates are sought to achieve legitimacy. Legitimacy is seen as important because this is an implicit necessity for gaining acceptance within the industry, with customers and so on.

Agency theorists acknowledge this process, i.e. that macro based social forces exogenous to the organization, influence behaviour. However, they do not see organizations as being the passive entities that structuralists perceive them to be. They argue that far from being unquestioning and docile absorptive bodies, organizations can and do seek to disrupt isomorphism. A good example of this lies in the domain of institutional entrepreneurship, on which Hardy and Maguire (2008) give an excellent overview: Agency theorists argue that during the process of isomorphism, some organizations will actively seek to disrupt the

heavily endorsed organizational templates through entrepreneurial activity that may span both product and operational innovation.

2.5.ii Pillars of Institutions

A further alternative way in which to structure neo-institutional research – and one which is heavily embedded as a West coast contribution – is by means of what Scott (2001) calls the Three Pillars of Institutions, which he depicts in *Table 1* overleaf and which are depicted on the left hand side of *Figure 1* above.

Scott (2005) emphasizes that this is not a theory but a "conceptual schema" (465). The framework that he offers deserves consideration first owing to his gravitas as an institutional theorist but, perhaps more importantly, the non-specific disciplinary basis to his approach.

The framework achieves several things. First, it illustrates the differing approaches to institutional theory but simultaneously indicates how they can mutually contribute to an overall understanding of institutional theory's differing facets. Differing institutional theorists, aligned with different disciplines have emphasized alternative components to the

TABLE 1

THE THREE PILLARS OF INSTITUTIONS

Aston University

Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

Source: Scott (2001): 52, Table 3.1

institutional process. Economically orientated theorists, such as North (1990) for example, tend to focus on exploring regulative structures and, in early neo-institutional theory, the effects these have on organizations. By comparison, more sociologically orientated research, such as that carried out by Parsons (1990), focuses on normative structures effecting organizations, whilst cultural-cognitive elements are focused on by later sociologists and cultural anthropologists.

Thus, what Scott's framework can offer is a focused consideration of an amalgamation of approaches to the theory where the diversity is illustrated more positively than an illustration of fragmentation. In this respect, his framework takes on an almost Gestalt characteristic where the sum of the differing approaches and emphases gives less value added to understanding the meaning and manifestations of institutional theory than when considering the amalgamation as a whole.

2.6 Early 'mistakes'

Dipping our toe back into the chronological pool of development in institutional theory we can see several implicit 'mistakes' surrounding early neo-institutional work. I argue these to be important to discuss here, as subsequent development can only be 'true' if it takes in to account previous errors.

2.6.i Static versus dynamic entities

First, common to the three strands of research identified previously and as mentioned before, is the idea that institutional fields are not especially dynamic entities. Early work, although implicit, seems to hold the assumption that the relationship between the institutional set and the organization is one directional and relatively simple, as demonstrated by nomenclature that frequently includes 'institutional effects', i.e. institutions affecting the organization.

Subsequent research suggests otherwise in several respects and there is now much more of a basis, substantiated by empirical support, for suggesting that the relationship is more complex and dynamic than first thought, as is the institutional environment itself. Institutional sets seem to be non-static entities and this logically assumes an extent of conflicting and

competing institutions. This dynamic is made even more probable by the recognition that field boundaries are often weak and dynamic in themselves, with 'membership' of the field frequently changing, having additional implications for networks and relationships between differing actors. A clear example can be found with actors who demonstrate 'blue ocean' (Kim and Mauborgne, 2005) capabilities: Industry 'deviants' who disrupt play within an industry, geographical area, or other defined cluster. Even more 'regular' or less extreme agents can disrupt the rules, norms and values, for example, within a specific context, as can new entrants to the market, via entrepreneurship. Additionally, wider exogenous change or even endogenous organizational change, has the power to influence the ratio of the mix between regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive realms of institutional influence.

Thus, more recent research has suggested that far from institutions being static and one-directional in their influence, more dynamism exists both between institutions and organizations and within the institutional environment itself. As a result, research has shifted away from looking at institutional 'effects' as a 'top-down' progression to exploring institutional 'processes', as more dynamic entities.

2.6.ii Institutional ghosts versus institutional ownership

Early neo-institutionalists referred to institutions implicitly in that they were considered to be 'widely held beliefs', 'out there', unharnessed, with no explanation as to who or what was responsible for their formulation or maintenance. One of the first people to challenge this assumed institutional intangibility was Oliver (1991) who introduced the idea of 'agentic actors'. Borrowing heavily from arguments entrenched in resource-dependency theory, she argued that both organizations and leaders of organizations were active and strategic in their behaviour. This relates to my previous observation concerning the growth of more recent research challenging the idea of institutions being a 'top-down' process in relation to organizations.

Oliver (1991) and others further suggest that the power balance or direction of influence on organizational behaviour can be manipulated by whether there is ambiguity or challenge in the environment: This type of uncertainty seems to lead to strategic behaviour by agentic

actors being more extensively supported. This is perhaps not too surprising when a wider literature set on 'uncertainty' is considered.

Oliver (1991) also suggested that agentic actors exist at differing levels of the firm and not just as CEOs or as other very senior personnel. Inevitably this means that agentic actors may also interact with each other both within the organization and across organizations within the 'field' (again, with regard to inter-organization activity, not just at the level of CEO). This suggests that differing power structures at differing levels may also exist. Bearing in mind the dynamic nature of the relationship between the organization and the institutional environment that more recent literature has revealed, this suggests that institutions can not only be shaped by organizations but also by key specific players – again, who may not be just be operating at CEO level. Although I have framed Oliver's contributions on agentic actors as being contributory to understanding institutional change, they may also be pivotal in understanding how institutions are maintained.

2.6.iii Rationality and institutional theory

An assumed weakness of early neo-institutional theory was that the approach could not reconcile the issue of rationality or efficiency. The approach was adept at explaining the behaviour of actors in terms of institutional influence but sometimes this meant that organizations did not act efficiently, something that both Meyer (1977) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983) suggested. Yet clearly organizations consciously strive for efficiency. This is cognitively logical and seen in the overt structures and processes that organizations put into place in order to produce their product or service.

Scott and Meyer (1983) first raised the possibility of incorporating rationality into institutional theory's scope by arguing for a relatively happy juxtaposition between the two. They reframe the concept of rationality as a pressure. This seems logical: Stakeholder demands for example and the more general competitive marketplace that the organization operates within, could both be manifested as efficiency based pressures. Scott and Meyer (1983) suggest that efficiency based pressure is the norm for all organizations, as is institutional pressure. The mix or ratio between the two though can vary by means of several

different criteria: The type of organization is crucial, for example. Here they map the *strength* of each pressure on to the types of characteristics that differing organizations bear.

The ideas of Scott and Meyer were developed in later work but with a slightly different emphasis. Although they made some headway into marrying institutional and rationality based concepts, their exogenous based focus could not really explain *how* the more endogenous manifestations of efficiency and rationality within organizations come into being. Later work suggested that the efficient systems incorporated within organizations as functional chains of production were also driven to a certain extent by institutional sets.

Thus, the complete rationality, logic, and efficiency surrounding means to end production chains seems to exist on almost a pseudo basis: What underpins these rational systems are human decision making processes that are driven by common understandings and perceptions, what criteria is important and what is less so, for example, i.e. behaviour that is institutionally influenced (Fligstein, 1990; Powell, 1991; Whitley, 1992). This understanding of how rationality can relate to rule following has extended to research on social intelligence where researchers have argued customs, conventions, habits and traditions are fertile ground for understanding normatively influenced behaviour (Langlois, 1986; March & Olsen, 1989; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Scott, 2001; Dacin & Dacin, 2008).

2.6.iv Institutional change

Neo-institutional theory has incorporated concerns about change since the beginning of its establishment. To a certain extent, change as a concept presents problems as the approach focuses on aspects of stability. Nevertheless, this in itself indicates that change exists: Early neo-institutional theory focused on isomorphism and institutional effects in the 'field', implicitly suggesting that the process by which organizations become similar involves changes to make them so, i.e. processes of convergent change. As Scott (2001) argues, the central assumption of the 'top-down' approaches prevalent at the time indicated that if organizations showed isomorphic tendencies then this was likely to be the result of institutional pressures. Thus, to a certain extent, institutional theory was only superficially focused on issues of stability.

Institutional (and organizational) stability is centred on the 'middle' aspects of the institutional process but, as Scott (2005) has argued, this focus by the research community has created a skew which neglects how institutions are formed in first instance and how they disintegrate. Many 'start' theorists – those which are concerned with how institutions are formulated – begin with DiMaggio's research on 'high culture'. DiMaggio (1991) looked at how art museums established themselves as organizations and proposed that actors pursued alternative models of structure, despite their being evidential successful 'templates' already within the industry that organizations could copy. On the whole though, much of the work of theorists concerned with the beginnings of institutions has been collaborative with researchers from other disciplines such as sociology and political science. One of the most fruitful collaborations has been with researchers who are concerned with social movements, eliciting insight into what happens when there are conflicting groups with differing interests, for example.

Deinstitutionalization – the breakdown of institutions – is positioned ostensibly at the end of the institutionalization process, and is the second under-researched area in modern neo-institutional theory. Several intertwined points are pertinent here. Its neglect might indicate that this is a rare occurrence. Yet, if we accept that the relationship between organizations and institutions is dynamic, it seems likely that some decay or breakdown will exert itself in the process of change. Zucker (1988) goes a step further and argues that the persistence of institutions in one unchanging state is the exception rather than the rule. Furthermore, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) suggest that usually institutions demand structures of reinforcement to maintain them, a phenomenon also seen in Dacin, Munir and Tracey's work on institutional maintenance (Dacin et al, 2010). Both organizations and the fields in which they operate erode (Scott, 2005). With the research establishing that organizations are in some way influenced by wider institutions and that this relationship is two way and dynamic, it seems logical to suggest that institutions also erode and breakdown.

A study that demonstrates change activity in the institutional process but also emphasizes the interaction between the formation of institutions and their erosion is one by Hiatt, Sine, and Tolbert (2009). Contextualizing empirical data from soft drink producers and breweries between 1870-1920 in the activities of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), Hiatt et al (2009) demonstrated how institutional decline occurred. The WCTU, as a social movement, seemed to place pressure on the norms of beverage drinking and ultimately

legislation in the USA in this time period. Several things occurred: First, the movement delegitimized the consumption of alcohol by undermining the norms and values of wider society towards the practice. They also succeeded in pressuring change in a regulatory context by demanding temperance legislation. Thus, to use Scott's nomenclature, the institutional pillars supporting the drinking behaviour at the time were challenged, introducing institutional conflict and contest. As a result, new organizations were able to form – those which produced non-alcoholic beverages – and, crucially, *succeed*, owing to the change in the institutional environment at the time.

Yet, the study of Hiatt et al (2009) also contributes to understanding how the formation of new institutions is intrinsic to their breakdown, i.e. change must include both institutional creation and disintegration, and this in itself can seen to be a process incorporating interaction rather than linear sequentiality: The pro soft drinking institutions were not formed out of a void but were intertwined with the breakdown of pro alcoholic consumption. In this way, the institutions of 'drinking norms' can be said to have been in a state of mutation, rather than reflecting a process of direct replacement.

This supports Scott (2008) when he argues that institutions cannot be formed out of nothing: A void is philosophically impossible. Thus, the definitive 'start stop' approach to the process of institutional theory becomes a little limiting, as indicated by *Figure 2* overleaf. It would seem that a perhaps more accurate approach would be to incorporate more overlap and 'flow' between the stages of a start, 'middle', and an end to the process of institutional change. These stages could progress on a cyclical basis to each other, as *Figure 3* suggests, again overleaf.

FIGURE 2

Traditional approach to neo-institutional theory

Institutional formation → (ASSUMED) INSTITUTIONAL STABILITY → Deinstitutionalization

Primary peripheral research | Core (majority) research | Secondary peripheral research

FIGURE 3

New approach to neo-institutional theory
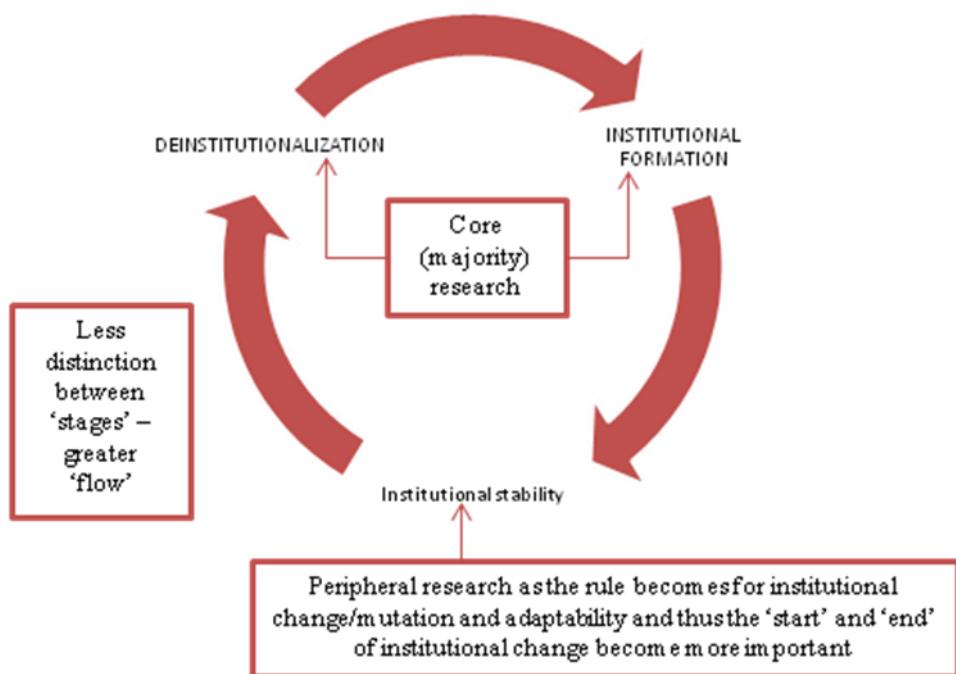
Scott (2005) has also shared his ideas on how he sees the best way forward for the development of institutional theory. He also advocates a change perspective where he sees institutions as needing 'energy' to feed off, to maintain their persistence. From this, he states value in pursuing three 'measurable' components: First, there is value in examining actor activity and organizing models in more depth, where individual roles of actors and organizations could be explored as individual concepts as well as in terms of their inter-relatedness. This would relate closely to normative and cultural-cognitive pillars of institutions. Second, the principles of organization that provide guidelines to participants as to how they should act could be looked at. This again confers to a cultural-cognitive perspective

of institutions. Third, governance structures as related to an overall institutional influence, relating to regulative and normative pillars.

An area that these ideas relate to most extensively is that which surrounds 'tradition', which Scott (2005) himself highlights as relevant. A study by Dacin and Dacin (2008) looks specifically at this very area and contextualizes it ostensibly within a process of deinstitutionalization. They look at the practice of the 'Aggie Bonfire' – an annual ritual and tradition, established since 1909 at Texas A&M University – and illustrate how the practice has evolved. They make several extensions to the theory of deinstitutionalization in addition to supporting the idea of 'pressure' being fundamental, as argued by Oliver (1992).

First Dacin and Dacin (2008) indicate that whether or not pressure is successful in deinstitutionalizing a tradition depends on whether 'core' or 'peripheral' characteristics are contested. This is perhaps logical if we assume that core characteristics, being central to the tradition, are more robust. We can also assume that changes to the peripheral characteristics would result in a mutation rather than outright erosion, owing to the core of the tradition still being 'intact' and more 'powerful'. And this is what Dacin and Dacin found. Second, they also found that 'custodians' of tradition were important in institutional persistence: People who vigorously contested the pressures of challenge. Additionally though Dacin and Dacin also suggest that 'crises' should also be recognized as a different form of pressure and could potentially be 'game changers'. Third, they argue that 'remnants' as a concept could also be instrumental in understanding the process of how traditions might be reinvented.

Tina Dacin has extended this work more recently in 2010, this time writing with Munir and Tracey (Dacin et al, 2010). This is an interesting extension to the relationship between traditions and institutional theory first because their work refocuses on institutional stability (rather than change) and second, because their focus is on rituals at a micro-level. The majority of the work on institutional theory has existed at the macro level: Not surprisingly given the influence of pivotal researchers such as DiMaggio and Powell (1983), and Scott (2001) for example, on the strong case they put forward for exploration at the level of the organization and field, also echoed by Lee and Pennings (2002). Yet, as Collins (2004) states, to directly observe the effects of institutions it is necessary to look more explicitly at the micro level and this is something that the more recent meta-analysis by Heugens and Lander (2009) also suggest. The conclusions that Dacin et al (2010) draw do indeed support that idea

that micro-practices (demonstrated by the rituals within the Cambridge dining system) seem to maintain macro-level institutions. This in itself offers empirical support for the value of using 'person-level' explorations as to how macro institutions can be sustained, as well as potentially change.

Both the studies by Oliver (1992) and Dacin and Dacin (2008), in addition to Dacin et al's 2010 study, are addressed in more detail as empirical work in support of how institutions play out in organizations, as they show their relevancy in the context of the data collected in this project.

2.7 Wider literature sets

More contemporary literature on institutional change, and institutional theory in general, has drawn inspiration from more collaborative and cross-disciplinary work, as indicated by the studies discussed in more depth here. The latter study that I discuss for example – Dacin et al (2010) – indicated that a more eclectic approach taken towards extant literature sets is valuable for a more inclusive understanding of institutional processes: Indeed Dacin et al (2010) not only draw on literature pertaining to institutional theory but also that relating to 'ritual studies', where sociological and anthropological contributions are prominent. Interestingly, although not specifically clear, it may be that using a grounded theory approach in itself encouraged the feasibility of reaching out to the alternative literature sets that became so fundamental to the contributions that their study makes.

If we accept that institutional theory concerns a socially influenced set of dynamics this assumes that, as a social system, human activity and relations will exist. This indicates that other literature sets that do not set out to explore institutions per se may still be relevant in contributing to aspects of a newer and more valid version of institutional theory, especially at varying levels of analysis, including that of a micro level.

This idea can be illustrated by the example of literature sets pertaining to 'power', as *Figure 4* suggests below. This is another seemingly neglected area within institutional theory and one which spans many academic domains, which could include more micro, even psychological, bases of analysis in how macro institutional forces could be influenced.

FIGURE 4

THE VALUE OF A WIDER LITERATURE BASE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTIONAL THEORY
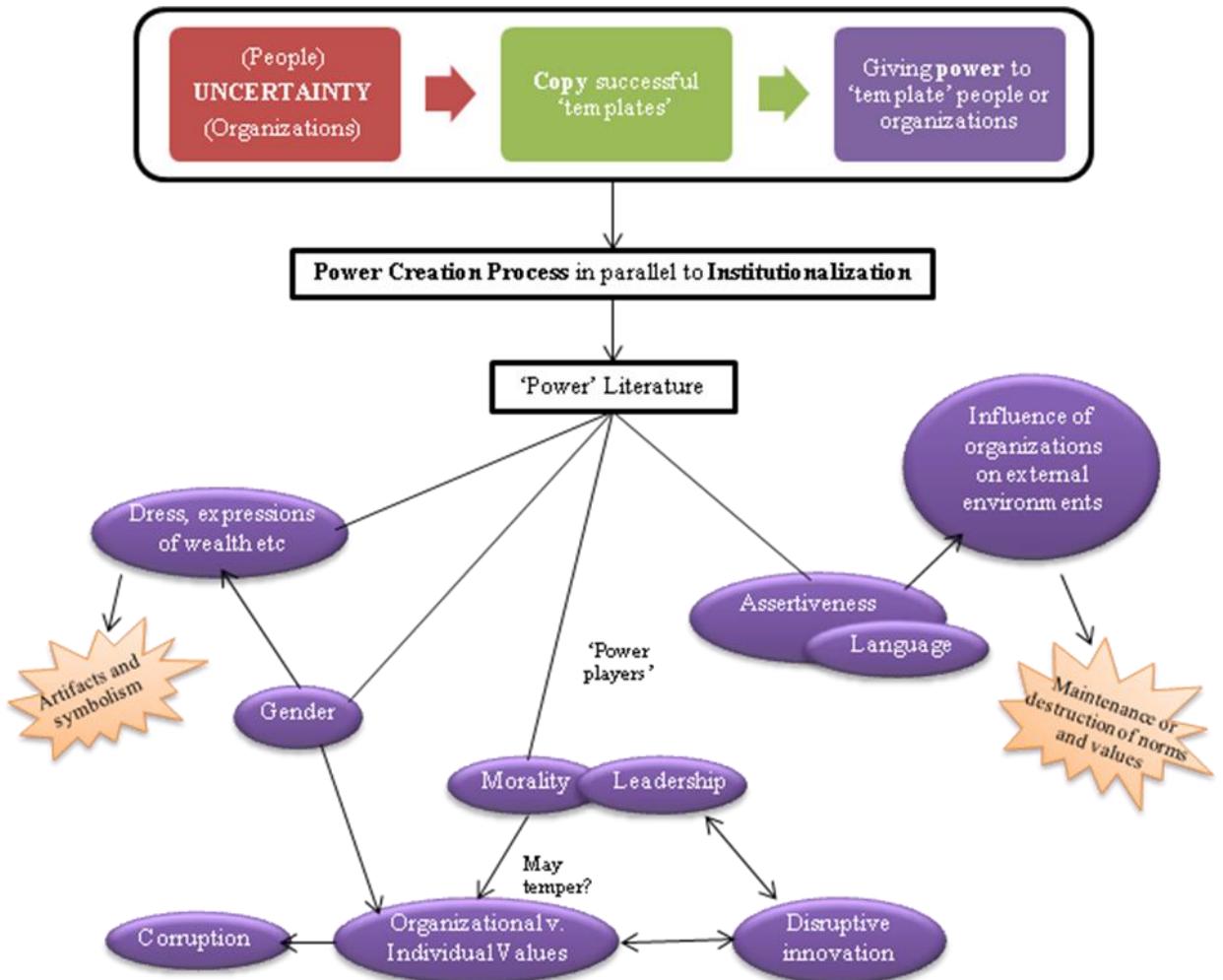
When people experience uncertainty – already established as a key environmental factor in isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) – they copy other people who are perceived as being successful, giving this latter group (or individual) power (Englestad, 2009). Even at a wider level, can parallels not be logically drawn between what we know about how people react to uncertainty, and how organizations react? Are not organizations constantly embattled in a struggle for power that has multiple different dimensions and sources of influence? Yet,

again at a micro level, interactions between people can be interpreted within the context of power, whether concerning intrinsic or external manifestations.

I posit that 'power' – albeit just one example of a relevant substantive literature set – is one of the many entities that has been under-researched and which could potentially contribute to the conceptual gap that Heugens and Lander (2009), for example, identify, i.e. that which exists between social forces and organizational (and personal) actions. Furthermore power, as a concept, could feasibly be linked to other related areas which may also contribute to institutional change. Internal to the organization are several phenomena associated with power, which again could be explored on personal or more organizational bases: The subtle forms of power and influence of dress and other overt expressions of wealth (Daloz, 2003; 2007) may have relevance for understanding artifacts and symbolism within the organization in the context of institutional change (and maintenance).

Further examples may lie with understanding how assertiveness and its linguistic subtleties interact (Crawford, 1995; Hollandsworth, 1977) as a vehicle that influences company specific ways of doing things, especially within large organizations that may have their own institutional subset, independent of industry or social forces. Morality in the context of leadership (Hui and Tan, 1999), but also as an aligning factor between the corruption of the organization as a whole and its employees, may contribute to the maintenance of organizational behaviour (Senior, 2006) but also theoretically to institutional breakdown. Power bases (French and Raven, 1959), gender (Smith and Smits, 1994), power distance (Mulder, 1971; 1977) and the creation and leveraging of disruptive innovation (Bessant and von Stamm, 2007; Kassicieh, Walsh, Cummings, McWhorter, Romig & Williams, 2002) are again a tiny selection of the potentially influencing sub-factors that may all be meshed with institutional activity and the notion of power.

Whilst these potential areas have more relevance to an agency rather than a structural perspective – in particular the ability of the organization to leverage resistance to social forces – I present them as examples as to the possible contribution that literature bases exogenous to those relating to institutional theory could make. Staying with the same example of the literature on power and associate concepts, 'assertiveness', as just mentioned, also has implications for understanding how the dynamics between power and institutional theory operate *externally* to the organization. Organizational assertiveness – as a midpoint between

non-assertion and aggression (Rakos, 1991) – may impact upon the industry maintained institutions. This would again support a more agency orientated perspective, and which would further support the idea of the ability of the organization to leverage 'deviant' behaviour.

Nike serves as a good illustration of how this might work in an applied arena. As a large corporation, it tends to embody power, assertion and ambition. The organization's slogan 'Just Do It' perhaps typifies this, with sub-slogans of, for example, 'If You Let Me Play' – aiming to empower women through sports – reiterating the message. Its characteristics extend beyond a marketing façade though: Nike are double the size of the next biggest organization - Adidas (as measured by revenue) – producing almost US$20 billion annually (Manley, 2010). The potential influence of Nike on the institutions of their environment though – rather than the other way around – stems from an examination of the widely accepted practice within the industry of utilizing the lower cost bases of production available and which are extensively established in Asia. Sage (2004) notes the growing backlash against Nike, as a key player within the sporting goods industry, regarding wages and working conditions. Interestingly, this challenge to the company's practices originated from within the organization – initiated by the company's factory workers. In 1998 CEO Phillip Knight stated several sustainability orientated improvements in the production practices of the company, including "…*expanding its current monitoring program…*" (Nike, 1998: 56-57). Put simply it would seem that from one perspective, the demands, norms and values of what became a social movement that originated amongst the workers in the factories were more powerful than Nike as an organization.

A different balance of power though is seen in relation to the impact that the new Nike practices – improved wages and conditions and so on – had on other sporting goods companies' practices. As Max White, American human rights activist states, "*If Nike reforms, they will trumpet the change and other manufacturers will have to follow*" (White, 1998: 1).

The crux of this example indicates that whilst this 'case' does not explicitly explore institutions, its focus on power relations and corporate assertion can clearly potentially contribute in understanding how institutions change, are maintained, or even erode. It also demonstrates how pressure instigates institutional change and how isomorphism within the industry changes according other activity within the field.

2.8 Problems of definition

The start of this chapter stated the problems of finding a definitive set of assumptions and definitions of institutional theory, owing to the lack of consolidation of the approach. I combined Scott's 'schematic framework' of the differing approaches with a chronological consideration of how the theory has developed. Yet, the challenge still exists. Whilst I posit that I have illustrated a 'feel' of the approach, admittedly it has done little in the way of finding an explicit tangible set of assumptions and definition. This section attempts to do just that.

Several researchers seemed to be prominent at the start of neo-institutional theory and some of these have continued to be influential in their framing of the approach. Examples include DiMaggio and Powell (1983); Hannan and Freeman (1977); Meyer and Rowan (1977); Pfeffer and Salancik (1978). Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin, and Suddaby (2008) – also influential writers in this field – also note the contribution that these authors made to neo-institutionalism in the late 1970s and onwards, and continue to make to this present day, as indicated by *Figure 5* below.

FIGURE 5

CITATIONS FOR KEY INSTITUTIONAL THEORY PAPERS
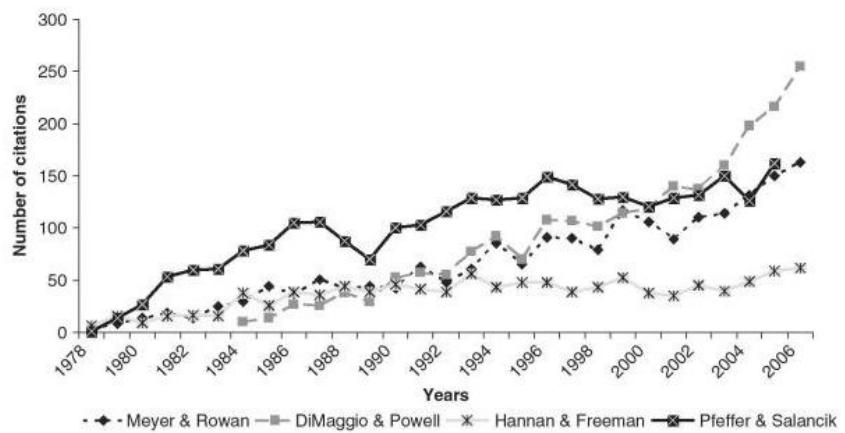
Figure 5. Citations to DiMaggio and Powell (1983); Hannan and Freeman (1977); Meyer and Rowan (1977); Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) (Greenwood et al, 2008: 2)

On 1st January 2011 I carried out a search via means of appropriate databases[1] to establish the most recent citations for two out of the four pieces of research. Hannan and Freeman's work was excluded from the search. This was because their seminal paper on *The Population Ecology of Organizations* in 1977 has been the basis for their further book publications: Citations on the original paper would be not reflective of its popularity, owing to some authors citing their book rather than paper.

The work of Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) was also reflected in a book publication – *The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Perspective* – rather than as an empirical paper, and thus was not included either, as the databases only monitor papers, i.e. not books.

A search for the remaining two papers by DiMaggio and Powell (1983) and Meyer and Rowan (1977) – featuring heavily in this literature review – perhaps unsurprisingly echoes the trends identified by Greenwood et al (2008), and can be seen in *Table 2* below.

TABLE 2

CITATIONS FOR DIMAGGIO & POWELL (1983) AND MEYER & ROWAN (1977)

	No. of citations within Business Source Premier up to and including 15th January 2011.	No. of citations within SocINDEX up to and including 15th January 2011.
DiMaggio & Powell (1983)	2428	1401
Meyer & Rowan (1977)	0	1249

The citations of these two papers, supported by Greenwood et al (2008), suggest that they are indeed pivotal in their influence, as measured by the longevity and the number of citations from subsequent researchers. In addition, the increasing trend in the number of citations for

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[1] Databases were chosen for their hosting of the relevant papers and their ability to generate citation numbers for specific papers, to the exclusion of other databases such as ERIC. EconLit also showed results for DiMaggio & Powell (1983) but a specific citation number was not available. With DiMaggio & Powell (1983) there may be some overlap, i.e. some papers that have cited DiMaggio & Powell (1983) may occur in both Business Source Premier and SocINDEX.

both papers has been dramatic over the last few years and continues to rise at an accelerated rate. Thus, could these papers alone be the basis for creating an explicit and tangible set of definitions for institutional theory and its related concepts?

To purely focus on both or either paper would establish sharp and clear boundaries in the 'definitional thicket' of institutional theory that Zucker (1987: 457) describes. This strategy is attractive in its simplicity. It could by means of the papers' popularity and influence, be somewhat justified.

Yet, as we have seen previously in this chapter, the boundaries of the assumptions of institutional theory are wide and fuzzy. Even within the relatively narrow scope of Business Source Premier, which focuses on management journals, 'institutional theory' (as a parameter) found in the abstracts of peer reviewed journals, procures 1007 papers from 1920 to 2011. But how many of these define what they mean by institutional theory and how far is there consensus in the definition(s)?

Table 3, overleaf, lists the last 10 published papers[2] (minus one 'Editor's Introduction') using the above parameters in Business Source Premier. Albeit based on a very tiny sample, I carried out this exercise to procure some understanding as to the above question. In other words, as a rough gauge to understand the extent to which the most contemporary of researchers are actively defining 'institutional theory' and what an 'institution' means to them, whether these definitions are explicitly stated, and if researchers are using the same template of meaning.

As *Table 3* indicates, isomorphism seems to be a common concept that contemporary researchers incorporate into their understanding of the theory. Yet other disciplines, such as sociology, which focus more on social structures and (much more widely defined) organizations per se, have still successfully utilized institutional theory without placing so much emphasis on isomorphism between organizations.

Other observations on the very recent literature set in *Table 3* are that sometimes a particular viewpoint is emphasized but with no reason or justification explicitly stated. Even implicit reasons are sometimes questionable. Sheng et al (2011) for example, use the definition by North (1990), who states institutional theory to be, "*…the rules of the game…*". North's

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[2] Search made on 19th January 2011.

TABLE 3

Author(s)	Topic of research and empirical?	Definition of '*Institutional Theory*'	Definition of '*Institution*'	Journal
Chapman & Kelliher (2011)	Determinants of the mix of components that are chosen to make up an overall reward.	"*...Institutional theory proposes that institutional forces create coercive, mimetic and normative pressures on firms to be similar in how they operate (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991)...*" (123) Assumptions are also described: "*...Organisations seek legitimacy...*" (125) "*...Organisations conform to norms ...*"(125)	Implicit: "*Force*" "*Norms*" (124)	Employee Relations
Connelly, Ketchen, & Slater (2011)	Firms adopting sustainable marketing strategies.	"*...To survive, organizations must earn legitimacy by conforming to institutional pressures prevailing in the environment...*" (88)	Yes but in the context of business: "*...a set of working rules that are used to determine which firm actions are allowed or constrained and what payoffs will be assigned to those actions...*" (90)	Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science

Author(s)	Topic of research and empirical?	Definition of '*Institutional Theory*'	Definition of '*Institution*'	Journal
Wei, Burritt, & Monroe (2011)	Motivations by Australian local governments to take up environmental accounting practices.	"*...While the essence is achieving legitimacy, institutional theory has a broader view of the social system surrounding organisations. Institutional theory explores different means/mechanisms through which information about legitimate and socially accepted organisational behaviour can be transmitted and such behaviour institutionalised in organisations (Meyer and Rowan, 1977)...*" (98)	None	Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal.
Escobar & Vredenburg (2011)	Gas and Oil Multi-national corporations and their uptake of sustainable business development business models	"*...institutional theorists argue that corporations facing similar institutional pressures will eventually adopt similar strategies...*" (40).	Implicit but weak "*institutional pressures*" (39) "*institutional pull*" (44)	Journal of Business Ethics
Barthélemy (2011)	Whether institutional theory can better explain decisions to franchise, compared to agency theory	"*...The key tenet of institutional theory is that decisions are influenced by isomorphic pressures arising from the environment (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983;Meyer and Rowan,1977; Scott,1995)...*" (93)	None	Journal of Business Venturing

Author(s)	Topic of research and empirical?	Definition of '*Institutional Theory*'	Definition of '*Institution*'	Journal
Sheng, Zhou, Li (2011)	Business and political ties on the performance of Chinese based firms	North (1990)…"The rules of the game"	None	Journal of Marketing
Dickson, & Weaver (2011)	The capacity of the institutional environment to support SME alliances.	None	"*...North (1990) presented institutions as the formal and informal constraints that govern human interaction. These constraints were conceptualized by Scott (1995) as composed of cognitive, normative, and regulatory structures that either constrain behavior or require actions that are assumed to be legitimate...*"(128)	Journal of Small Business Management
McCann, & Acs (2011)	How globalization is influenced by the size of cities, countries and economies of scale.	None	None	Regional Studies

Author(s)	Topic of research and empirical?	Definition of '*Institutional Theory*'	Definition of '*Institution*'	Journal
Chen, & Roberts (2010)	Reciprocal and mutual contribution of multiple theories (including that of institutional theory) and how they could contribute towards social and environmental accounting research.	"*...Institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1977) is similar to legitimacy theory but concentrates on the relationship between environment and organizations, especially the stability and survival of organizations...*" (652) As part of figure: "*...***Institutional Theory** ***(1)*Scope of perspective:** *Institutionalized social structures* ***(2)*Focal point*:**How to conform to the established patterns of other similar social institutions* ***(3)*Rationale of actions*:** *To be socially norm and acceptable...*" (653)	Clearly implicit in strong discussion throughout.	Journal of Business Ethics
Stambaugh, & Trank (2010)	Incorporating new research into strategic management textbooks	"*...Scott (2007: 460) describes institutional theory as concerned with relatively enduring and stable social structures:* *Processes by which structures, including schemas, rules, norms, and routines, become established as authoritative guidelines for social behavior. It inquires into how these elements are created, diffused, adopted, and adapted over space and time; and how they fall into decline and disuse. Although the ostensible subject is stability and order in social life, students of institutions must perforce attend not just to consensus and conformity but to conflict and change in social structures...*" (665)	Implicit in their use of Scott's definition.	Academy of Management Learning and Education

definition stems from an economic perspective, yet Sheng et al's study focuses on organizational and political relationships.

Other times in these ten papers, no definition is given at all: McCann and Acs criticize "*various institutional theories*" (McCann & Acs, 2011: 17) and they mention variants of 'institution' (e.g. institutional, institutions, etc) 24 times throughout their paper. Yet they offer neither an implicit nor explicit definition on any of these terms. Perhaps even more surprising is the work from Connelly et al (2011) – a theoretical paper which it might be expected to demand an explicit definition even more so, and yet is also lacking.

In summary, *Table 3* indicates two things. First, that not all research makes explicit statements as to the meaning of institutional theory and its associated concepts. This may potentially impact on the validity of the studies. Second, although there is a strong association with isomorphism, there is still some diversity in how institutional theory is currently being defined within management focused journals. This perhaps indicates an even stronger case for explicitly stated definitions, *pertaining to each individual paper*, as a necessary part of good research.

Logic might suggest that the lack of explicitly stated definitions of institutional theory and its associated concepts may be the result of shared implicit understandings, owing to its long history. In other words, could it be that no explicit definitions of institution theory are given because researchers now assume that, given this is not a new term, to provide a definition for the theoretical framing of their work would be to somehow appear too primitive and would risk patronizing their readers? Certainly some of the papers in *Table 3* expressed the meanings of institutional theory and institutions implicitly, and some to a greater degree than others.

Fundamentally, the sample that I selected was small – around 0.1% – and was chosen on the basis of papers being the most recently published. This clearly raises further questions: Perhaps there is more evidence of definitional consolidation when a slightly older body of research is considered? Thus, I examine below how institutional theory and institutional context have been defined in older research.

2.9 Wider definitional considerations

2.9.i Institutional theory

This seems to be a problem that is also evident historically, even with key seminal academics. Max Weber (1968a, 1968b, 1968c, 1968d, 1968e, 1968f), for example, in a collection of papers – *On Charisma and Institution Building* – writes about institutionalization within political, legal, and economic arenas, social stratification, urbanization, and religion. Yet his definition of institutionalization not overtly and specifically defined and it is left to the reader to implicitly identify its meaning, thus risking confusion and multiple interpretations.

As initial research into a new field of inquiry, it could be argued that underdevelopment of themes is inevitable. This suggestion seems even more feasible when the diverse intellectual settings that the theory has been developed within historically are taken into account. However, I would argue that definitions would be even more paramount in this context; important on the basis of 'setting the scene' for future research within a specific arena: political or sociological, for example. In other words, definitions provide clarity and transparency in the meaning of theoretical constructs as a solid foundational base for subsequent endeavours.

On a more contemporary basis, some of the research has been more successful in doing this than others. For example, Meyer & Rowan (1977) – one of our key pieces of research stated at the beginning of this chapter – describe the meaning they attach to 'institutionalization' as,

> "…*social processes, obligations, or actualities* [that] *come to take on rule-like status in social thought and action…*" (Meyer & Rowan, 1977: 341).

The mention of 'rules' or 'rule' seems to be a source of common ground, when definitions are actually offered. Meyer & Rowan's definition above is reflected somewhat by Yeager (1999), who in turn mirrors North's ideas. Institutions are seen as,

> "…*the rules of the game in a society. They are rules that society establishes for human interaction. Institutions reduce the uncertainty involved in human interaction by giving us patterns for your behaviour…*" (Yeager, 1999: 9; North, 1990)

Some academics have chosen to build on this idea of 'rules' – defined as being both tangible and explicit as well as more implicit – by introducing the concept of legitimacy into the mix. This more specific definition contextualizes institutions within a wider competitive enterprise

or business environment. The crux of this latter definition is that organizations that are aligned to a wider institutional framework, i.e. they fit into the norms, values, and 'rules' of wider contexts, such as society in general, or the industry in which the organization operates, are more successful as they have a higher degree of legitimacy or perceived legitimacy (March, Schulz, & Zhou, 2000; Scott, 1995).

Generally, many of the definitions that are offered are vague. The most consistent and explicit attempt at identifying what institutional theory constitutes seems to revolve around 'rationalized myths'. This was as far as Meyer and Rowan (1977) were willing to go in providing further clarity to their use of the term and was similarly defined as such by Tolbert (1985), for example.

But as *Table 3* tentatively illustrates, there seems to be a number of researchers who offer no definition at all, too great in number to suggest they are the exception to the rule. Interestingly, there seems to be much more willingness by authors of textbooks (spanning various disciplines) to explicitly provide a definition of institutional theory and its related concepts. Perhaps this trend is reflective of the level at which many texts are positioned? In other words, could it be that textbooks suppose only elementary knowledge in their readers? It seems logical to suggest that many texts are orientated for 'beginners', at least when compared to the more latent sophisticated understanding that most academic papers demand.

What is interesting is that this suggests that there is perhaps an assumption amongst authors of studies on institutional theory that a statement of definition belongs in elementary texts but with a parallel assumption of there being a shared understanding within more advanced research, rendering a definition unnecessary. I suggest that this implicit understanding of what institutions and institutional theory consists of, as a template, amongst management scholars is mythical. The extent to which overlap is present differs; not least depending on whether 'within discipline' or 'trans-discipline' approaches are taken. 'Pure' sociologists for example, concerned with carrying out research on family types or education often term the focus of their work as an institution (Giddens, 1984). Thus, 'money' and the 'nuclear family', for example, are both deemed as 'institutions' (Ingham, 2005; Turner, 2005 respectively) yet with different connotations when compared to how the term is used by management theorists.

Although not explicitly oriented around the notion of 'rules', Greenwood et al (2008) seem to typify many of the implicit definitions and collective understanding of what an institution is. They state,

> "…[an institution is] *more-or-less taken-for-granted repetitive social behaviour that is underpinned by normative systems and cognitive understandings that give meaning to social exchange and thus enable self-reproducing social order…*" (Greenwood et al, 2008: 4).

2.9.ii Institutional Context

Frustratingly, even more contention can be seen within how the term 'institutional context' has been used. One of the four pivotal papers that I discussed previously again serves as an example: Meyer and Rowan (1977) do not adequately define what they mean by 'institutional context' and yet this is the crux of their entire paper.

FIGURE 6

INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT
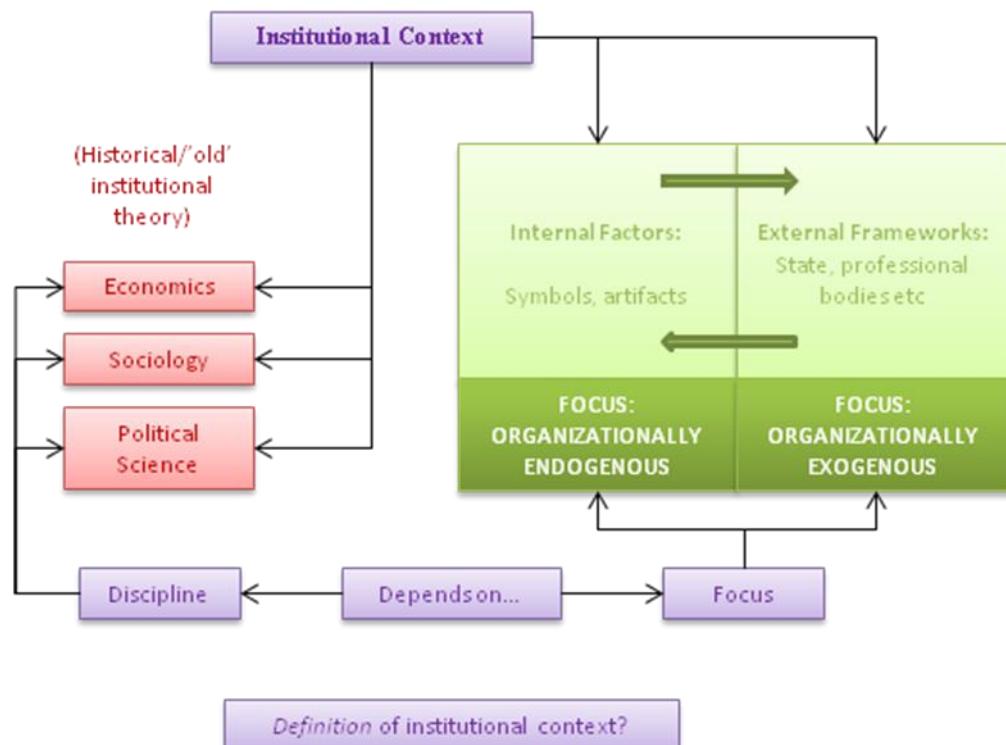
The meaning behind 'institutional context' does not seem to be robust in a historical sense either from two perspectives, as *Figure 6* above indicates. First, as indicated by the wider uptake of the term by differing arenas: within economics, political science and sociology for example, as historically illustrated at the beginning of this chapter. Second, within purely a contemporary management domain, a somewhat messy bifurcation is seen, as further illustrated in *Figure 6*. On the one hand, 'institutional context' was first meant to equate with the culturally entrenched symbols and artifacts that typified the behaviour of the organization. A slightly differing meaning was attached by other researchers though, who chose to focus on the regulations exhibited within tangible frameworks by more distant bodies in relation to the organization, such as the state and professional bodies, as the 'institutional context'.

Some researchers have attempted to combine both, with some success. Subsequently, the definition of 'institutional context' is much more comprehensive when utilized by those who favour a wider scope of the term. Scott in his later work for example, incorporates both socio-cultural and regulative frameworks as two of the three 'pillars' of institutions – the third being a 'normative pillar' (Scott, 2001; 2008). The working possibility of this wide scope influenced the construction of my own definitions and theoretical assumptions for this project, as detailed towards the end of this chapter.

A further observation on the interpretive diversity of 'institutional context' surrounds the level at which institutions are assumed, as well as the direction of influence, i.e. the institution(s) having an effect on the organization or vice versa, as discussed previously.

Most of the literature has focused on exploration at the level of the organization. Research adopting this perspective seems to assume that the organization responds to institutions that are 'out there' in the environment, i.e. as an invisible force that guides behaviour. Again this refers back to institutional context, where the focus for this literature is on examining what the organization does, rather than on any detailed exploration of the source of the institutions, or the institutional set per se. As perhaps expected, research that adopts the latter focus, i.e. on the institution, often exudes more explicit description and transparency in terms of the definition of 'institutional context', as this is its raison d'être of the research. An example can be seen in a study by Bailey (2008), in which she explores the legislative and regulative framework that dictates the international whaling industry and how this conflicted with more

national based institutions surrounding cultural norms of hunting whales. Bailey (2008) explicitly states what she believes the institutional context to be but, given the institutional, rather than organizational, focus of her study, it would be difficult not to.

Further examples can be seen in Fiss' work on corporate governance, as well as in Leicht and Fennell's study on the influence of professional bodies (Fiss, 2008; Leicht and Fennell, 2008), both of which provide clear illumination on the institutional context in their studies. In addition, some of the social movement literature, discussed in the first case study chapter, also serves as an example.

To reiterate, if the researcher chooses to focus on the institution per se rather than the level at which the activity is taking place, i.e. within the organization, for example, then the institutional context will be described almost by default, as we saw in Bailey's study on the 1986 international whaling ban by the International Whaling Commission, as described above. However, if the researcher's focus is on the organization, the need to adequately define the institutional context in detail still exists, if only for reasons of validity. Yet the institutional context is frequently described in a way that lacks transparency and clarity in meaning, as some of the studies in *Table 3* illustrate.

In summary, overall this section indicates three issues: First, not all researchers define what they mean by institutional theory – and its associated concepts – when they write and this may be partially influenced by the audience which they are writing for. Second, that when they do offer definitions, there is, to a significant extent, heterogeneity across the literature set as a whole. Third, this heterogeneity is tempered to differing extents by some overlap of the different ideas and concepts that can be assimilated or adjoined into the overall theory: The concept of 'rules', for example. To a great extent all of these observations provides support for Scott's 'schematic framework' as a promising approach to understanding the scope of institutional theory.

2.10 Definitions and assumptions relating to institutional theory.

I have demonstrated the fragmentation in meaning of institutional theory and its related concepts throughout this chapter. In light of this diversity, I suggest that it may constitute good practice to conclude this chapter by offering my own definitions and assumptions

surrounding the theory. I do this in an attempt to enhance theoretical clarity and validity. It is not my intention to offer a set of 'right' definitions, merely those which I have applied to this project, as influenced by my discussion in this chapter as a whole.

2.10.i Definitions

- Institutional theory:

An approach to explaining the behaviour of individuals or groups of individuals (who may roughly equate to organizations, industries, nations, or any other grouping) by means of socially constructive 'forces of persuasion and influence'.

- Institutions:

The 'forces', or more specifically, the rules, norms and values – which may be tangible (or have tangible manifestations) or intangible – that exist at a collective level and which influence the behaviour of the individual or the group, as described above.

- Definition of Institutionalization:

The process by which a person or group of people's behaviour becomes absorbed into the wider rules, norms and values of the situation and/or environment.

- Deinstitutionalization

The process by which rules, norms, and values break down and/or mutate, which does not necessarily mean to the point of total disintegration and erosion.

- Institutional context

Rules, norms and values and the relationship between them, which persuade and influence the behaviour in question, in conjunction with a strong contextualization of where they play out.

2.10.ii Assumptions

- <u>The process is as important as the components in institutional change</u>

As a general approach, I concur with the idea that most institutional theorists reject the neo-classical economic idea that social processes entail a chain reaction of independent and irreducible elements.

I assume that the dynamics between different entities that may be involved with institutions and institutional change are as important as the components themselves.

- <u>Sources for institutional and organizational change can be both external and internal to the organization</u>**.**

I am unwilling to concede that the catalyst(s) for the behaviour and actions of an organization always lie externally. As Wooten & Hoffman (2008) note that this is the dominant assumption of many institutional theorists and I do acknowledge the overall empirical value of their research as a group.

To be clear, I am not espousing the idea that the sources of organizational action and change are never exogenously based: In addition to the empirical evidence that identifies external sources, logic also suggests this. Organizations normally exist within industries, for example, and it is easy to generate applied examples relating to DiMaggio and Powell's concept of isomorphism, for example (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

Yet, logic also suggests that internalities specific to a particular organization could also affect behaviour of the organization itself: A new CEO with a new power base, for example, may demonstrate how endogenous disruption to the organization's institutional set may occur.

- <u>An 'organization' has other parallel identities to its economic form.</u>

As I detailed in the beginning of my introductory chapter, I see organizations as potentially having multiple identities (social, for example) that reflect the wider environments in which they are embedded, or at least exist. Subsequently, I use the term 'organization' loosely, as stated and detailed further in the previous chapter.

- <u>Isomorphism is not a given.</u>

Despite the strong establishment of isomorphism within institutional theory, as illustrated in this chapter, I seek to maintain theoretical flexibility. This is because the theory building

approach that I take in this study encourages non-prescription and the evolvement of loose frameworks that derive from the field itself.

2.11 Summary

In summary, this chapter has aimed to illuminate the problems and definitional contradictions within institutional theory, its diversity in its historical context and the state of neo-institutional work. I have also illustrated the current scope of literature relating to the formation of institutions.

I accept criticism that some readers may expect to find a section in this chapter on how the literature currently stands on institutional change, in terms of deinstitutionalization, as well as perhaps a summary on the literature that focuses on the formation of institutions, as this is what the project pivots around.

My rationale for positioning the deinstitutionalization literature at the point at which the data determines it relevant, i.e. within case chapters, and so on, is so not to take away from the methodologically driven relationship between the data and extant knowledge bases.

The theoretical background and the nuances of institutional theory discussed in this chapter have helped to inform my own working definitions of institutional theory and related concepts, such as institutional context and deinstitutionalization. I argue that a clear presentation of these is essential if this project is to meet its objectives of being transparent and valid in its explorations and conclusions.

Thus I take these with me into the next chapter – and to the rest of the project as a whole – which details the methodology and methods that I employed for investigation.

3.1 Introduction

The ontological position of the project embraces both realist and relativist perspectives. In terms of epistemology, I adopt a social constructivist position. Both of these positions have implications for my choice of methodology, i.e. grounded theory.

A more in-depth discussion on epistemology and ontology, as related to this project, can be found in *Appendix A*. The tactics of collecting data, including the specific methods utilized, can be found within each of the case chapters. The purpose of this chapter is to first give an overall rationale as to why an inductive approach was taken and to discuss my choice of methodology (including a consideration of alternatives), which are discussed in *Sections 3.2* and *3.3* respectively.

In light of grounded theory being argued to constitute an umbrella term for the many variants of the approach, I conclude the chapter in *Section 3.4* by stating key assumptions and principles that I take with me into each case, with an outline of my general strategy in *Section 3.5* and a short summary in *Section 3.6*.

3.2 Rationale for induction in the context of the theoretical lens.

Overall, most studies on deinstitutionalization and institutional change have used deductive methods using a single theoretical lens. I argue that there is bountiful opportunity to develop a framework of deinstitutionalization and institutional change by employing a largely inductive approach using principles relating to grounded theory. Allowing pertinent themes and constructs to emerge from the data rather than 'testing' theory at this point, is likely to produce a more valid set of conclusions, in light of what we already know about deinstitutionalization as a process, i.e. very little.

The extant literature base on how institutions change, mutate, and break down is scant and highly fragmented. There is little consensus amongst studies to enable even a cobweb theoretical structure to be 'tested' using more deductive methods, whilst ensuring validity and

reliability. I suggest that the diversity in current research and its findings in this area renders inductive methods more suitable.

The current literature base, as discussed in the previous chapter, indicates that the focus within institutional change has been on the processes that contribute towards the formation of institutions. However, when considering institutional change, institutional structuration can only logically be one half of the process. As Scott indicates, to suggest that institutions come into being from an institutional void is philosophically and practically unfeasible (Scott, 2008). 'Change', as a concept, suggests that some sort of state of being is replaced by another. Yet the pertinent practices, processes, and other underpinning entities, relating to how institutions break down, have not been forthcoming. I argue that an inductive study offers more scope to produce a valid contribution in two contexts:

- First, in relation to the specific aims of the study in exploring *how* the process of deinstitutionalization and institutional change plays out. As argued by Edmondson & McManus (2007), inductive methods are most suitable for studies that look at '*how*' questions rather than '*what*' orientated questions.

- Second, the study by incorporating deinstitutionalization contributes towards the overall process of institutional change. The wider context of this overall process is enhanced by enabling a solid foundation for future research by ensuring that the initial theory generated is grounded in the field of inquiry, rather than from my own subjective experiences.

A deductive approach would dictate a large amount of subjectivity, at least in terms of establishing the initial 'direction'. Hypothesis formation, for example, would have to be at least influenced by my own experience, owing to the lack of existing literature on this specific component of the institutional change process.

The specific case studies that I access also indicate that induction is advantageous: The institutional frameworks exist in unfamiliar cultural environments in at least the first two of the cases. Each case represents an environment entrenched in institutions that are to varying degrees different to my own, although the cultural environment of the third case has more

synergy to my own experiences. I argue that it is important to allow relevant institutions to emerge in their natural hierarchy and relational structure. I suggest that a deductive study would have forced a priori knowledge onto the organization of the data collection.

Induction allows for an emic[3] approach to be embraced. The majority of previous studies carried out into explanations of institutional change have taken a deductive approach within a framework of etics, where researchers have started with a definition of the institution to be identified, and then test for the impact of that institution. This forces a template of definition that stems from the researcher's own experience. This is especially crucial when the divide between the cultures of the researcher and the investigated field is large, as is in the first two case studies of this project.

Further concerns take into account how previous research has defined the field under exploration, with most studies utilizing a researcher driven definition rather than allowing the meaning of 'the field' to emerge from within itself, i.e. what components are relevant are predetermined by the researcher with often little clear justification and objectivity. This is of imperative concern in this study as the fields within the differing cases are potentially complex in that they transcend the usual bodies of suppliers, buyers and partners, for example.

Proponents of deductive and etic approaches may suggest that it is irrelevant as to what institution has been defined in light of the unit of analysis, i.e. it is the response of the organization(s) to the institution, rather than the institution per se that is being explored. Yet this does not negate that prior studies have identified specific institutions at the possible detriment of excluding others. Ignored institutions may exhort a significant influence, either singularly or in combination with others, as part of organization behaviour. In addition, a

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[3] The term 'emic' (and its related term 'etic') has been used in slightly differing contexts. Pike (1967) was using both terms in a linguistic sense, whereas Harris (1976) used them in a much broader context of understanding culture and behaviour and where the drivers of procured knowledge stem from. Having a close association with epistemological concerns, I use the term 'emic' in very much a mainstream way – although Pike and Harris differed in how they applied the constructs, conceptually there is much overlap. Thus, I use 'emic' to mean that the data collated is accurate in reflecting the position, beliefs and perspectives of those taking part in the study and the knowledge gained is aimed – as far as it is possible to be orientated to reflect the participants view point, rather than my own (which would be more etically orientated).

prior defined institution, may procure quite different effects in differing organizations, as a result of institutions being dynamic entities.

Thus, a more inductive study embracing an emic approach would allow for dominant institutions to emerge from within the field, suggesting objectivity rather than the subjectivity that theory building has been criticized for.

3.3 Choice of methodology

One of the most common inductive methodologies is grounded theory. Furthermore, as Tesch (1990) argues, grounded theory has been successfully applied to a plethora of contexts. In addition, the approach's main principle of collecting a wide range of data, without discrimination, suggests that it is a natural partner to exploring environments where there is little distinction and boundary between social, economic, and organizational spheres. In light of the cases within this project, this suggests a potential applicability.

Yet, alternative methodologies have also been applied to a range of contexts and allow for inductive studies across multiple realms of human activity, again from inductive and emic perspectives. The potential for carrying out an ethnographic study was evident, particularly in light of the two points raised by Tesch (1990), as mentioned above, and in the context of the activity being interactive in nature (Collins 2004). In addition, an ethnographic study would enable 'closeness' to participants and the field in general, allowing for a deeper understanding.

Nevertheless I eventually rejected the approach as incongruent to my epistemological and ontological positions. Furthermore when compared to grounded theory, several other points made ethnography seem less attractive: I noted five particular strengths of grounded theory in comparison to ethnography. First, grounded theory seems to shift the emphasis away from sole description to analytical dexterity, indicating a higher degree of rigor. Second, via the leveraging of concepts such as theory building and conceptual thinking, abstraction becomes possible but without losing connection to meaning in a specific context. Third, grounded theory offers a more structured and systematic way of processing data and uncovering complex and socially embedded processes, which alleviates the disorientation that many researchers report feeling whilst in the field (Adler and Adler, 1987). Fourth, grounded theory

allows for flexibility in how data is collected and dealt with over the course of several interlinked cases. It allows for the researcher to adapt their methods according to how the researcher's knowledge base changes in response to the increasing amounts of data gathered over the cases. Finally, grounded theory also allows for the inclusion of extant literature bases from appropriate substantive areas: Especially important in this project owing to the scant research body that specifically focuses on deinstitutionalization.

The strengths of the methodology that I suggest here go some way to addressing the often quoted criticism of subjectivism in research using an inductive approach. Eisenhardt (1972, 1989) argues this point when she emphasizes that when carried out systematically, the application of grounded theory's favored coding system(s) and the constant comparison between data and the emergent theory, ensures that conclusions are objective rather than subjective. I also noted that the approach could accommodate my interest in gaining an in-depth understanding of multi-faceted environments – also achievable with ethnography but not with these same advantages. Furthermore, in terms of the relationship between methodology and the specific methods used to collect data, other methodologies may advocate methods that only capture 'given' or, using Rock's term, 'non-capta' data (Rock, 2001). In comparison, grounded theory allows for the collection of seized or 'capta' data. This has scope to include the nuances and subtleties of systems relating to social exchange and interaction.

Grounded theory is not without its flaws. One of the major problems stems from one of its strengths: Its ambiguity. LaRossa discusses grounded theory as 'opaque and confusing' (2005: 838) and numerous others have also commented on its ambiguity also (Charmaz, 2006, Goulding, 2002). This has been a characteristic of the approach since its early development by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in their seminal work (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The ambiguity surrounding the approach transcends superficial procedural and application concerns into what researchers see as constituting its fundamental assumptions and principles, to the point of being able to embrace differing epistemological positions: The positivism of Eisenhardt and the social constructionism of Charmaz, for example.

Thus, for reasons of clarity, I start this next section with the methodological principles and assumptions which influence the procedural framework of collecting data in the overall project.

3.4 Key methodological assumptions of the project

- *Emergence and induction*

I strongly favour the concept of emergence as a key principle of the overall project. As far as possible, I allow trends, thoughts, categories, classifications, and relationships between these to emerge from the data collected.

Three empirical cases are utilized in this project and these are sequential to each other. Although emergence is strongly favoured as a principle, I also suggest that the cognitive relationship between the philosophical position of favouring emergence and what is realistically possible in terms of knowledge creation changes over time, largely owing to multiple cases being accessed consecutively, rather than the use of a singular case or even several cases accessed simultaneously. In other words, I assume that the process of knowledge – in relation to what is known about deinstitutionalisation – becoming a posteriori will inevitably take form before the final case(s) is/are completed. The extent to which constructs, trends, and so on, are emergent therefore, decreases as the process evolves. This has implications for the philosophically based preference of induction, both as a standalone concept and in relation to the principles of grounded theory.

I embrace the concept of induction to mean that the understanding of concepts should derive from the field and data itself, rather than seeking to test assumed knowledge (although part of my analytic framework contains aspects of both inductive and deductive methods). This is regardless of whether such knowledge is a priori or a posteriori in basis. Clearly, we do not enter the field as blank canvasses, devoid of personal experience, but I endorse the approach of accepting and incorporating this knowledge into substantive theory by its active recording.

I suggest that pure induction is possible only for the first case. After that, the 'purity' of the approach is tainted with reality: The burden of the inevitable a posteriori knowledge that develops after the first case. Rather than trying to ignore this inevitable state, I suggest that this should be embraced and translated into 'reasoning flexibility'. Within the confines of this project, 'reasoning flexibility' purports that induction is embraced for the first case. This is philosophically justified within the framework of grounded theory and epistemology but is also further discussed later in relation to the rationale of the overall approach.

The subsequent sections of the overall study though will follow a process where the extent of induction will have an inverse relationship to the extent of a posteriori knowledge, i.e. as the overall process of case utilization progresses; the level of induction will decrease as a posteriori knowledge increases. This is not to say that totally deductive methods will ensue towards the final case. I stipulate a difference between the use of the term 'induction' in a data collection sense compared to its application within a cognitive paradigm, although I also adhere strongly to the realistic overlap of both in practice. Grounded theory principles will apply: Specific and overt *overall* hypothesis testing will not be carried out; methods will continue to encourage emergent data from the field, and so on.

- *Formal Grounded Theory*

I draw heavily from Glaser and Strauss' concept of formal grounded theory. Despite this type of theory being extensively embedded in the early seminal texts, little development or even acknowledgement has been made after this time. I embrace the concept as a middle ground between substantive theory and the criticisms often lobbed towards attempts to generalize from cases to a wider population.

Formal grounded theory is distinguished from substantive grounded theory in that the latter concerns the application of the core category to a specific situation, albeit one that is conceptualized. Formal grounded theory is the extension of the core category into generalizable theory.

However, I stipulate two caveats to the concept. The enfolding of extant literature may prevent the procuring of formal grounded theory in its entirety, owing to the dearth of research carried out on deinstitutionalization: Its literature base is fragmented and weak. It is accepted that the conclusions drawn from this project are likely to contribute to the literature base but the model constructed should be viewed as tentative, as something for further work to build on, change, or deconstruct. Second, formal grounded theory *may* offer a basis for generalization to a wider population but should only be considered as such as one of many possible theories or models of explanation: A definitive 'truth' is not sought.

- *'All data is data', systems of rigor.*

This assumption hails from Glaser's specific perspective. There is a conjecture that grounded theory equals qualitative research, and that quantitative data is not seen as relevant. I make no distinction between the status of the two types of data.

From the social constructivist perspective that I take, I recognise that quantitative data has also been 'constructed', i.e. its meaning has been postulated by the subject actively engaging and interacting with the object. I reject as myth that numerical data derives from objective 'fact' and argue that its construction is influenced by the same process of construction as other types of data.

Glaser was criticised on his principle that 'all data is data' for it suggests that there is little quality control in its collection. Bryant and Charmaz (2007) note that it implies that it is not required that the researcher be concerned with how accurate the data is, where it comes from, how much there is and so on. This negates the systematic characteristics of Glaser's overall approach. In line with this notion, I employ systems and procedures to counteract criticisms that making no discrimination in the data produces these problems. Being actively aware in the field of these potential issues is the first step, using self-questioning and triangulation techniques, for example.

Yet, simultaneously I am also partially influenced by Goffman's ideas on the relationship between gaining good data and the role that the researcher adopts. Taking an ethnographic approach, Goffman (1989) sees good practice as being determined by the role that the researcher plays. He argues that good ethnography hinges on the ability of the researcher to leave his work identity behind upon entering the field. The researcher should instead adopt whatever role is applicable to the specific field. For Goffman, this goes beyond superficial adoption. He encourages complete submergence into the social world that is being explored but to also pursue a psychology of immersion. Thus, a researcher investigating office management practices, may choose to carry out participant observation as an office administrator, clerk or other 'formal' role within the organization. But they are also encouraged to adopt the identity as if they were not a researcher at all. Thus, 'normal' but tacit behaviours within the workplace would also be unconsciously pursued: '...*gossiping and falling in love...*' for example (Goffman, 1989: 129).

Whilst I am influenced by Goffman's ideas of submergence, I stop short of the idea of total immersion. I argue that it is not only possible to maintain a see-saw type relationship with the

field, where I switch between a 'field role' and a 'researcher role' depending on the contextual demands, this is necessary if countermeasures to problems associated to the quality and source of the data are to be implemented. Thus for example, informant triangulation and method triangulation as systems of addressing the quality of data, can only be incorporated if psychological immersion is not sought.

- *Involved observation*

As expected, the use of participant observation by researchers claiming to use grounded theory is diverse. Some choose not to use the method at all. In his later work, Glaser (2001) has advocated passive observation despite the original research of Glaser and Strauss being built around interviews, although detached observation was also apparent.

This project has embraced observation as necessary: It has compatibility with the epistemological claims that I make and also adds weight to the central assumption of 'all data is data'. The type of observation employed differs with each case. This decision was driven by the demands of the case, revolving around access issues and so on. The first case, involves semi-participant observation. Philosophically, I would have preferred total participant observation and this is what I initially aimed for. In reality, this translated into a hybrid-role, which is detailed in the appropriate case chapter. The second case by comparison, involved extensive participant observation, whilst the third case involved none.

On a point of terminology, I use the idiom 'involved participation' as an collective term for the differing types of participation. Rather than the supposed polarization between observation where the researcher is an 'outsider' to the data, its collection, and analysis, and participant observation where some level of conscious interaction with the data and their source(s) is assumed. I suggest that in reality the two can exist on a spectrum with many differing variations existing in-between.

I choose the term 'involved participation' because I assume that both practically and philosophically there will always be some extent of involvement by the researcher with the field, the data and sources.

- *Coding and the development of categories*

The coding system that I employed started off with the traditional development of categories as 'open coding'. I have defined 'categories' using Glaser and Strauss' original nomenclature – 'conceptual elements of a theory' (1967: 36).

There is an assumption that categories play a core role in the process of analysing the data and that these should be extensively grounded in the data generated. A further related assumption is that categories form the skeleton of the eventual emergent theory. Thus they are a vehicle that carries forward themes that emerge from the data set into eventual formal grounded theory. Their use enables the classification of phenomenon but also allows exploration of the relationships and other facets of constructs.

Despite my adherence to Glaser and Strauss' definition of categories, I reject a classical use of the concept. The principle of 'rules' governing the membership of phenomena to a particular category seems to be contradictory to the characteristics to constructs as concepts, i.e. categorization is always 'loose', approximate and shifting in basis; their flexibility akin to the central theme in grounded theory of 'emergence'. Furthermore, I argue that determining rules that group categories' members in their totality at the total exclusion of other phenomenon is again not conducive to the flexibility of the grounded theory process. This style of reductionism has been long debated within cognitive psychology as to whether it really is even possible to identify absolute categories, which membership of is unambiguous and binary in nature.

I align myself to the argument that categories should be 'fuzzy' and the allotting of a particular phenomenon to a category is not done on an in/out basis but on a spectrum of 'inness' or 'outness', and is further open to revision, depending on subsequent data and/or new insights during the reading and processing of already collected data. In this respect, this system of processing the data with regard to seeking verification or 'firmness' of categories constitutes a deductive component to the analysis of the data[4].

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[4] Whilst this may invite criticisms that subjectivity is now injected into the process of grounded theory, I posit that this approach is the most realistic and the example used by Wittgenstein (1953) demonstrates this. He identifies the category of 'game'. If 'game' is indeed a category, then what is the single defining characteristic that every game has? For example, not all are competitive, involve a racquet, and so on, mahjong can be played by a single player as can several card games, such as patience. Yet, there is an intangible implicit understanding of what a game is and what is not (Hahn and Ramscar, 2001)

Thus, my first assumption is that categories are theoretically informed, or motivated, from my own prior experience. My second assumption surrounding categories is that they do more than merely structure a description of what is happening. I posit that they are also central to the discrimination of new data – especially crucial in a multiple case analysis – and that they can be used to make inferences. I posit that this is essential for the development of theory. Theory that pivots purely around the differences between different phenomena would be superficial. 'Category validity' is valued: If category validity is high then there is a high probability that if something belongs to a category it will have a specific attribute. But 'cue validity' is also valued. This term stipulates if this is high then there is a high probability that if the phenomenon has a specific attribute it will belong to a category. I see a cyclical relationship between the two concepts in the forming and development of categories.

As a third assumption, the categories developed should be extensively grounded in the data set. A priori knowledge is recorded as part of diary entries and memos, and this also forms part of the data body. Literature was not avoided in its totality prior to entering the field but a range of substantive areas, not all academic in basis were 'pottered' with. I argue that to try and eliminate pre-knowledge is unrealistic but pre-knowledge arising to expectations can be significantly diluted if widely differing substantive areas are drawn on and this encourages the categories to be grounded in the data set (Gilovich, 1993).

Fourth, I argue that coding systems are most effectively leveraged in relation to the pre-existence of a previously defined theoretical framework. This echoes both Glaser and Strauss' (separate) developments of coding systems. Substantive theory from pre-field reading is coupled with the product realities of 'cognitive sense making' upon entry to the field, as well as the cognitive development of ideas during the process of data collection. I posit that this inevitably forms a loose but emergent theoretical framework.

This initial framework will expand and change during the course of data collection and analysis. The data is sifted, read and reread. Case narratives are built and are included in the analysis, as are diaries and memo summaries of interviews or events etc. The aim is to 'skim off the cream' and devise constructs, which may, in part, be a priori in concept.

Categories emerge as each line or paragraph is examined within the question, "What is this about"? Each 'idea' can belong to numerous categories. At this point the data is used more systematically through specific coding. The data is compared, systematically, line by line

(Charmaz, 2006; Urquhart, 2001), to the categories that have already been established. This serves two purposes:

(a) To shape and reshape the already existing landscape of categories. This may mean that some are deleted for lack of evidence or modified. A higher level of abstraction may be applied to incorporate more evidence that has an affinity with the 'personality' of the category, but changes are always grounded in the data set.

This purpose of this system is twofold: It acknowledges the inevitable role of a priori knowledge in the process of generating theory; second, it addresses the inevitable subjectivity and bias that a priori knowledge brings by approaching its contribution as flexibly and consciously as possible. Categories change and shift according to the data set material. Changes to the categories are carried out on the basis of triangulation, especially where the driving data for change stems from more personal based data, for example, from my diary. Thus, the system represents a vehicle to transcend knowledge from an a priori basis to a posteriori.

(b) New categories are developed purely from the data set. Knowledge that is based from data that has a strong personal bias, is again triangulated extensively.

Categories are then further grouped into second level categories as a result of comparison between first level categories and linkages between them.

Ideally at this point, two differing strategies would have been enabled. First, in *some* respects access to participants to reaffirm my understanding of what processes were taking place would have solidified and verified my understanding, again promoting strong embedment of the constructs in the field. Second, some discussion with a colleague would have also gone some way to reduce the likelihood of subjective sense making. In practical terms neither was possible, primarily owing to the geographical location of the cases and technical demands of this being a sole researcher project.

Yet, the coding was consciously and extensively carried out thoroughly within the data sets procured. Data triangulation was actively sought from numerous participants. Owing to the amount of data collected – largely as the result of following the maxim 'all data is data' – this was deemed successful. Refutation was also constantly employed to increase validity.

Informal hypotheses were constructed after the development of first level and second level categories. These were as simple as, for example, "Can this category be refuted by data that suggests X rather than Y is happening here".

The narratives and data were then re-read to determine an overall abstract 'feel of fit' between the data and second level categories that were identified.

Second level categories were then further grouped into loose areas – how loose depended on how far each case was on the trajectory of the project, whether the categories were stand alone or reflected in previous cases and so on.

The narratives and data were again reread, again to verify 'feel of fit' between the data and second level categories.

- *Cyclical data collection and analysis*

Data collection and analysis not only overlap but are also cyclical in style. I argue that this occurs on two levels:

- First, at an overt level where data is collected and recorded: Coding systems are applied and then I collect more data sometimes to verify and triangulate.

- Second, on a cognitive level, analysis begins as soon as the field is entered, with a period of 'sense-making': Data is analysed and categories are intangibly formulated, before engaging with the field again to verify and adjust understanding – comparable to the cognitive psychologists' notion of 'schema formulation'.

  Although this process is subconscious and intangible, I argue it is still fundamental to how constructs are formulated and thus should be made as tangible and identifiable as possible. Through a process of conscious reflection, memo writing and diary entries I record, as far as possible, how I make sense of the field, which in turn becomes data that is also analyzed using the same coding systems as described.

- *My role*

I borrowed heavily from the concept on *bricolage* (Levi-Strauss, 1969) in determining my role within each of the cases. Although Levi-Strauss (1969) used the term during his ethnographic research experiences and philosophy, I suggest this approach as not only

possible but is advantageous for applied grounded theory. Eisenhardt (1989) for example, in her 'roadmap' of how to 'do' grounded theory advocates the adaptation of methods for collecting data whilst in the field.

I argue for an extension of Eisenhardt's approach to more passionately embrace the principles of not 'forcing' data. To enter the field without any idea of what methods will be used until the field itself dictates the most appropriate methods, ensures that method selection is field driven, rather than researcher driven. This was especially important, owing to my principles of emically driven research.

- *Ethics*

Clearly, the aim was to carry out the project ethically. At its most basic, this translated into an adherence to several frameworks of ethics including a consideration of the Helsinki Declaration, guidelines of the British and American Psychological and Sociological associations. In addition, the American Anthropological Association was examined for their ethical position.

The only issue that evolved, prior to accessing the field of any of the cases, as a possible cause for ethical debate, was the potential problem surrounding involved observation. I decided to be as transparent as possible, overtly explaining what I was doing and so on.

An unforeseen ethical issue arose during the first case study, which concerned the usage and ownership of data conflicting with the methodology's principle of 'emergence'. This is detailed in a separate chapter in *Appendix D*.

3.5 Overall strategy

The overall strategy for the project as a whole is partially emergent and partially formalized. Before the first case started, I utilized Eisenhardt's 'roadmap' as a template and modified her suggested procedure prior to entering the field of the first case, with the aim of fulfilling key assumptions, discussed previously. I selected Eisenhardt's roadmap as a starting point. To the time at which the field of the first case was entered, her framework is easily identifiable in its structure.

Unlike other methodologies, there is extensive diversity in how grounded theory has been interpreted and utilized. This appears to be the main basis for criticism and debate amongst scholars and practitioners of the approach. Eisenhardt offers an explicit 'how to do' theory building, step by step guide, and she does so from a practitioner's perspective. Her work has extensive gravitas. *Building Theory from Case Study Research,* from 2007, as a methods paper, for example, has been cited in 277 subsequent published papers within the API Proquest database (at 13th September 2011. She has also exhibited experience in applying theory building to an organization level of analysis, rather than in any macro context, and this lends an additional layer of transferability.

However, her model also allows for some deviation from the positivist stance that she occupies (Suddaby, 2006), without compromising the rigor of her suggested process. In the context of my overall multi-case project, I deemed this to be important: A rigorous, tried and tested approach of some gravitas can be manipulated in part to fit the ontological, epistemological and practical concerns of my specific project, without detriment to the advantages that Eisenhardt's system offered in the first place.

I also suggest that the overall emergent character of the research methodology, and the project itself in terms of its theoretical basis, is congruent with grounded theory's central theme of emergence. Eisenhardt's model allows for the flexibility needed for this emergence.

As the overall project progressed, further deviation from Eisenhardt was initiated. The following is an overview of the structure utilized prior to the first case, although 'tactics' are outlined as relevant in each individual case.

3.5.i Getting started

I identified the first case from non-academic sources. This meant that the case did not have an overt embedment in a specific theoretical context at the beginning: Cognitively the case stood apart from extant theory. Deinstitutionalization as a concept was not considered. Extensive effort was made in spending my preparation time by familiarising myself with the environment and background of the first case from the popular media, as well as honing non-contextual methodological understanding to promote rigor. My confusion surrounding the case at this point also seemed to prevent substantive areas from being drawn on: An arguably

inevitable process of 'sense-making'. But the extent to which the case differed to my own environment and experiences was great.

Neither theory nor hypotheses were crafted. This was with the aim of trying to retain theoretical flexibility and to facilitate the possibility of generating multiple theoretical perspectives whilst in the field that are most applicable to themes arising as a result of my dynamic interaction with the field, instead of in response to more passive cognitive processes prior to entering the field.

3.5.ii Case selection

A proactive and conscious effort was made to cognitively frame the case as a *potential case*, to try and guard against forcing trends, or data trawling. This meant that the field was accessed with the understanding that this may or may not be 'accepted' as a case upon leaving the field.

After the first case, each subsequent case was theoretically sampled for its contribution to understanding institutional breakdown and/or pressure. This was a compromise to the dilemma of the risk of forcing data, owing to the expectations that are created through theoretical sampling, and the efficiency of using cases to replicate, contrast, and extend emergent theory in a systematic way to help build (not test) theory (Yin, 1994).

Although, as stated, theoretical sampling was used for each case, the criteria were very different for each one. In addition, the reasons for the selection of a *potential case* for exploration, were very often different than the reasons as to why it was eventually *accepted* as a case. In this way, the theoretical sampling of the cases is carried out in two stages:

- First, a case is selected on criteria prior to entry to the field and these reasons often develop as the non-theoretical familiarity of the case progresses;

- Second, a case is accepted on criteria after data analysis is complete and these criteria may or may not be different to each other.

The first case, for example, was initially selected purely on the basis that it vaguely represented an unusual 'contained' environment with some sort of economic activity implied.

As I became more familiar with the community, via its own PR materials, the reasons for its theoretical sampling were more sharply defined, although still not contextualized in any extant theory base. The community, for example, clearly had several entrepreneurial set-ups within it. After the analysis of data was complete, the case was selected for reasons pertaining to its characteristics that were also theoretically or conceptually grounded, owing in part to the enfolding of the extant literature base to the data collected from the field.

Cases were sampled sequentially to each other. But theoretical sampling also influenced the position of the cases in light of my developing knowledge of grounded theory. Prior to this project I had no experience of grounded theory. I became acutely aware of my lack of expertise or even familiarity of the approach.

I was also aware of the importance of coding systems and the psychological issues in developing meaningful categories. As Bruner, Goodnow and Austin state, '...*virtually all cognitive activity involves and is dependent on the process of categorizing...*' (1986: 246), i.e. categorization as a process occurs naturally on a constant basis in everyday life. Because this project was designed as a naturalistic study this meant that it would emulate everyday cognitive activity. For this reason, the first case was also selected as a potential case in that its extensively unusual environmental and social structure may make it less likely for me (as a novice grounded theorist) to distort the process of category development to include my own pre-understanding.

Multiple cases were chosen as a research strategy (as opposed to a singular case study) to address the possibility that emergent trends from an individual case are idiosyncratic. This enables a more convincing argument for the development for *formal* grounded theory. Comparing trends between cases enables greater rigor in the generated theory as the principles of triangulation extend beyond methods employed and data sources within each case, i.e. that the data is grounded in the multiple contexts of differing literal environments.

Other benefits of using multiple cases are raised by Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007): The extent of the abstraction of the emergent constructs is at its most optimum with multiple cases. With a single case, the level of abstraction is more difficult to accurately determine, again owing to specificities of an individual case. Eisenhardt gives the example of a firm using an alliance to consider future possibilities. 'Alliance' could be a construct. But if more firms are explored (as additional cases) it could be found that they use alternative entities to

explore future possibilities, such as exploratory products. Thus, the level of abstraction in the first case was not optimum for the development of theory. An 'alliance' is only an example of a possible format that the construct could embody. A higher level of abstraction is needed that incorporates all the drivers or enablers of 'exploring the future', such as 'probes'. Thus, the optimum level of abstraction is much easier to determine when the drivers of the same phenomenon are considered over multiple cases than accurately abstracting the driver from a single case (Brown and Eisenhardt, 2007).

Further points raised by Eisenhardt are the advantages of the breadth of exploration across a research questions or topic area, as well as providing a stronger basis for the testing of the emergent theory, rather than the testing for idiosyncratic themes within a case – worthless for the generation of formal grounded theory (Eisenhardt, 2007).

3.5.iii Tool selection.

Here, Eisenhardt states that methodological tools should be gathered prior to entering the field to aid the procurement of data. No distinction in status is given to 'technical' tools over more rudimentary aids. I define the term 'tools' broadly as anything tangible that aids data collection. Especially in light of the influence of ethnography, 'tools' could include specific styles of dress or a child's toy, alongside more conventionally thought of tools such as writing material and a Dictaphone. Contrary to Eisenhardt's approach though, I advocated the development of tools from within the field and as discuss previously and below, the influence of bricolage as an approach was strong.

3.5.iv Entering the field.

When the field is first entered, inevitably a priori constructs emerge and these are recorded in diary format. No attempt is made to make these tangible. It is accepted that these form as part of a sense-making operation that occurs inevitably and naturally. In relation to the eventual grounded theory that emerges, they constitute an initial shifting foundation from which knowledge develops as a posteriori.

In another deviation from Eisenhardt's roadmap, the crafting of instruments and protocols is done from within the field to encourage a more emically orientated exploration. It means that the design of the methods can be more closely aligned and appropriate to the field, whilst enabling contextualized methodological rigor: Non-prescriptive methods encourage a more responsive approach to the activity in the field. Furthermore, multiple methods are used from within the field to encourage a more robust grounding, via triangulation principles.

As discussed above, no data is excluded because of type. This allows for data to be synergized and triangulated. Themes are truly emergent from the broadest data set possible and are not shaped by preconceived choices – prior to entry to the field – of what data is relevant.

When the data collection commences – and ostensibly this starts immediately upon entry to the field when a priori construct start to form – the process of analysis then follows swiftly. This forms the beginning of a cyclical relationship between the collection and analysis of data. This has the benefit of being able to make adjustments as to how and where the data is collected to inform the themes, as they emerge.

3.5.v Analysis of data

Coding systems and an analytical structure were employed as described above for each case.

3.5.vi Enfolding literature.

A comparison with the existing literature base is made at this point, for several reasons. The emergent theory becomes more extensively embedded in a wider theoretical context. The level of abstraction can more easily be raised to initiate formal grounded theory, of which its generalizability can be enhanced by considering substantive theories. Internal validity can also be honed by comparing the theory to conflicting literature.

3.6 Summary

I started this chapter with an overall rationale for an inductive approach, and a discussion on my choice of methodology in light of a consideration towards ethnography. I have outlined

my own principles and assumptions surrounding grounded theory to increase theoretical clarity. These are incorporated into the overall strategic procedure of implementing a grounded theory approach to the three cases that constitute the project as a whole, which has also been described. The next chapter describes the first case as the basis from which the emergent theory develops.

4.1 Introduction

This is the first case study within the project and this chapter starts off by giving an overview of the field in *Section 4.2*, where the structure of 'Calle 13' and its various identities of the case are detailed as well as the town's historical development. This is an in-depth section that is arguably justified in terms of the amount of detail giving owing to the town's complexity as an entity and field of enquiry. *Section 4.3* gives a rationale as to why the case was selected and used for the project, and *Section 4.4* details the methods and tactics employed to gather data. Findings are discussed in *Section 4.5* and are organized around the role of pressure and the organizational and institutional landscapes identified from the data. This is then followed by a discussion in *Section 4.6*, which starts off with an exploration of the key findings from the data in the context of the extant literature. The chapter then concludes with a summary in *Section 4.7*.

4.2 Outline of Field.

The research setting of this case is complex in that schematically it does not fall easily into a category of 'organization' per se. It has multiple identities: Philosophical; economic and organizational; and social, including that which involves complex kinship identities. Prior to discussing these, I make some attempt to describe the research setting in terms of its tangible facets. A time line of development – *Figure 7* overleaf – also illustrates aspects of this.

4.2.i Physicality of the community

Calle 13 is ostensibly a small town in South Asia covering 19 kilometres square. In many respects it differs from how towns are normally instituted. Its establishment was purposeful and non-emergent in that a large community was planned for at the outset by one specific person and her organization – discussed in more detail under 'philosophical identity' below – yet little detail was given at the outset on how this was to be achieved.

FIGURE 7

TIME LINE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CALLE 13

YEAR	EVENT
1926	P starts AMCO
1927	K.R. joins AMCO
1928	K.R. takes over the day to day running of AMCO at P's request
1935	K.R. first voices idea of a utopian town
1950	P dies
1956	K.R. publicizes her recent (spiritual) vision for Calle 13
1957	K.R. talks of the qualities that she wishes for Calle 13
1960	K.R. again voices the idea of Calle 13
1964	K.R. presents the idea of the town to the public
1965	K.R. names the town informally
1967	AMCO starts buying land for Calle 13, with donations
1968	Inauguration ceremony attended by representatives from 126 countries
1968	K.R. states ideals of no private ownership of immoveable assets and no circulation of money
1968	People start moving to Calle 13
1968	Central 'pot' system
1971	Central temple of meditation is started to be built
1973	K.R. dies aged 95
1978	Centralized fund for food, water and electricity
1980	Calle 13 is put in to emergency care of central government with the Calle 13 (emergency provisions) Act, after complaints against the AMCO administration
1984	Enterprises asked to donate funds for central amenities
1988	Central government passes the Calle 13 Foundation Act giving it autonomy from AMCO
1988	Structured taxation for individual and enterprises
1999	Small scale 'circle' money experiments start with 'extended family groups' to share resources
2000s	Move towards more enterprise activity
2008	Construction of central temple of meditation and gardens are finished

Figure 7. Economic and/or financial developments underlined.

Physically, Calle 13 came into being in 1968, as illustrated above in *Figure 7* and in *Figure 8* overleaf, by means of an inauguration ceremony and a town charter (see *Appendix B*), the

latter of which maintains its prominence within the town.

FIGURE 8

THE INAUGURATION CEREMONY IN 1968 (DOCUMENT REVIEW)

The town started with just two people, a small plot of land, with no permanent buildings. As *Figure 9* below indicates, the land was barren and wild.

FIGURE 9

CALLE 13 AT THE START (DOCUMENT REVIEW)

As of the end of 2009, the community consisted of just over 2000 people from 44 different countries. This includes 'new comers' - those who have not yet lived in the community for two years and are on 'probation': Permanent residence is sanctioned by the town's council. The township aims to eventually have around 50 000 residents.

There are over a hundred settlements – small clusters of buildings – where people live and work, although this includes some individual buildings in unpopulated areas – such as farms or houses with attached workshops where some people have chosen to live in relative isolation.

These emergent smaller hamlets seem to be, to a certain extent, at a slight geographical conflict with the original vision. At the outset, the town was dived into four 'zones' to organize the planning of its infrastructure, its aim being both practically and spiritually influenced. These four zones are: The Industrial Zone, where it was envisaged that most of the work facilities and buildings would be built; The Cultural Zone, where community facilities such galleries could be established; The Residential Zone would be the area for homes and domestic buildings; and the International Zone. This latter zone is designed so that each country that is represented in Calle 13 has a pavilion to reflect the culture, language, art, music, architecture, sports, industries, food, and so on, with the aim of promoting unity in the town as a whole via understanding.

To a significant extent, these divisions are not seen in totality. They were originally decided on the basis of the main compass points, driven by a rationale of these representing spiritually based 'energy lines'. The original French architect hired was philosophically inspired by Le Corbusier (1925, 1971), who saw grid styled towns to be the optimum in town planning. However, as the development of the town has progressed, where people have chosen to settle and/or work has been influenced by more practical issues such as the occurrence of water (and treatment plants – see *Figure 10* below), land more suited to building on, as well as more micro based factors such as personal preference for isolation or human contact.

FIGURE 10

WASTE WATER TREATMENT PLAN (DOCUMENT REVIEW)

Contiguous to the urban area is a locale called the 'green belt', which imparts a base for farming activities (see *Figure 11* below), sanctuaries and forestation but also includes some settlements, especially for those who wish to work in an ecological capacity.

FIGURE 11

CULTIVATED RICE FIELD IN THE 'GREEN BELT' (DOCUMENT REVIEW)

In the main, apart from a handful of isolated homes, commercial buildings, and farms, most are clustered into small groups. Additionally, there are a number of community buildings, some of which are accessible and utilized by the visiting public, for example, a main kitchen/ restaurant and visitors' centre, as depicted in *Figure 12* below. 'Tourists' are generally not encouraged – the purpose of the centre is to primarily manage and host the inevitable sightseers, whilst the restaurant is a much needed revenue stream.

FIGURE 12

THE VISITORS' CENTRE (DOCUMENT REVIEW)

Access to the community is not closed but it is purposefully not detailed on road signs, for example. There is one primary road in (and out) to the community off the main road from the nearest major town – about 14 kilometres away. Surrounding the community itself are several villages.

4.2.ii Philosophical identity

As *Figure 8* shows, the community was physically established in 1968, yet the *idea* of the township existed long before its physical manifestation. Its philosophical identity was strong however: The raison d'être of the community seems to be to express this identity.

Two key and entwined factors seemed to be pertinent in bringing the community into being, both of which still exist as sources of influence on the institutionalized practices of the community in a contemporary context, albeit on a mutated and reduced basis.

- AMCO

Calle 13 is ideologically driven by the philosophical teachings of P, who, until his death was the leader of a spiritually based organization – named for the purposes of anonymity here – AMCO. AMCO has been in existence since 1926. I define AMCO as being a non-profit organization, orientated around the promotion of spiritual enlightenment for its members.

The living and working structures for its members can almost be aligned to that of a traditional kibbutz but which are intrinsically combined with proactive spiritualism. There is a culture of collectivism but this exists in parallel with individuals, quite separately from each other, pursuing spiritual enlightenment through various activities such as yoga, meditation and personal guidance from the leader of the organization, which until his death was P.

- K.R. (deceased)

K.R. joined AMCO in 1927, living and working with other members of the organization. A year later she became an apprentice of P. Historical data suggests that there is some

indication of P being quite a withdrawn and distant character, even though he was clearly a leader respected for his guidance. K.R., even as a 'deputy' for AMCO was more charismatic.

Rhoda Le Cocq – a sceptical visitor to AMCO – describes her meeting with K.R. and P. in 1950:

> "…*As a Westerner, the idea of merely passing by these two* [K.R. & P.] *with nothing being said, has struck me as a bit ridiculous. I was still unfamiliar with the Hindu idea that such a silent meeting could afford and intensely spiritual impetus. I watched as I came up in line, and I noted that the procedure was to stand quietly before the two of them for a silent few moments, then to move on at a gesture from* [P]. *What happened next was completely unexpected. As I stepped into a radius of about four feet, there was the sensation of moving into some kind of a force field. Intuitively, I knew it was the force of love, but not what ordinary humans usually mean by the term…Then all thought ceased, I was perfectly aware of where I was; it was not "hypnotism" as one Stanford friend later suggested. It was imply that during those few minutes, my mind became utterly still. It seemed that I stood there a very long and uncounted time, for there was no time. Only many years later did I describe this experience as my having experienced the Timeless in Time. When there at the darshan[5], there was not the least doubt in my mind that I had met two people who had experienced what they claimed. They were Gnostic Beings. They had realized this new consciousness which* [P.] *called Supramental…*" (Document review.)

Even her influence after her death was quite clear for many of Calle 13. As Frederick states in 2004:

> "…*when* [K.R.] *left her body, something happened, which was like a watershed. Individually and also collectively, it created something that we haven't overcome yet…we are all victims of Her[6] leaving in a certain way on that day. Even now, when Savitra was talking about Her – I'm almost fifty years old – I'm close to tears. I miss Her, no?...*" (Document Review)

As indicated in *Figure 7* K.R. had a vision for an 'experiment in human unity'. This was later manifested as Calle 13 and was in particular an intrinsic reflection of the cultural-cognitive institutions of AMCO. K.R. states:

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[5] Darshan is a term borrowed from Hindi (and Sanskrit) that means 'sight' or the vision of someone.

[6] It is interesting that K.R. in the third person was referred to as 'Her' rather than 'her'. This particular document was a community published newsletter of an interview with two of the original newcomers. Their use of 'Her' indicates perceptions of K.R. as a deity and reflects a process of beautification, at least on a cognitive level.

> "*…There should be somewhere on earth a place which no nation could claim as its own, where all human beings of goodwill who have a sincere aspiration could live freely as citizans* [sic] *of the world and obey one single authority, that of the supreme truth; a place of peace, concord and harmony…a place where the needs of the spirit and the concerns for progress would take precedence over the satisfaction of selfish desires and passions, the search for pleasure and material enjoyment…In short, it would be a place where human relationships which are normally based almost exclusively on competition and strife, would be replaced by relationships of emulation in doing well, of collaboration and real brotherhood…*" (K.R. Document review)

K.R. was extensively involved in the setting up and development of Calle 13 up until her death in 1972. She physically divided her time between AMCO and the new town, although she gradually reverted back to spending more time at the former. This did not seem to detract from her influence however: People from Calle 13 frequently visit her at AMCO, where her advice was sought on a regular basis. She was a charismatic and influential leader and her legacy remains: Her writings are still referred to for guidance by many of the community, in particular the 'traditionalists' – those defined as such who seek to continue Calle 13 strictly within K.R.'s teachings.

4.2.iii Organizational Structure

The town has a high degree of independence in terms of its organizational structure.

When alive, K.R. equated to a CEO of an economic enterprise: She provided literal direction and guidance, stipulated the town's charter and fundamental (written) principles. She defined the purpose of Calle 13 as the "*...link between the public and the private affairs* [of AMCO]*…*" although in other documentation she stipulates that the two organizations are quite separate from each other. To a great extent this apparent contradiction is not surprising owing to the emergent nature of the community (in comparison with the purposeful establishment of the town's *physical* existence).

Despite the sometimes contradictory stipulated relationship between the two organizations, the structure of Calle 13 seems to exist for the purpose of allowing an 'experiment in human unity' to unfold. Calle 13 has a clear organizational structure, as *Figure 13* indicates, with committees and steering groups that manage the internal operations and, in light of Calle 13's economic identity (discussed below), its strategic direction.

FIGURE 13

THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF CALLE 13
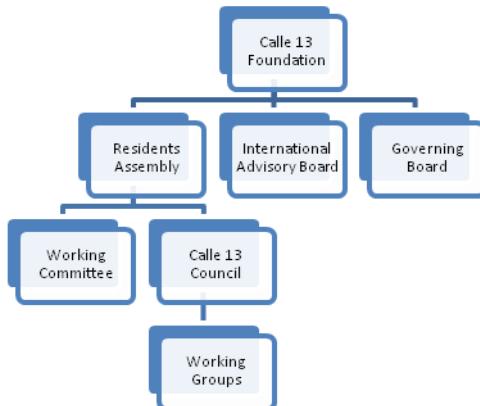
As *Figure 13 s*hows, the organization's assets and activities are managed by an autonomous institution – The Calle 13 Foundation – comprised of three interacting factions. These are the Governing Body, The International Advisory Board and The Residents Assembly. This latter body – comprising of all residents of Calle 13 over the age of 18, proposes individuals to sit on the Working Committee and the Calle 13 Council. The former has a responsibility to liaise with the Governing Body and to represent the township to external authorities – synonymous with Public Relations activities. The latter has the responsibility for the organization of the day to day internal operations and thus oversees various committees and working groups. These working groups focus on activities such as finance, forestation, health and education.

4.2.iv Economic identity

Perhaps the most overt sign of the town's identity as an economic force in itself is its apparent marketed brand[7]. Although not overly aggressive in its strategy, the town itself operates many goods and services – some available for purchase online – under the Calle 13 'label'. In addition, the town has a website that transcends the differing products and services offered by

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[7] Not outlined in detail here for reasons of anonymity

individual enterprises: In this respect, the website functions as a hub – much in the style of those adopted by many UK local governments.

The community makes use of symbols and physical representations of its identity. It has a distinctive, centrally placed, ninety meter high, spherical structure at the geographical centre of the township: This has become well known as a representation of the community's ideals, and, externally, a well used marketing tool. Despite, the 'alternative' drivers of Calle 13 as an organization, even at a semiotic level it can be compared to more 'regular' economic organizations: Apple Inc, for example, uses its apple icon on its buildings as replacement signage for the company name, in much the same way.

In many ways, the economic identity of the community is in a paradoxical relationship with its spiritual/philosophical identity. The latter is the raison d'être for the town's existence, yet, especially in the wider context of there being no national social security, free schooling and so on, a common economic system of function is not only efficient but intrinsic to the literal survival of the town and its members. The curiosity from visitors essentially provides the basis for potential – and much needed – replenishment for revenue streams for the day to day functioning of the community: Its schools, administration, media outlet, and so on.

Financially, the community strives towards sustainable independence. However, current additional revenue streams derived from grants from the national government, governmental and non-governmental organizations both internal and external to the country support a number of projects on, for example, educational activities, alternative energies, technology, village development and ecological restoration. In addition, monthly contributions from residents (including newcomers), guests, private donations and monies levied on commercial enterprises are all active revenue streams.

The economic model of the community concerns a loosely associated framework of a co-operative, although the financial system, relating to the economic structure of Calle 13 as a holistic entity, has evolved through many stages in respect as to how the community organizes its monetary system.

Housing (see *Figure 14*) and commercial enterprises are 'owned' by the community and there is no private ownership of immoveable assets. This translates into residents being free to start businesses but their ultimate ownership lies with the township as a whole. In addition to the

monthly 'tax' (equivalent) contributions to the community, profits are reinvested into the township.

FIGURE 14

EXAMPLE OF HOUSING (DOCUMENT REVIEW)

Calle 13 has one hundred and four commercial, mainly geographically clustered enterprises, diffused across all four sectors of the township. The SME and micro-sized enterprises are also diversified in typology: 'Functional' services and goods, for example, pharmaceutical services, printing, IT services and travel agencies, to more 'cottage industry' type enterprises, such as tapestry, design, jewellery and antiques. There is an emphasis on the value of pursuing creative endeavours. There are thriving architects' and artists' sub-communities, the former of which has attracted international attention both in terms of acclaim and architects that come to work in the community (see *Figure 15* below).

In 1999 the commercial enterprises generated the local (national) currency equivalent of US$ 156 per capita. In 1993, the comparative figure was US$ 201, indicating a drop of just over 22%. This is the last quantitative data available but qualitative data indicate that the 1999 figures are "...*reasonably typical*...", "...*applicable*..." and "...*about the same*..." to the community's economic performance today. Economic factors that have impacted upon the income of the community include inflation, rise of population, and newcomer wealth.

Whilst not strictly economic, and having more than a foothold in the town's social identity, is the vast array of innovative and experimental activities underway. In some ways these are related to the economic restraints facing Calle 13, and the innovation seems to revolve around

FIGURE 15

EXAMPLE OF THE CREATIVE ARCHITECTURE WITHIN THE TOWN (DOCUMENT REVIEW)

overall aims of environmental sustainability. The energy necessary to power the large restaurant situated by the visitor's centre, serving over a thousand meals a day, comes from a 15 meter solar cooker on its roof (see *Figure 16* overleaf), for example. Prototypes for domestic solar powered cookers for houses have been made (see *Figure 21* on page137), and wind energy has been experimented with for a number of years, as has the pursuit of developing a number of earth based building materials. A number of scientific and environmentally orientated research centres have also been established.

4.2.v Social identity and structures

The social identity of the town is, in many ways, intrinsic to the other identities that Calle 13 has, especially that which concerns the working activities of its members. There is little difference between people's social, familial, and work environments – especially from an

institutional perspective, where norms and values transcend these boundaries to the point of making divisions between these different spheres superficial.

FIGURE16

THE LUNAR KITCHEN (DOCUMENT REVIEW)

Yet, clear tangible structures are still evident and these do not differ extensively from western orientated structures of living: Children are for the most part reared by their parents and they go to school. Sometimes families choose to live in clusters each with a separate house but with perhaps a 'shared outside eating space', kitchen or outside garden.

The age at which children go to school is decided by their parents and facilities are in place for children to be taught in several languages up to college level. Curriculum is varied with a strong emphasis on exploration and self-directed learning, some aspects aligned with a Montessori system. Surprisingly, the traditions of the town including its philosophy are not overtly taught. More emphasis is placed on teaching principles of how to be a 'good citizen', which are defined (by the community) as patience, tolerance and the importance of being 'kind'. Some young adults choose then to go to university in other countries.

Facilities – and systems – that reflect the collectivist culture in Calle 13 are also prominent: A large open aired amphitheatre (see *Figure 17* below) in the centre of the community is used for general meetings – where everyone is invited to vote and participate – as well as for theatre and concert productions, celebrations and festivals.

FIGURE 17

THE COMMUNITY AMPHITHEATRE (DOCUMENT REVIEW)

4.2.vi Joining the community

New people to Calle 13 can more accurately be described as joining a community rather than moving to a town. The town requires people to make a visit to the community before making a commitment to joining. If they still want to join after their visit they are asked to return to their home country to seek a letter of recommendation. This goes towards securing an entry visa to the country as a whole.

People can then arrive. In practice this means settling into one of the guesthouses, seeking work, getting involved with various activities, and generally assimilating into the community. An interview is offered by the Entry Service Unit (ESU) to help and support the process.

After three months another interview is held by the ESU, where both the town and the person wanting to move to the community air any concerns and if necessary the process is stopped (by either party).

The person is then assigned the status of 'Newcomer' and is given a 'buddy' who will help them assimilate into the community further. This period is usually one to two years but can be prolonged if the community has doubts as to the person's suitability to the town.

Newcomers, like 'full status' members of Calle 13, pay 'taxes' to a central fund – used for infrastructure, education, and so on – and they are also asked to deposit a monetary sum

equivalent to the cost of the airfare to their country of origin. Newcomers are not allowed to vote in general meetings.

Housing is often temporary in nature for Newcomers and there is some variation in the financial arrangements in securing housing. It is possible for Newcomers to build their own houses, with the aid of resident architects and builders, for example. This is done on the basis of the person paying for their house's design and construction but ultimately the ownership of the house, like the buildings which house enterprises, is with the community as a whole. In addition, there are provisions for young people, including older children, to live separately from their parents or other family if they wish, in purpose built communal dormitories.

After one to two years, if there are no doubts or objections on either side – with the person or the community as a whole – he or she is given status as a full member of Calle 13.

4.3. Rationale of case selection

Theoretical considerations drove the selection of the case, which as discussed in the previous chapter, was given the status of *potential* case to maintain cognitive flexibility and to decrease the likelihood of subconscious data trawling. This meant that I was willing to reject the case in its entirety if little or no themes arose from the data coding that I applied. This gave me 'psychology safety' that allowed trends to evolve directly from the data and only from the data: I felt no pressure for the case to 'succeed', i.e. to produce some sort of tangible trend.

There are general characteristics of the case that make it an attractive context for theoretical exploration. For example, the case enables an analysis that is grounded at the level of the organizational field –one of the most advantageous perspectives from which to explore deinstitutionalization (Scott, 2008), as well as at the level of the individual.

The case also represents an extensively alien environment in comparison with my own parameters of experience. The case was partially sampled for this characteristic as, theoretically, it allows for a more emic orientated study: this itself being a natural companion to the idea of data emerging from within the field and the eventual generated theory being grounded in the data. I debated this point before coming to the supposed conclusion, a fortiori, that avoidance of distorting the environment to fit my own perceptual set is more likely if the

environment is as distanced and as far removed from my own experiences and current environment as possible. I propose that the confusion and strangeness of a new environment can aid the collection of data in a way that is less biased and more 'true' to the vantage point of participants and the cultural environment as a whole. I also propose that this is more likely if the confusion cannot be 'solved' by distorting it to the extent that it might fit my existing schema and perceptual set, but not so distorted as so to make the phenomena unbelievable.

However, there are specific characteristics of the case that, combined, warrant it as an extreme and unusual exemplar (Yin, 1994). This was deemed important because, again, it was presupposed that a high degree of unusualness would maximize the chances of the data being grounded in the field and be more conducive to an emically influenced study. This was most important for the first case in particular. As outlined previously in the overall methodology section, I accept there is an accepted inevitably that as the cases progress, pure induction becomes less likely: Each case informs the subsequent cases, at least at a cognitive level. Thus, Calle 13 was also theoretically selected in terms of its position in the sequence of total cases utilized.

Other specific characteristics also abound that contributed to the case being theoretically selected. First, the community is embedded in an unusual identity based social movement. Although social movements was not a specific arena of concern or investigation for this project, it does provide a strong basis from which to explore (de)institutionalization, owing to the rationale that a social movement is likely to have strong definable institutions, as the underpinning raison d'être of the group's existence. Second, the community itself is boundaried in multiple ways, as demonstrated by my overview of the town's many identities earlier in the chapter: Its physical manifestation within its geographical locality indicated by markedly different buildings to its surroundings; the geographical relative isolation, enhanced by a limited number of roads accessing the community and the encouragement of natural borders, such as forest; the difference in physicality and outward appearance between community members and 'outsiders', as indicated by skin colour and dress, for example; ideologically, the community having their own distinctive charter and mission, and so on. Third, the community represents, with a truly international human base, an extremely diverse cultural entity, brought together only by ideological beliefs. Fourth, there is no distinction of economic and non-economic spheres of life, both at individual and community levels. Thus, the same institutions exist on a consistent and constant basis.

4.4 Methods and Tactics

4.4.i Overall Aims and Objectives

The overall aim of this case is to provide a basis from which to start exploring deinstitutionalization as a process and to initiate an exploratory skeleton on which to build theory. In line with Eisenhardt (1989), Suddaby (2006), and my own methodological position in relation to my interpretation of grounded theory, this case, as the first case, does not aim to test neither theory nor hypotheses.

My research strategy for this case compliments the proposed strategy for the project overall, in that it uses an inductive approach. Eisenhardt's 'roadmap' (Eisenhardt, 1989) and Eisenhardt & Graebner (2007) were extensively influential in the design of this case study.

4.4.ii Defining the field and population

The population comprised of residents of the community. Their identities fell into differing and multiple groups, which included: Original members and recent 'newcomers'; community members involved (at multiple levels) in the businesses within the Calle 13, on science and environmental projects and within other wider community based schemes such as the 'Lunar' (community) kitchen and restaurant. Members of the community led council were also included as well as several people not annexed to a project or business. Some visitors staying within the community were included as were tourists. One ex-community member was corresponded with.

A participant was not rejected on the basis of not fitting the developmental 'flow' of the emerging overriding theory: clearly this would be in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of grounded theory.

The time spent in the community allowed for the relevant population to emerge whilst maintaining a comprehensive and thorough exploration from multiple lenses.

4.4.iii Participant sampling

Participants were initially sampled via a combination of theoretical and snowball sampling, depending on what specific method was being utilized. Theoretical sampling was always the preferred option: The aim being for each participant to contribute to either the replication, contrast or extension to the emerging trends (Yin, 1994).

Theoretical sampling was used to interview most of the 'original' newcomers – twelve in total. A small minority declined to take part, were deceased, or had left the community and could not be located.

However, snowball sampling was sometimes used for gaining access to interviewees, especially around the interviewing of business enterprise personnel; a contentious and sensitive area for a large proportion of the population. I felt an alternative sampling method to theoretical sampling was needed; one that could leverage trust more effectively. Thus, very often, one business owner would provide a proactive (and participant initiated) link to another. Strategies to overcome the potential bias in snowball sampling included seeking multiple sources of data and method triangulation (Morse, 2007).

4.4.iv The relationship between myself and the field

I had no prior direct experience of the community before my stay. However, upon my arrival, my specific role in the community was one of semi-participant observation. I was not physically removed from the environment – I stayed in the community on a continual basis and took part in some of the everyday life activities of residents. For example, I ate in the Lunar kitchen and shopped in the community 'supermarket'. I took part in the visitor centre experience and attended an introduction seminar, as would any 'newcomer' or interested visitor. However, in many respects I was not integrated into the community. For example, I was a paying 'guest' at a guesthouse, I did not work at any of the enterprises that I came into contact with, nor did I participate in any project work.

I stayed in the community on a continual basis for eighteen days in a community guesthouse, chosen because of its centrality. Staying within the community enabled me to be fully immersed in the values and the operations of Calle 13 and to gain access to the complex and intertwined social and economic mechanisms – and their underpinning philosophical drivers.

My familiarization with Calle 13 began with an 'orientation phase'. This lasted for approximately three days (included in the total of eighteen), although the transition into the next phase was relatively seamless. The orientation was unstructured and consisted of time spent walking to the different settlements and centralized organizations within the community. The visitors' centre was accessed. This consisted of a historical depiction, via exhibition and video of the community's development, an overview of the underlying principles, as well as a prominent illustration of the community's founder, i.e. K.R., and to a lesser extent P and AMCO.

The owner of the guesthouse – Clarence – was talked to several times on an ad hoc basis, as were approximately twenty other people during my orientation phase. 'Interviews' at this point were unstructured and informal. People often wanted to know if I was '…*that person doing research…*' in response to an announcement that I had initiated prior to my arrival via the township's council to accommodate ethical issues. This almost always initiated introductions and a brief conversation.

The general aim was to gain an overall familiarity with the community. Yet, a secondary aim became swiftly apparent whilst in the field in its importance: The community generally was reasonable friendly but reticent and, at times, suspicious. Thus, I abandoned the overt use of interview protocols and note taking at this point – gaining a rapport with the community became paramount.

A priori constructs were inevitably formed and these were recorded and reflected upon in diary format.

4.4.v Data sources

Although time sampling was not used, two time periods did emerge as salient from the case: First, the process of institutional change surrounding the start of the community's establishment. This begins around the time of 1968 and includes the community's inauguration, as well as events prior to the physical manifestation of Calle 13 and K.R's death in 1974.

Second, the process of deinstitutionalization and institutional change existing in a more volatile capacity over a much longer period of time – approximately 35 years – as the township develops.

There were distinct characteristics to both time periods but were also meshed, with much overlap in their scope and in many ways represent quite a superficial division. Thus, the findings have not been structured around the two events but have instead been amalgamated.

4.4.vi Specific Methods

Data collection methods were crafted from within the field, on an opportunistic basis, to ensure they were 'field driven' and not the result of pre-emptive reasoning. This helped evade determinism, reduce the amount of etic influence on emergent constructs, avoid possible exclusion of some data, and promote contextualized methodological rigor.

Document Review

An archive of the town's weekly magazine was accessed. This typically included news of events, meetings, and announcements local to the community, and the reporting of previous activities, celebrations and so on. Each week the magazine also focused on a particular person or project, such as a new restaurant and included transcripts of interviews, photographs, and exerts from diaries. Historical accounts of "…the old days…" were also included and provided a rich data set in itself.

A 102 page diary recording of 'The First Six Years", that also included historical interviews with community members, as well as the musings of one original newcomer to whom the diary belongs, was also used.

The community's 'handbook' provided much of the statistical data on the community. A very small proportion was gained via interviews.

Historical film footage was also accessed. This comprised of a 20 minute video accessed five times during my stay, once in my orientation phase.

I kept a diary. I incorporated grounded theory styled 'memos' and reflected on my active and passive role in the study and the formation of a priori constructs. This was especially prudent

in the orientation phase. I was proactive in self-questioning in an attempt to 'make the familiar strange'. (Spindler & Spindler, 1982).

My diary incorporated non-case material that extended to recording feelings and reflections on events, people, relationships, ideas, for example, which were personal and unrelated to the case material. This was not analyzed as such but provided material to try and increase the likelihood that constructs were developed objectively from the datasets and were uninfluenced by my mood.

Interviews

A total of 156 interviews were carried out (excluding the interviews carried out during the orientation phase). Forty-five people (interviewed once) withdrew their permission for the data to be used after the interviews were carried out. Clearly this is an anomaly and forms the basis of the next chapter. But, for the purposes of clarity here, is explained by historical events surrounding the community, rather than any researcher behaviour.

Out of a total of 98 people whose interviews were analyzed, 96 were interviewed once, one person (my guesthouse owner) contributed nine times, and three other people gave two interviews each, generating in total 111 interviews that were used.

Interviews were mostly not recorded in line with Glaser's recommendations (Glaser, 1992), although the community magazine included transcripts of previously carried out interviews and these were used extensively for quotes. Note taking was employed. Sometimes it was felt that this could not be done sensitively. In these instances, note taking was carried out immediately after contact finished. In a few isolated instances, where I deemed the willingness of the participant would not be compromised, interviews were recorded, either in part or in full.

Unstructured interviews

Impromptu contexts dictated that questions were often unplanned and were largely reactive to some sort of immediate context: A discussion with three people working on a prototype solar cooker in a public area, for example. Interviews ranged from a few minutes to a couple of hours. The longer ones were semi-planned and protocols were used in specific circumstances (see *Appendix C*). These included interviews in an informal capacity with two members of the

economic council and the administrative council, the internal media group, long-term community members as well as more recent members. A cross-section of settlements was visited.

Semi-structured interviews

Interviews with 'officials' sitting on the various councils were more focused towards discussing the commercial activities of the town. Interviews with residents not holding any administrative position were more general and tended to revolve around their perceptions of the reality of their community: how it works, how it does not work, values, ideals, principles, changes, intergroup dynamics, the relationship with external bodies, villages and outlying towns, their motivations for joining and staying, problems, youth migration, healthcare, schooling, business and employment, K.R. and other perceived influential figures, beliefs and hopes for the future, historical recollections, social systems, and so on.

In every case people were happy to talk and needed very little encouragement or 'guidance' but almost all requested anonymity. Whilst I initiated the general topic through an initial question, the interviewee then dictated what they wanted to discuss. Probes were asked on an ad hoc basis to clarify.

Structured self-interviews

These were also carried out (and analyzed like any other interview) to help procure a conceptual structure to my knowledge (Glaser, 1998). Written self-interviews, ensuring focused reflexivity, comprised of essentially administering questions concerning a particular topic to myself. These helped to test the boundaries of my own knowledge, i.e. clarifying the distinction between a priori and a posteriori knowledge.

Observations

These involved recording systems, for example, the functioning of the Lunar kitchen and the system to 'process' visitors. Four projects were also observed: How the monetary system works in action; an agricultural project revolved around setting up a new farm; and two science projects revolved around the use of solar power. In addition, ad hoc observations were carried out on an almost continual basis on more mundane aspects of day to day life, especially in the orientation phase.

E-priming – not using the verb 'to be' – was adopted as a technique to try and procure an increased richness in the data and to keep my recording of observations 'close' to what I was seeing, rather than making interpretive prose at this point (Bourland & Johnston, 1997).

4.4.vii Analysis of Data

Notes from all the methods employed, including an extensive document review, self-interviews, memos and my diary were read and re-read multiple times to elicit a thorough understanding of the environment. The case was written up as a narrative to generate insights into emerging trends and constructs (Gersick, 1988; Pettigrew, 1988).

At this point, knowledge of the environment was intangibly supported by evidence. Even before the writing up of the case, at the point of entry into the field, I inevitably engaged in a 'sense-making' process, which as far as possible was reflected upon in my diary. Thus, whilst analysis had started to take place upon immediate entry to the field and was thereafter continuous, it was without the application of extensive and systematic applied processes of analysis.

Coding strategies were applied as described in the overall methodology chapter.

Substantive literature was read. Conceptually, institutional theory and deinstitutionalization were grasped and formalized at this point.

At this point the analysis was suspended whilst the second case was prepared. This was to try to prolong the concept of 'emergence' along the chain of cases. The methodological aim was to try to enter the field of the second case with only a loose and hazy understanding of the constructs from case one. The underpinning argument that I present for the analytic suspension of the first case pivots around the inevitable influence of the constructs from the first case to the second. I suggest that the greater the degree of construct formalization, i.e. completed by the enfolding of literature, the more pronounced the predetermination effect of the constructs from the first case to the second.

After the second case had been completed, in terms of data analysis, observations from the findings of the first case were loosely grouped. This grouping was based on the linkages between differing concepts although sometimes the observations were left on their own as

individual constructs if they were deemed to be 'big' enough or were perceived as 'stand-alone' entities. Grouping was carried out primarily for efficiency reasons and, thus, it was not of paramount important for the groups to be exacting from a methodological sense.

Each general observation was then explored again in the extant literature base. Cognitive mapping served as a technique to track my decision-making about which literature bases to pursue. The aim was to be as comprehensive as possible but this presented a challenge per se owing to the vastly diverse set of literature sets from differing disciplines that were sought, owing in part to the dearth of the specific literature in deinstitutionalization.

Second tier coding was then applied which grouped together associated first tier constructs. A process of cyclical induction and deduction was used to verify relationships between first tier constructs.

From these results, and again using cyclical induction and deduction, four loose and flexible areas were identified.

4.5 Findings

4.5.i Overview

The presentation of the findings reflect a balance between two potentially opposing necessities: (1) The need to not force conclusions prematurely and to remain theoretically flexible for as far along the trajectory of the overall project as possible; (2) The need to organize the findings into some sort of structure for reasons of clarity.

Thus this section is as follows:

- First, I give an overview of my observations of the field.

- Second, I describe the institutional landscape of Calle 13, with data to illustrate the narrative.

- Third, I detail the role that pressure seemed to play both in and on the institutional climate of the community. I again use sources of data to illustrate the narrative.

- Fourth, I outline other influential factors which seemed to impact upon the institutional change process within Calle 13.

- Fifth, I then widen the parameters of my discussion to contextualize the data in extant literature:

  o I start by providing a consideration towards the literal environment of Calle 13, where I draw on literature focusing on institutional change and social movements.

  o Then, in accordance with the format above, I discuss the findings in the context of literature relating to pressure and other influential factors.

  o I then reflect on the wider principles of institutional theory, salient to this case, and theorize the data in light of resource competition and legitimacy/isomorphism.

- Finally, I move from the breadth and depth of the above discussion to present the latter part of my chain of evidence. Here I group the tentative themes to have emerged from the data set, which themselves are theorized into possible salient areas to consider along the trajectory of the project overall.

An overall summary of my observations is illustrated overleaf in Figure 18.

FIGURE 18

OVERVIEW AND ORGANIZING FIGURE FOR DATA FROM CASE ONE

105
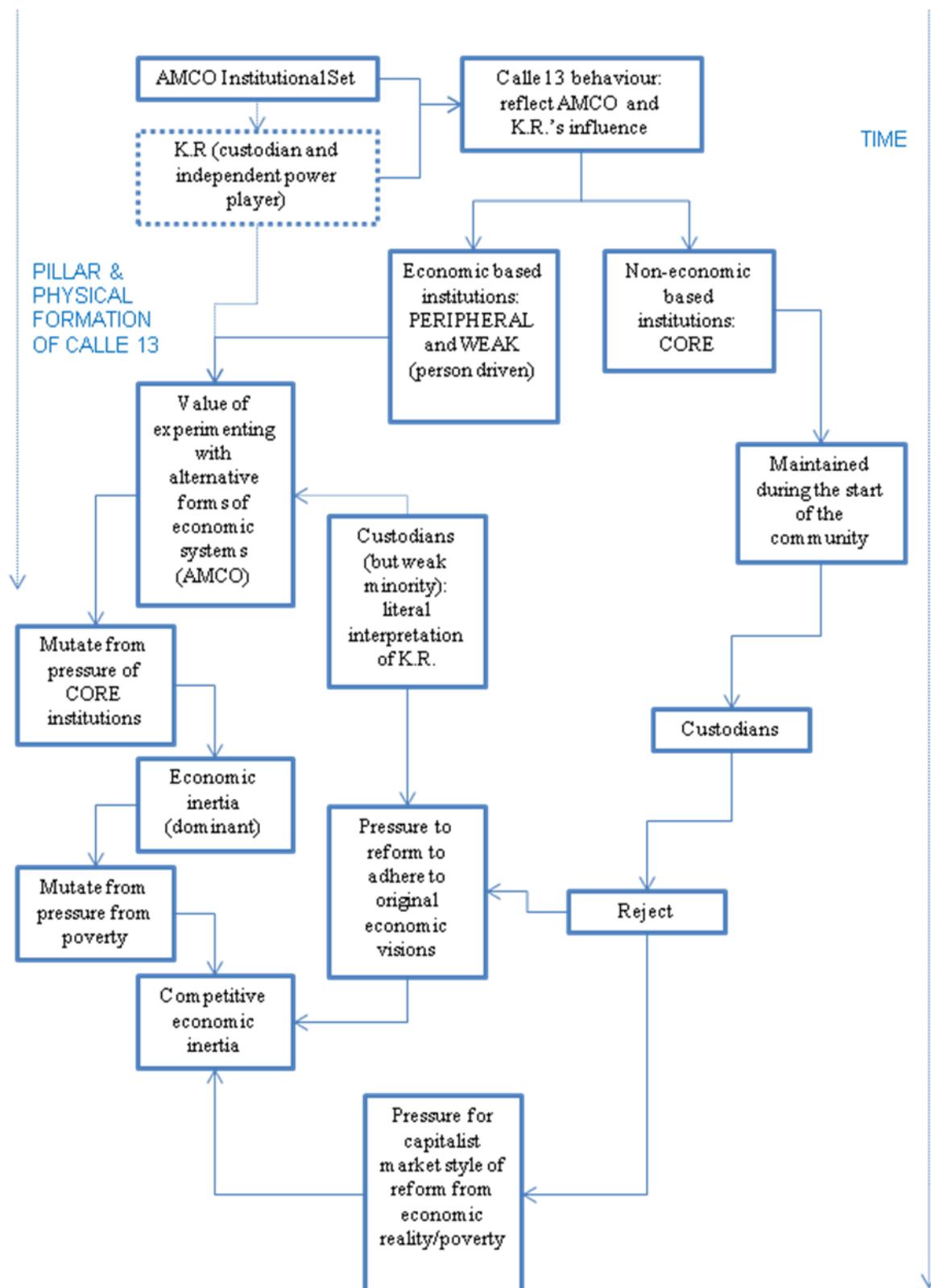
The crux of the data indicate that the initial community was forged on institutions from AMCO in terms of both economic and non-economic norms and expectations, the former being peripheral to the latter core institutions.

As *Table 4* indicates, core institutions were defined as such owing to their intrinsic and central role in the purpose of Calle 13. The findings also indicate the occurrence of themes surrounding these institutions such as historical embedment, legitimization via AMCO, and custodians. Their robustness was underpinned by the extent to which they were pillarized as well as the degree of consensus in attitude of the community as a whole.

TABLE 4

CORE & PERIPHERAL INSTITUTIONS

CORE INSTITUTIONS		
	Examples	Institutional Influencer
Collectivism	-Working together to physically build the community -Symbiotic relationship between building community buildings and their collective use -Shared decision making and political structures -Multiple community based festivals that are prepared for and participated by all -Internal, community based social security system for provisions of unemployed, elderly, and sick	AMCO K.R. Reinforced by the values (institutions?) 'transferred' from previous existences prior to joining Calle 13. Community pillars, symbols, behaviour, values etc 'fed back' into the community, strengthened by lack of 'deviants'.
Experimentation	-Value placed on architectural creativity and experimentation -People encouraged to volunteer and pursue ideas on the basis of enthusiasm rather than experience -Strong culture of 'safety in failing': Failure is seen as an essential component in development -Experimental approach to problem solving. For example, innovation in environmental and scientific endeavour.	AMCO K.R. Reinforced by 'culture of safety'

| Emergence | -Lack of detailed plan and where plans are made, there is an acceptance of emergence that overrides ideas at the outset
-Emphasis and strong value placed on development, in terms of both the individual and the community as a whole
-Self-defined 'social experiment'
-No clear planning encouraged in socialization. For example, school systems value Montessori influenced methods | AMCO

K.R.

Lack of clear direction |

DEVELOPMENT OF (PERIPHERAL) ECONOMIC BASED INSTITUTIONS AND BEHAVIOUR		
	Source of sustaining influence	Source of challenging influence
Value of economic experimentation	K.R. originally includes this in her vision. Latter small scale experiments with economic systems are made possible via the core institution of experimentation.	Not entrenched in AMCO. Seems to be almost an afterthought by K.R. Not included in the summarizing vision or mission of the town. Seems to clash with the spiritual purpose of the town.
Economic inertia	Strong spiritual purpose of Calle 13 makes economic considerations unattractive. K.R.'s death allows her brief postulations on the economy to be 'forgotten', whilst core purpose is focused on.	Pressure of poverty. K.R.'s original brief ideas that Calle 13 should experiment with alternative money systems are 'remembered' by 'orthodox' custodians.
Minority economic experimentation	Orthodox custodians.	Core institution of emergence makes highly structured systems or experiments unattractive.
Majority competitive economic inertia	Enterprises exist as important revenue streams for Calle 13, via taxation: perception of removing central control would increase risk and a decrease in community income. Core institutions of collectivism temper a potential laissez-faire system. High control maintained by The Foundation on every aspect – location of buildings, products and services, taxation etc.	Poverty. Young entrepreneurs and business community wanting more economic freedom for new start-ups and growth.

Conversely peripheral institutions were defined as such as owing their existence on the 'fringes' of the community's purpose. They also seemed to be 'slave' institutions to those

which inhabited the core, i.e. they were submissive to and shaped by the community's core constitutions of emergence, collectivism, and experimentation. Yet, their permanence and development are also influenced by (lack of) historical embedment, legitimization, and so on.

Whilst the core non-economic institutions were maintained during the physical creation of the community, peripheral economic based expectations mutated into institutions of economic inertia, and then quickly into competitive economic inertia, i.e. competition within an economic realm was inert. In addition, some community members participated in very minor economic experimentation on a small scale.

Dwindling resources and community income deficits – as sources of pressure – have enabled challenges to be launched from various parts of the community for economic reform, more aligned with a competitive markets perspective. Custodians of core institutions reject this on the basis that it is seen to be in direct conflict with the overall identity of the community, its core institutions, and the principles of the philosophical movement that Calle 13 reflects.

Simultaneously, a series of challenges, and subsequent pressures, have been made to the competitive economic inertia of the community from traditionalists or 'orthodox custodians' who seek to restore the original institutions from AMCO surrounding 'alternative' monetary systems, i.e. norms that existed prior to the institutional mutation that resulted in economic inertia.

Overall, the 'main body' of deinstitutionalization, whilst being characterized by institutional disequilibrium, is stagnated. This stagnation seems to be a consequence of the tension between the dominant, core, non-economic institutions and pillars, and a high level of cohesion in a human population that is pressing for economic reform, i.e. institutional change.

4.5.ii Institutional Landscape

As *Figure 18* and *Table 4* above indicate, both core and peripheral institutions were identified. These were determined by document reviews and, to a lesser extent interviews.

Evidence suggests that the core institutions of the community have been historically robust: they were structured well before the community's physical materialization. For example, K.R. was actively writing and speaking about her vision as early as the 1930s and again in 1960

onwards. Furthermore, K.R. extrapolated high level, abstract principles of what original newcomer Deborah states "*...what it is to be a true* [community member]..." directly from AMCO – an organization with a high level of 'legitimacy' (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), supported by its hundred year existence. These principles were to become the 'skeleton' of the core institutions of Calle 13 as portrayed in *Figure 19* below.

FIGURE 19

SKELETON OF INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK
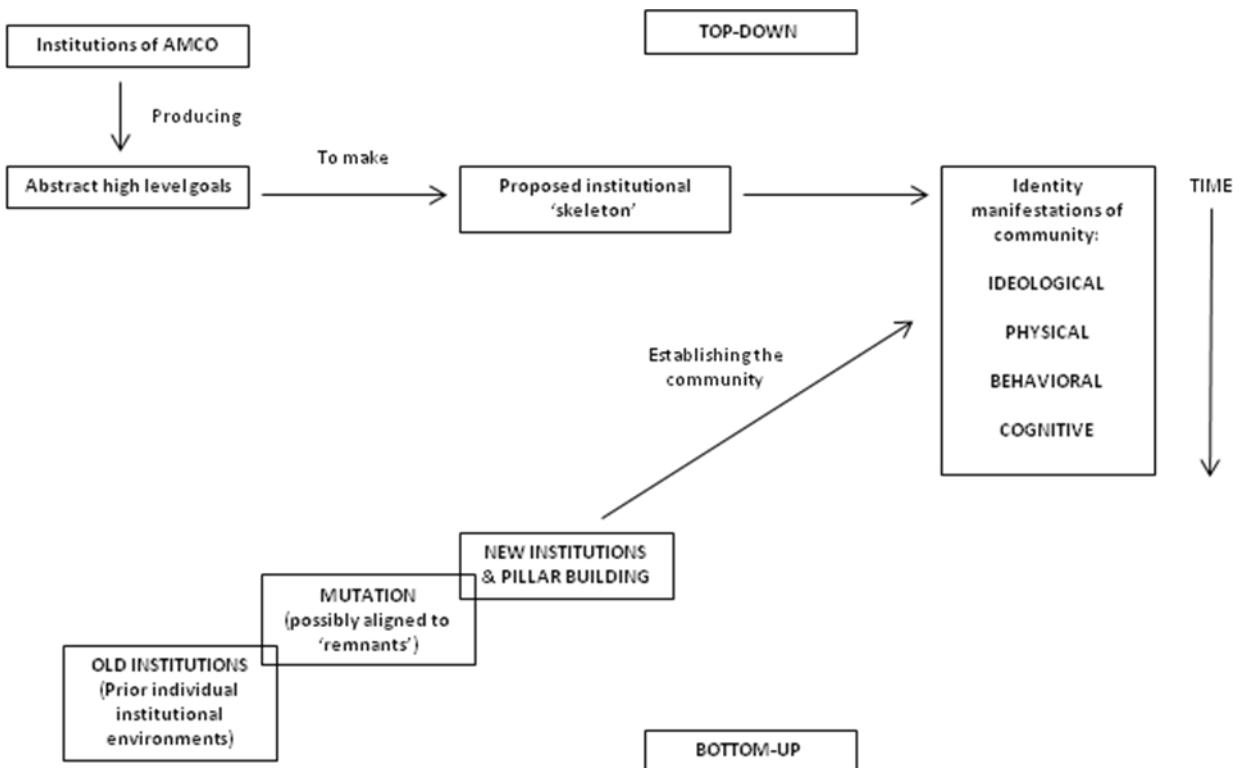
The institutional isomorphism between the two organizations at this point was purposeful and conscious. K.R. stated that Calle 13 was to be AMCO's "*...contact with the outside world...its public face...*" (K.R., 1965: Document review). Interviews with several original newcomers reveal that they were convinced of the idea of the new community because it was an "*...extension to* [AMCO]..." (Deborah) and was thus perceived as legitimate. A further population was recruited.

Community members then sort to build a physical manifestation of their town. This process of development also fuelled the structuration of new institutions. In terms of the institutional landscape at this point, the (core) institutional skeleton offered by AMCO, via K.R. mutated (but to a comparative minor extent when contrasted with economic based institutions). This echoes the sentiments of North, who states that '*as organizations evolve, they alter the institutions*' (North, 1990: 7).

This was supported by historical data. In secondary interviews from 1970, for example, an Italian community member and K.R. indicate that the original AMCO based institutions had mutated alongside the physical and procedural development of the community. The Italian explicitly asks for members of AMCO and the community to work together more on projects to "*heal the breach*". K.R. responds by saying,

> "*...as for myself, I don't find it (the breach) wide enough...it isn't at all the same place...Being a [community member] is not the same thing as being a member of [AMCO] and living that way of life...*"

Potential community members continued to arrive from a wider population, i.e. those who were generally interested in organizations like AMCO but were not overtly familiar with its workings. As Essien says,

> "*...I joined later...in 1971...I liked the idea of places like AMCO...No, I never actually visited AMCO...and I just joined Calle 13...it was the time of hippies, communes...and a lot of people wanted something else than what they left behind in their old times...*"

Community members saw the legitimacy of Calle 13 lying in generic abstract principles of organizations *like* AMCO, rather than institutions *specific* to AMCO. It is the people that shaped the institutions of the new organization whilst simultaneously believing that Calle 13 was legitimate and robustly entrenched in rich and historically valid norms and values.

In terms of the components of institutionalization, the development of supporting pillars at this time was a process that extensively involved the growing population of the community. Normative and cultured-cognitive pillars (and to a lesser extent regulative mechanisms) emerged – identified from focus groups and interviews to revolve around '*experimentation*', '*emergence*' and '*collectivism*', as further evidenced in *Table 5* overleaf.

TABLE 5

EVIDENCE FOR PILLARS OF IDENTIFIED INSTITUTIONS

Core Institutions	Regulative	Normative	Cultured-cognitive
Experimentation	Only high level protocols given by K.R. Experimentation strongly encouraged by lack of regulations. Data emanating from K.R. can be typified: *"Any regulations should be as liberal as possible and very flexible. Rules should arise according to the requirements"* (K. R. August 1966.) And, *"No laws or rules are being framed. Things will get formulated as the underlying truth emerges and takes shape progressively. We do not anticipate…Men establish mental rules according to their conceptions and ideals, and then they apply them, and that is absolutely false, it is arbitrary, unreal, and the result is that things revolt, wither or disappear…It is the experience of life itself that should slowly work out rules that are as supple and as wide as possible, in such a way as to be always progressive. Nothing should be fixed…"* (K.R. December 1968).	Building structures are experimented with, using organic materials sourced locally. Alternatives to concrete are experimented with. Some issues force a more experimental approach. For example, access to water. Other experimental behavior revolved around the building of a dam, types of trees and other vegetation for plantation. Alternative energy sources are experimented with, e.g, wind and solar power. Mistakes are not 'punished'.	"…Failure is ok…" and "…To fail is expected…is normal…but then we try again…" and subsequent paraphrasing by numerous informants indicate the dominant mindset of the community. An environment of psychological safety is procured to give people the confidence to try new things in different ways.
Emergent Strategy		The physical community was developed haphazardly. There are roughly four geographical divisions in the community for 'industry', 'living' etc but these emerged quite differently to the initial suggested rough 'plans'. The physicality of the township had no roads – sub-communities emerge randomly. Original newcomers reported that they had no plans as to how long they would stay, how they would support themselves. 'Deadlines' and timeframes were seen as "flexible".	To create "with a conscious" was held paramount. The end result is important but the "…journey along the way is just as important…" (Deborah). Little importance was attached to the failure of plans. "The journey" was seen as exciting and educational in itself.
Collectivism	Power systems relating to K.R.'s 'teachings' are present in that they consistently emphasize a collective community (document review).	Strongly democratic basis with collective decision making the norm. The allocation of jobs was done randomly but with agreement and volunteering was common. No private ownership of building etc. Building is done collectively. Last names were not used. Structure of the organization as a whole was 'flat', not hierarchical.	Problems were shared. Little was kept private. Strong attitude of problem-solving is done best in a group. Taking what is needed not want is wanted became the mindset. Growth was seen to be important for the community as a whole. E.g. "…new urbanism can only be created out of a non-physical community" (Essien).

A review of documents, interviews and observations indicate, for example, extensive 'artifacts' (Suchman, 2003), routines and systems that made for a complex framework of institutional 'carriers' (Jepperson, 1991: 150). Because the pillars were established 'ground up', community members were extensively entwined in the institutions: As Emiko states:

"...the people were the town...we made the town...we built it...we gave it a soul...".

The documentation review indicates that economic based peripheral institutions were also established at the very start of the community, extrapolated directly from AMCO based institutions, but were submissive to core non-economic institutions. For example, a value placed on equality and sharing (core) means that no enterprises could or can be privately owned (peripheral). At the same time, 'work' seemed to be highly valued as a concept: One of the six points that K.R. espouses in 'To be a True [Community Member]', from the document review, states that work is to be encouraged because 'making things' encourages people to 'discover' themselves:

"...Work, even manual work, is something for the inner discovery. If we do not work, if we do not put our consciousness into matter, matter will never develop…"

Several other economic principles were also espoused by K.R. A repeated call during this time for *"…a community without the circulation of money…"* and several other principles such as, *"[Calle 13] is not meant for the satisfaction of desires…"*, for example, provided an AMCO based institutional foundation. However, in the early stages of the community, economic inertia became the norm: In a focus group all agreed (and laughed) with Deborah's view point of *"…nobody thought of money...nobody was interested...I thought that I could only live off the land…"*, for example.

Several small co-operatives were set up however through the economic need of the community. But apathy towards to the economic ideals stipulated by K.R. was the norm and economic activity was weak, fragmented and sluggish, in terms of it being potentially

revolved around competition: The focus and enthusiasm was very much on developing the community with regard to the core social based principles of the community.

Evidence indicates that this was because economic systems and principles that went beyond a few basic, undeveloped, non-specific and utopian ideals of "*…sharing everything…*" were not perceived to be of fundamental importance to newcomers. Several newcomers reported wanting to "*...get out of greed...money everywhere...*". In addition, the robustness of the core institutions was enhanced by its pillars, which were themselves seen as incompatible with economic development, as demonstrated in *Table 5*.

Nevertheless, there was some sort of economic activity still existed by means of a co-operative based system. Data from a focus group and interviews suggest that institutional mutation occurred again, resulting in a norm of competitive economic inertia.

Competitive economic inertia within the community has also been historically robust, shaped and 'protected' as an institution by its submissive relationship to core non-economic institutions. All members of the focus group indicated that the norm of competitive economic inertia was "*…more of a fit with the social norms and practices* [of Calle 13]*…*". This view point was also indicated with interviews with other members of the community: Manfred states, "*…we need to survive and live…air and earth is not enough…We do what we can* [to make money]*…that is for everyone…*", for example.

In summary, it is the historical robustness of the core non-economic institutions and supporting pillars of Calle 13 − shaped and developed by the population itself − that data indicate to become an important factor in the subsequent economic challenges to the community and how the community resists the pressure of challenges, albeit not in totality.

4.5.iii The Role of Pressure

The data set suggested a potential question that asked: *How does the role of pressure interplay with a process of deinstitutionalization?*

Seventy-seven people were interviewed specifically on the economy, including 21 people from the general population, i.e. those who had no role in any commercial activity. Every person showed an awareness of the current financial situation of the community, most

frequently described as "...*a crisis...*", "...*desperate...*", and "...*a mess...*". In addition, statistical data evidence a strong decrease in the income per head within the community.

Historical archives indicate that there was a growing awareness of the need for some sort of economic functioning and this awareness "...*happened pretty quickly...within a few months [from] when we first started...*" (Deborah). The community, in order to exist for the purpose of announcing its identity, needed money. Karin acknowledges that building materials, food, water, transportation and so on could only be partly sourced "...*from the land...*". The institutional climate of inertia was challenged, pressured by the lack of physical resources in the organization, into accepting some rudimentary process, based on need, of economic and financial organization. This need based approach has continued and the current economic status quo revolves around a growing concern as to the weakening finances of the community.

The lack of resources in the community indicates the existence of a 'functional pressure' in the community, and supports the notion that pressure is an instigator of deinstitutionalization (Oliver, 1992).

However, apart from this specific incident of pressure and challenge, the data indicate that most pressure emerged as a factor via challenges made to existing institutions, in a process of deinstitutionalization, i.e. the role of pressure was found to have more of a dynamic role *throughout* deinstitutionalization, including its 'main body' rather than acting only in a catalytic capacity, i.e. at the beginning of deinstitutionalization. Three other sources of pressure support this view:

1. Challenge from the business community

First, the established business community wants to grow their enterprises but feel that the balance of 'support' and 'interference' from Calle 13 Foundation is not achieved. Paul states,

> "...*There is a strong tendency to want to control, and that type of desire to interfere comes from the [Calle 13] Foundation as well as from a section of the community. It is absolutely wrong. Businesses that contribute to [Calle 13] have to develop in freedom, as much as any other activity in [Calle 13]. We comply with the laws of the country but other constraints and controls beyond that should not be imposed...*".

A small, yet significant body of evidence suggests that social pressure was also present – thirteen business owners, for example, indicated social reasons to want to grow their

enterprises. Yet, the predominant source of pressure is more functional in orientation, with more widespread interview evidence indicating concerns surrounding the efficacy of current systems. Several interviewees and the document review indicated that there have been several ideas to stimulate and support business growth to combat this perceived efficacy. For example, Henk indicates,

> "…*create a support group for small scale* [Calle 13] *enterprises, to help with marketing, accounting, pricing, labor policies and such things…many small unit executives simply lack these skills…*".

The resistance to this pressure revolves around The Foundation's reluctance, as a body of power, to initiate and support these and similar suggestions. This is theoretically translated as a resistance to the challenge of the institutions surrounding competitive economic inertia. Interviews with ex-members of the Foundation indicate that a growth in business activity is regarded with suspicion and that the Foundation is "…battling…" to ensure the core purpose of the community is not lost. Arthur states,

> "…*we need to stop…all I see around me here in* [Calle 13] *are the forces of the old world – egotism, deceit, power, competition, politics, business and money…It's just like anywhere else, with a thin overlay of spiritual dogma…*".

The documentation review and interviews indicate several ideas have been proposed to the Foundation by the established business community. These include how venture capital could be brought into the community, the Foundation acting as corporate guarantor for new business loans, restructuring of the community's core capital, and support mechanisms for joint science and technology transfer partnerships.

When put to the Foundation, interviewees declined to answer questions, although Shantha did say that "…*some of these things had been looked at but it decided that it wasn't in the best interests* [of the community] *to pursue…*". When questioned further, Shantha reiterated that the community's purpose was not to become "…*a 'Pepsi' or corporate giant…*".

2. Generational challenge

A challenge is being made to both peripheral *and* core institutions from younger nascent entrepreneurs. Several established business owners indicated via a focus group and

interviews, "…*an entrepreneurial spirit in the young…*" (Sascha)…and that "…*many young people want to start businesses…*" (Tency). This was supported by viewpoints from several non-business owners. All of the fourteen people aged 17 to 20 indicated that they would like to start a business. For example, Hemant says,

> "*...I would like to have a bookstore and maybe a coffee shop...Francois is doing excellent things with his coffee thing but I don't see him as pricing competitively...it's too expensive...to make a profit it is better to price lower and to sell more...I want to have a business so I can find a wife, support her...it would be nice to build a house that I can own but here everything is equal...everybody owns everything...nothing personal...sometimes that's bad...frustrating...*".

Although there was awareness amongst nascent entrepreneurs of the *need* for competitive economic inertia to change generally in the community for its overall long-term survival, the motivation to start a business seemed to indicate that the pressure they were yielding was more socially entrenched than functional. (Even though one person did point out that there were no jobs for young people – a viewpoint supported by several other informants, although statistical data are lacking.)

Several people expressed a desire to start an enterprise for the purpose of starting an enterprise per se. Thus, the perception was that economic activity was better than competitive economic inertia because it was primarily "…*more fun…*" (Blake) and "…*gives* [me] *something good to do…*" (Alok), rather than for the reason of being more productive for the community, i.e. the focus amongst this cohort was very much on opportunity rather than necessity entrepreneurship. Hemant's quote above (and supported by other young people), also hints at a nascent culture of competition, something which Calle 13 has been traditionally opposed to.

Similar sources of resistance to this pressure are indicated. Many of the custodians of core institutions laughed whilst 'acknowledging' the "…*ambitions of the young…*". Manfred states, "…*they are young, they do not understand yet…they learn* [that] *everything is about the* [Calle 13]…*there is no room for selfish pursuit…*".

Business activity for the purpose of personal gain was and still is for a proportion of the community unacceptable. Too much business activity in general, even for the benefits of the wider community, is viewed with suspicion and "…*is not to be encouraged…people get*

greedy and they lose their way…we exist in [Calle 13] *for a purpose and this purpose is not make a profit* [sic]*…"* (Mario, Calle 13 Foundation). Similarly Manfred from the same committee states,

> "*…commercial activities – they are for find way to give supporting for* [Calle 13]*…for all…but that is only that…not for some get rich, some get poor* [sic]*…we need to survive and live…air and earth is not enough…We do what we can to make the money…that is for everyone…".*

3. Challenge from 'purists'.

A third source of pressure was identified from a very small group of people that this study terms 'purists': Community members who had not abandoned K.R.'s original AMCO based principles surrounding economic activity, primarily those revolving around building a township with "no circulation of money".

By the late 1970s several different monetary systems were sequentially launched but they all surrounded a system of communal finance. In 1999, for example, 'The Sphere Experiment' was devised to,

> "*…create 'extended-family' groupings where people with more resources share with those with less. Sphere members pool their maintenances in a common pot, and each member draws from the pot what he or she requires. Those with sufficient personal resources contribute additionally. Sphere deficits are covered from a buffer provided by one of* [Calle 13's] *commercial units…"* (Document review).

These invariably failed. The document review, for example, indicates The Sphere Experiment had,

> "*…not been the success hoped for. About 80% of the participants depend on inadequate community maintenance…it* [the experiment] *failed to convince the larger community to participate. At present only five out of the original nine spheres survive…".*

Several interviews confirm this, although the estimation as to the number of dependents ranged from 50% to 100%, and this cycle of launching a new experiment and its successive failure continued for over two decades (culminating in The Sphere Experiment).

Considering the economic activity overall and taking a longitudinal approach, it may appear that the community is in an extended cycle of dissipation and rejection of the institution of competitive economic inertia before reversion. Several older community members echoed Karl's statement of "…*it has happened before and it might happen again…maybe with the mess we're in things will really change…*".

However, despite continued resistance from institutional custodians and the robustness of core institutions, there is evidence to indicate that dissipation of the institution of competitive economic inertia is occurring to a greater sustainable extent than it has done previously.

First, is the growth in new enterprises during the last five years, that demonstrates tangible, physical evidence of the benefits of enterprise.

Second, the increasing (mainly) functional pressure of dissatisfaction from a growing established business community but also from the wider population: All of the 77 people interviewed paraphrased that "…*something has to be done…*" and all (apart from Foundation members) indicate that competitive economic inertia "must" change.

Third, social and functional pressure from a group of young, nascent entrepreneurs is challenging the core institutions of the community as well as the peripheral economic institutional norms, whilst strongly supported by the growing established business community.

Fourth, the literal survival of the community also lends fragility to the current economic situation: Income per capita has become critical and the status quo of the fiscal climate of the community overall is non-sustainable.

In summary, the role of pressure exists on a wider continuum than just as a mere catalyst. The data suggest that pressure is a more dynamic entity, existing throughout the 'main body' of a deinstitutionalization processes. Multiple types of pressure are also present – social and functional– that can co-exist and are inflicted by a plethora of sources.

Fundamentally though, pressure has always existed, even in the isolated context of the literal survival of the community, so why is the process of deinstitutionalization seemingly more persistent in its refusal to revert this time around? Whilst the data support Oliver's general

notion that pressure must play some sort of role in the deinstitutionalization process, other factors may abound that are making the process more sustainable.

4.5.iv Other Influential Factors in the Deinstitutionalization Process

The data set suggested an initial question that asks: *What are the salient influences on the deinstitutionalization process?*

From the data set acquired, it was clear that the process of deinstitutionalization was volatile yet stagnating. Whilst there was dissipation of peripheral economic institutions, there was also some level of resilience towards these challenges and pressures on competitive economic inertia. The issue that naturally arises from this is the conundrum of identifying the underlying causes of the sustainability of an indeterminate state, where neither progression nor retraction is seen beyond semi-dissipation.

The data set indicates a tension between two phenomena. First, Scott's concept of institutional pillars (Scott, 2001) was pertinent from a 'component' perspective of deinstitutionalization and may help to explain the dogged resistance to the pressures of economic reform. The robustness of core institutions, as described in the prior section, is strongly and extensively supported by underpinning mechanisms related to pillars, as seen in *Table 5*.

Furthermore, even the economic 'dissidents' from the business community showed verbal and some non-verbal deference to the core institutions of the community. This sometimes overtly and directly contradicted their sentiments concerning business, competition and economic growth. One of the young nascent entrepreneurs, Hemant, for example, despite showing a frustration and dissatisfaction in his comments concerning private ownership, went on to say:

> *"…I like [Calle 13] very much…it is my home…it is our home…I like when we leave school, we all then work together…everyone is family and when people work it is for the benefit for everyone…there is some good from sharing everything…I like it very much…"*

I then asked him if he thought if it was possible for competitive businesses to develop under the same system of sharing out profits etc. After a long pause, he said,

"I do not know…maybe…But they are not my rules…I mean I believe in them…we are good people here and [Calle 13] is amazing…I have respect for my parents for everyone who lives [here]…but I was born here…sometimes I want to fly away, see what it is like in the outside world but it is safe here, no? Some people have left here and come back…there is no place like here…I would miss the security…the working together…but I want to start my business"

A second area that emerged from the data set is what I term 'institutional current'. I define this as **the extent to which there is a group cohesion and consensus between people in their attitude towards (a) the established institution and (b) the acceptance of the challenging institution.** It is this variable that encourages deinstitutionalization to gather momentum, thus 'offsetting', or perhaps at least weakening, the pressure that the pillars exert on reversion.

The community has always lived a precarious existence: Its literal survival owing to poverty has always been there. The core norm of collectivism ensured that historically this pressure had been dealt with collectively, for example through the small number of enterprises that were collectively started as co-operatives: The community owns them and profits are distributed across Calle 13 as a whole. As Deborah states,

"…they were started for all of us…we all agreed what we should do…there was no problems…we all just got on with it…I remember that Asad and Kayla thought we were wrong…but they left [Calle 13] *soon after…"*

Thus, in the institutional change from economic inertia to competitive economic inertia, institutional current was strong and interviews indicate the acceptance of the new institution and rejection of the old was swift, meaning that the process of deinstitutionalization was encouraged and able to proceed.

Further support for the influence of institutional current can be found by looking at the economic experiments launched within the community as a specific context of pressure of economic reform. A historical analysis of the documentation shows the failure of several experiments over a 29 year period. The data set also shows the number of community members involved with the experiments to be comparatively small. Out of a population of around a 1500, for example, 55 community members started the sphere experiment and only 25 people still participate as of 2009. Even though not direct challenges to competitive

economic inertia - i.e. the experiments do not advocate competition of any sort – they do propose economic reform.

Attitudes within the community seemed to range from apathetic to dismissive: out of 77 people asked, all showed no indication that they would like to take part, that it was a good idea or that it was even commendable. This indicates that institutional current, in this isolated failed context of institutional challenge, is weak. Harriet, for example, who is not affiliated to the business community nor the Foundation, says,

> *"...they are ridiculous...they will not achieve anything...we need to make money first...then we can talk about how we use it..."*

Parallels can be drawn with the context where young nascent entrepreneurs are challenging the core institutions, as described above. Such challenge, as indicated by Hemant, is fragmented and contradictory: Institutional current is weak and so perhaps, as a group they are not having the extensive impact that they would like.

Considering the sources of the pressure on competitive economic inertia collectively though, and in light of the individual contexts just discussed with their relation to the success or failure of the deinstitutionalization process, institutional current again does indicate that it may have some impact upon the progression of the process.

Third, whilst there is some fragmentation in the challenge towards competitive economic inertia – differing groups are leveraging differing types of pressure, with differing motivations – at its most basic, the focus is the same, i.e. that "*something has to change*".

This was a sentiment echoed throughout the wider population, including those involved with the Foundation. Out of a hundred people asked, 93 gave answers that indicated that economic change is needed. Seven people said they were not sure. Thus, the institutional current here is strong, when considering the challenge at its most basic, i.e. advocating economic reform.

In light of the previous discussion on the strength of pillars, 45 also gave responses that indicated a strong adherence to the core institutions of the community, potentially highlighting, as Hemant did, the tension between the recognition of the need for economic reform and the value placed on core institutions.

4.6 Discussion

4.6.i Key summary observations in the context of the extant literature

For reasons of continuity, I arrange the extant literature to mirror the same organization of my findings: That which concerns the role of pressure, succeeded by that which explores other factors that seem to be salient in the deinstitutionalization process.

I make two deviations: I include a discussion of Calle 13 in the wider contexts of resource competition, with legitimacy and isomorphism in a separate section towards the end. I felt that these lay in observations that are more theoretically distant to deinstitutionalization but are still clearly relevant to institutional theory. I felt, at this point, it was too early to reject these observations as irrelevant.

A further deviation lays in the literature relevant to the specific environment of Calle 13, and it is with this that I start my discussion on.

Contextual considerations

Despite the complexity in Calle 13's identity, a great deal of comparability can be made between the organization's ethos and the functions of a social movement. Thus, whilst Calle 13 is an unusual organization, it might be useful to contextualize the overall findings within some of the literature that explores the relationship between social movements and institutional change. This will help to strengthen the contributions that this case can make and stem criticisms that it is too much of an anomalistic environment to be useful to extending what we know about the theoretical dynamics of institutional change.

Two strands of research seem to have grown from the interplay of social movement theory and institutional theory and these can be seen in *Table 6* overleaf: First, research that revolves around social movements having an 'outside-in' influence, i.e. organizations become influenced by forces that initiate change.

Scott (2008) describes social movements as an agentic influence on institutional breakdown and he attests that these have been most commonly identified as *exogenous* to the organization, i.e. the biggest cohort of research forms this first 'outside-in' perspective on the

collaboration between institutional and social movement theories. This is perhaps most comparable to the time when Calle 13 was first formed, when AMCO, as the external organizational manifestation of a quasi-social movement, dictated the initial institutional set to be adopted by Calle 13.

TABLE 6

INSTITUTIONAL THEORY AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

	Exogenous Social Movements	Relationship to Calle 13
Effects…	Formation of new organizations *(Hiatt et al 2009)* Decline of old organizations not in congruence with wider societal institutions Formation of new organizational types *(Schneiberg, 2002; Schneiberg & Soule, 2005; Schneiberg et al, 2008)* Formation of new organizational landscapes *(Haveman & Rao, 1997; Haveman et al, 2007)*	At the start of Calle 13 when AMCO was most influential in providing an institutional 'off the peg' template in the face of uncertainty and ambiguity Supports institutional change having both process and agentic influences Supports contestation towards previously accepted conventions, assumptions, as a pressure for institutional change
Irrespective of (1) Stealth v. Jolt **or** **(2) Level of Analysis**	CSR *(Carroll & Shabana, 2010)* v Enron type 'crises' *(Carroll, 1999; 2008; Lee, 2008)* Industry ↑ Firm: Forces of social political structures *(Davis & Thompson, 1994)*; Forces of CSR *(Wade et al, 1998)*	- Challenge here is at a micro level, where institutions have been 'transported' via differing experiences. But pressure is ultimately exogenously embedded, i.e. from AMCO
	Endogenous Social Movements	Relationship to Calle 13
	New institutional consensus, converged from diverse and conflicting institutional sets *(Morill, 2006)* New institutional sets from internal pressure by 'valued' people *(Creed & Scully, 2000, 2005; Creed et al, 2002)*	At the point in time where Calle 13 has institutionally mutated far enough away from AMCO to be considered a social movement on its own accord Supports the contestation on Calle 13's institutions by other challenging institutions from within Calle 13, especially relating to economic strategy, i.e. pressure can be endogenously sourced
CAVEAT	**BUT…most of these examples are derived from 'justice seeking' rather than identity based groups, which may be different. E.g. Rao et al (2003) found more institutional juxtaposing in identity based groups rather than outright challenge and**	Supports the idea of 'current' and micro factors such as group size, subtlety in communication, perceived power and likeability of person/people eliciting pressure for change

Research that has focused on deinstitutionalization and social movements from this perspective is scant. However, a few do exist. Although Hiatt, Sine, and Tolbert (2009) include aspects of institutional construction in their exploration of how the Woman's Christian Temperance Union influenced entrepreneurial activity in the soft beverage industry, they also describe the social movement's instrumental contribution to the failure of breweries to survive, as described in the overall literature review chapter. Similarly, anti-corporate movements such as the Grange and Farmers Alliance put pressure on the process of corporate consolidation and encouraged the emergence of cooperatives as a protest against capitalism (Schneiberg, 2002; Schneiberg & Soule, 2005; Schneiberg, King & Smith, 2008).

Another historical example but one that focuses even more on the construction of institutions can be found in various studies that explore the influence of progressive-era movements on the increase of thrift organizations (Haveman & Rao, 1997; Haveman, Rao, & Paruchuri, 2007)

More contemporary examples can be found in the emergence of entrepreneurial activity surrounding new power energy development as a reaction to environmentalism (Sine & Lee, 2009) and the organic food movement giving rise to new methods of food manufacturing and sales (Lee, 2009).

How far social movements influence the organizational landscape seems not to be prejudiced as to whether this consists of a vociferous but gradual influence or a 'jolt'. An example of the former is found in the corporate social responsibility 'movement', arguably sharing many characteristics of social movements. Despite national differences in the propensity to undertake CSR activities (Brammer & Pavelin, 2005; Matten & Moon, 2008), the reach of this movement is arguably global (Carroll & Shabana, 2010). Its dispersion has been a gradual process but one which has culminated in corporate social responsibility policies being the norm in organizations, in many parts of the world.

However, this incremental growth in the influence of these socially embedded influences arguably culminated in intensity during the 1990s amid Enron type events, which could be described as 'jolts', invoking many institutional changes (Carroll, 1999, 2008; Lee 2008), especially surrounding corporate governance, transparency, and more overt relationships being sought with stakeholders and their wider social environments.

Most of the changes have been explored at an industry level, although examples do exist where institutional corporate social responsibility change has also been observed at the level of the firm. Davis & Thompson (1994) have explored the impact of socio-political structures on shareholder capacity, for example, whilst others have examined the mortality of enterprises and cultural adaptation in response to 'forces' of corporate social responsibility and demands of ethical conduct exogenous to the organization (Wade, Swaminathan, & Saxon, 1998.)

What this first perspective of research that focuses on an 'outside-in' influence does is to indicate support for the findings from the data set of Calle 13 in that deinstitutionalization is a process as well having clear agentic influences. In all the studies examined from the extant literature base there was strong evidence of there being interplay between contestation as a pressure with previously accepted conventions. This constituted a sequence of events. Although the main focus of the studies explored was that of institutional construction, I argue that, by default, it is reasonable to assume that there was the same extent of process in deinstitutionalization.

Simultaneously though, this research set also indicated support for there being specific components or instigators of change, as manifestations of pressure, i.e. that which constitute more agentic influences. Clemens (1993, 1997), for example, describes the influence of large interest groups, as social movements, having an impact on American polity. However, she demonstrates that this influence was invoked by tangible and clear agents such as clubs, cooperatives, and fraternities.

The Calle 13 data set intimated both structural and agentic influences on the institutional landscape of the community: A phenomenon supported by the social movement literature collectively but also explicitly by more recent literature that argues for both. Heugens & Lander (2009) for example, identify a large amount of evidence for both structure and agency but extend their findings from their meta-analysis to suggest that both can co-exist alongside each other within the same organization or industry setting.

The second perspective that explores the interplay between social movements and institutional theory revolves around social movements from *within* organizations. This body of literature is especially pertinent to the more recent timings of deinstitutionalization within Calle 13, where differing economic ideals were leveraged that simultaneously challenged and used existing channels to present alternative economic activities.

In this context it is easy to extrapolate from the Calle 13 data collected that the champions of the more capitalist orientated, free market driven 'solution' to the economic decline of the community formed a 'mini social movement'. Morill (2006), for example, indicated as such with research on alternative dispute resolution (ADR) where professionals from many different fields and representing various institutional sets, converged to procure a new set of institutions specifically for ADR. Eventually thorough dissemination, ADR was more specifically coded and became incorporated into a wider societal legal framework.

Several studies looking at social movements from this perspective could add support to Calle 13's economic challenge, especially in terms of its developmental stagnation. Scully, working with multiple colleagues, demonstrates the intricacies of strategic manoeuvring of gay rights activists within their workplaces. Strategies were tri-pronged and revolved around a simultaneous leveraging of 'coming out' narrative, behaviour that negated gay, lesbian and bisexual stereotypes, and a continuous adherence to general 'good practice' expectations of 'good employees'. Thus, employees were able to use their status as 'good employees' to gain legitimacy, which became a vehicle to change institutions around gay, lesbian and bisexuals in the workplace (Creed & Scully, 2000; Creed, Scully & Austin, 2002; Scully & Segal, 2002; Creed & Scully, 2005).

Legitimacy for the mostly young members of Calle 13 who presented an alternative economic structure for consideration, did not exercise nearly the same amount of subtly as the participants in Creed and colleagues' studies. The narrative presented by the traditionalists of Calle 13 was that this contesting group was deviant and naïve, owing to their comparative youth, i.e. they did not share the same status as the 'good employees' of the organization as the participants did in Creed and colleagues' research. In addition, the language used by Calle 13's challenging group was enthusiastic for change but lacked the subtlety and strategic nature of Creed and colleagues' participants. Thus, it could mean that Calle 13 has stagnated in its economic reform owing to the 'dissidents' not utilizing the current dominant institutional framework to expound and drive forward change.

The raison d'être of most of the social movements that are explored as contextual bases for institutional change is 'justice seeking', i.e. they exist to champion a cause. Research has distinguished between this genre and identity based groups. (Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003),

for example, explore two competing institutions of nouvelle and classic cuisine in French gastronomy.

Although much less frequently examined, this latter mode subsists for the purpose of seeking autonomy and as a manifestation of their self-expression (Armstrong, 2002), which Calle 13 clearly identifies with.

Yet, whilst this distinction could superficially be useful to aid a more similar comparison between relevant literature and Calle 13, a fundamental problem still exists when social movement research is compared to Calle 13. This problem revolves around the complexity of Calle 13, especially in light of how the process of institutional mutation played out at the start of the community compared to the more economically orientated challenges facing the community more recently. Taken together Calle 13's complexity is substantiated when it is compared to the quite distinctive types of orientation that social movements have been shown to have from the extant literature base, in relation to the organization.

The institutional construction of Calle 13 was a complex process for many different reasons. As described in the first part of this chapter, AMCO provided the legitimacy for the rise of Calle 13 as an (eventual) autonomous entity. From this perspective the literature on social movements from *within* organizations and institutional change is supportive to how AMCO initially provided the institutional framework that enabled a legitimate 'mutation' to take place in how Calle 13 progressed and changed its institutional landscape. i.e. Calle 13 was able to engage in a process of institutional change by working within AMCO to enable changes legitimate and acceptable.

Simultaneous to this relatively simple argument though is the more complex issue of the role of norms and values being 'imported' or transferred to the community by the newcomers at the initiation of the community.

The complexity of this potential influence on the institutional landscape of the community hinges on the conceptual argument of whether institutions are transferable on an individual and cognitive basis. When a person joins an organization as an employee, they may bring with them norms and values from their previous organization that are alternative to their new place of work. Are these institutions? Theoretically there may be support for this notion if an abstract and high level definition of institutions is used. But it may mean that the definition

used to enable the inclusion of this scenario into an institutional argument is too 'loose' to be of any practical use. The conceptual side of this problem has been noted by David and Bitektine (2009) who, with their comments on the fragmentation of institutional theory, build on concerns from Tolbert and Zucker (1996) on, amongst others, the non-consensus in variables.

Undoubtedly, supporting and conflicting research can be found on this issue. Literature on 'organizational forgetting' (De Holan & Philips, 2006, for example) may offer an organization level of analysis but the issue raised concerns with *individual* forgetting and I posit that the unit of analysis is crucial. Thus, literature sets from cognitive psychology would probably contribute more to understanding how forgetting occurs but is so far removed from institutional theory, especially in a social movement milieu, its value in this context is questioned.

At the same time, the social movement literature that explores their evolvement from within the organization is supportive of the latter phases of institutional change within Calle 13, i.e. those which refer to the economic challenges apparent.

However, other facets of Calle 13 make the organization less of a 'clean fit' with this specific literature set. There are also benefits to be drawn from exploring the literature on exogenous social movements having an impact on organizations. AMCO still exists as an external (but somewhat more distant) force and the complex institutional relationship between enterprises and Calle 13 as the wider organizational context also questions the fit.

I suggest that it is essential to consider the wider environmental context of the organization, which, in this case, is clearly defined as having its driving ideology styled around a social movement. However, with the institutional complexity of the case, especially in terms of the dynamics between change and the drivers of change, I also posit that an alternative, but related, literature set be explored in response to the identification of 'pressure' as a key phenomenon of the case.

Pressure

As indicated, pressure seems to be a pivotal factor within this case both as an instigator of change as well as a perpetuator. One of the most promising lenses from which to view the interplay between pressure and institutional change is using the framework posited by Oliver

(1992) – a theoretical framework which I have mentioned several times throughout this project thus far, and at this point it salient to introduce her framework in more details.

Oliver's 1992 paper ostensibly describes antecedents to the process of deinstitutionalization that she summarizes in her model overleaf (*Figure 20*).

This was the first model to challenge the idea of institutional stability being the norm, and in that respect, builds upon Zucker's long-standing position of institutional stagnation being the exception rather than the rule (Zucker, 1988).

FIGURE 20

OLIVER'S MODEL (1992)

Aston University

Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

Source: Oliver (1992: 567)

Despite Oliver's model giving the impression of being overly succinct in her suggestions concerning the antecedents of deinstitutionalization, it does give a starting point in considering the role of pressure in this process and thus, in light of the context of the data elicited in this first case, an anchor for further discussion.

Oliver incorporates both endogenous and exogenous manifestations of the three types of pressure that she identifies, as illustrated in her summary in *Table7*.

TABLE 7

Source: Oliver (1992: 567)

Thus, within the organization *political* pressure might include concerns for current performance levels to be lacking to the point of crisis, in addition to the possibility of the interests and vision of employees not in harmony with the existing conditions under which the organization is placed. Exogenous to the organization, there may be pressure from the organization's competitors to innovate in order to gain a competitive advantage. In addition, Oliver identifies that there may be a reduction in the extent to which aspects of institutions have dictated the processes and structures which the organization has adopted, especially in terms of a change in resource dependency.

Overall political pressure occurs when the power bases that support the institutions adjust or there is a shift in the interests of those that hold power and/or influence. The issue of power is one which procured an ethical dilemma during time spent within Calle 13 – discussed in the next chapter – with regards to the use of the data generated along shifting power bases and structures of the community.

Functional pressures are also manifested at both organizational and environmental levels. Within the organization a functional pressure is primarily exerted when the utility of the institutionalized practice is questioned as to its ability to meet the organization's goals. In other words, the accepted practices – perhaps even represented as traditions – are no longer well matched to the demands of the organization's aims but also in terms of its economic performance. An example of this from the extant literature base can be found from the findings of Kraatz and Zajac (1996). Although their study represents a critique of isomorphism pertaining to institutional theory, they illustrate that consumer demand – as a

manifestation of functional pressure – can procure changes in the organizations from which they purchase.

In the wider environment, functional pressure may reflect resource pressures, either because of new entrants to the market, or because of a declining availability of resources. This effectively puts pressure on the organization to rethink previously accepted institutionalized practices that were 'enough' to gain adequate resources to meet demands. It is quite easy to see how the role of crises also contributes here.

This type of pressure is especially evident towards more recent developments within Calle 13 when economic institutions were being challenged most vociferously owing to the critical financial sickness of the community. In this time period of deinstitutionalization the utility of economic apathy and (later) economic inefficiency is challenged via its detrimental effect on the 'health' of Calle 13 as a whole. As the brand of Calle 13 rises, leveraged by an increased visibility of its internal enterprises and a comprehensive website of the organization as a whole, consumer demand for its products increases, challenging the climate of economic apathy and capitalist rejection.

Social pressures occupy a slightly different basal position compared to the other two pressures. Functional and political pressures, Oliver argues, require members of the organization to consciously initiate change, to reject and discard specific institutionalized practices. By contrast, social pressures exogenous to the organization may explain the circumstances when organizations change neither proactively nor with specific intent in terms of discarding institutional practices.

Oliver (1992) phrases the social pressures that she identifies within organizations as changes in the 'social consensus'. In particular she focuses on fragmentation and discord in the culture of organizations, via issues such as increased employee turnover or succession, and mergers. She suggests that cultural organizational norms break down and the socialization process for 'new' employees is weak because of this but only as a 'by-product', i.e. fragmentation in cultural norms is not the intention of the organization but is brought about as a secondary effect, as is, for example, historical discontinuity.

External to the organization, Oliver cites the example of how institutions may change within the field which the organization is operating in as well as changes in external governance structures that may prevent the institutionalized behaviour of the firm on a legal basis.

Although a starting point to consider the role of pressure there are some concerns over Oliver's theory, not least because her model seems to be a little too generic and broad. Yet, she makes great use of referencing a range of extant research to increase the validity of her model, including heavy weight institutional academics such as DiMaggio, Scott, and Meyer (DiMaggio, 1988; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Scott, 1987; Meyer & Scott, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Meyer & Rowan, 1983; Meyer, Scott & Deal, 1981), consistently throughout discussing the three pressures as antecedents to deinstitutionalization.

She also expands upon the three pressures that she states and discusses more examples of how the pressure could manifest themselves as 'empirical indicators', as indicated in her table overleaf (*Table 8*).

TABLE 8

OLIVER'S EMPIRICAL INDICATORS (1992)

Aston University

Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

Source: Oliver, (1992: 579)

Yet, as it stands, Oliver's model seems to be too extensive in its reach. Taking one example where she discusses "conflicting internal interests": As Oliver discusses, a state of non-consensus could emerge from an increase in staff turnover. New people with differing experiences of alternative firms, work cultures and organizational processes bring these with

them to a new workplace potentially challenging the institutional environment: In effect new employees provide potential disruption to the organization's institutional status quo.

Yet, several factors may also be at play here that could realistically manipulate Oliver's prescribed effects: Firm size, for example. I discuss further criticisms of Oliver's model in the discussion chapter but also as they become salient along the trajectory of this project, However, there is an important caveat to add to the above and forthcoming criticisms on Oliver's model: The model itself is almost twenty years old at the time of writing and much of the criticism that I discuss stems from subsequent research that illuminates weakness. Thus, it is important to state my perceptions of Oliver's model being weak in the *context of a more recent timeframe* in two main ways:

First, as it stands, I suggest its principles over-reach – it seems to encompass everything and anything as a potential antecedent to deinstitutionalization. "Dissonant events and data" (Oliver, 1992: 579) for example, has an arguably too wide a scope in meaning. Although she discusses the macro-framework with much conviction and supports her ideas with solid, fundamental institutional research, there is little detail that would address the lack of contextualization of her framework.

A plethora of factors could be relevant here for both of Oliver's identified levels of analysis, i.e. within the organization and at a more exogenous environmental level: Power structures; size and type of firm – large corporations versus family based SMEs; type of culture; international dimensions; type, longevity and 'distance' of a external crisis; industry type, and so on.

Second, there is rigidity in the framework that suggests a one way flow to the process of deinstitutionalization. Without questioning this, Oliver seems to be suggesting that this is a given. How does the differing 'catalytic' pressures that she argues at the forefront of the model transfer into inertial or entropic pressures, for example? It seems feasible to suggest that the over-simplicity of the model overlooks the possibility of a more dynamic flow along the process.

Nevertheless, there are many strengths to Oliver's model. I suggest that one of the main contributions that she makes is, with some irony, through the simplicity of her model. The notion of pressure is logical to the point of being almost obvious. Her model was the first to

challenge the idea that institutions are robust and stable to the extent of being infallible and immoveable. The feasibility of her suggestions give credence to her challenge to the dominant institutional stability framework at the time.

Oliver (1992) also makes further contributions more generally to the 'character' of deinstitutionalization: She argues that the process may be carried out by organizations on a passive or pro-active basis and she seems to link this to the type of pressure exerting itself on the organization. She also distinguished between the sources of externally or internally induced pressures.

The idea that a state of flux, or disequilibrium, which may catalyze a process of dissipation and, sequentially, deinstitutionalization, as Oliver (1992) suggests, has procured some interesting work that has identified stages in this process, which more than not frequently occurs gradually over a long period of time (Ahmadjian & Robinson, 2001; Robinson, 1985).

Again this pressure is seen as being especially prevalent in more recent times within Calle 13, where the over-riding ideological drivers of the community, i.e. the norms that exist to govern all aspects of both economic and non-economic life within the community, are challenged.

In presenting these three pressures, which sometimes operate independently, on occasion in synergy, Oliver posits an important preliminary foundation for the study of how deinstitutionalization is procured. The distinct difference between the findings of this study and Oliver's model though revolve around three differing points.

The first point refers to the consideration previously raised as to whether the initial changes in Calle 13, i.e. at the initiation and start of the community where people 'transferred' previous norms and values from prior experienced contexts, involved institutional change. If this is accepted as institutional change and, thus, with the dissolving of prior norms at cognitive and behavioural levels, then a new type of pressure is in evidence: *Ethical* or *Philosophical pressure*. Many newcomers spoke of the need to 'do the right thing' and this need existed on the basis of internalized drivers rather than those exogenous to individuals. This may support the small but growing demands from theorists to explore institutional theory at a micro level where individual experience may play a part in understanding how institutions are transferred or change.

Second, the pressure that was seen in Calle 13 was manifested in a more dynamic capability than Oliver asserts. Oliver implies that pressure has a catalytic function to change: It exists at the start of institutional change and then the specific types – political, functional, and social – are transformed into either entropy or inertia. The data set from Calle 13 indicates that pressure has a more interactive and dynamic relationship with institutional change. The differing types mingle with each other and exist along the chain of deinstitutionalization.

Third, Oliver's model provides a high level model of how deinstitutionalization occurs. However, the data set of Calle 13 revealed an equal emphasis on the under-pinning processes of deinstitutionalization.

Much of the scant literature on deinstitutionalization has been grounded within the change literature but these have also focused on high level change per se rather than the actual strategies and components that interplay to bring about the complete replacement of one set of norms with another. Thus, it is difficult to enfold extant literature beyond the following discussion without it impinging on the validity of the study.

Other influencing factors on the deinstitutionalization process

Little research has been explicitly carried out into the underpinning micro processes of deinstitutionalization.

This forces a broader consideration of the conceptual areas in the extant literature but this presents its own problems: The validity and value added that is aimed for by enfolding the literature into my findings is weakened by the much looser associations between the literature areas and deinstitutionalization. Thus at this point, I suggest possible salient areas that can be compared to trends in subsequent cases, which will address the problems of potential areas being idiosyncratically related to this case.

The benefits of adopting a 'pillar' approach to exploring aspects of institution theory was outlined in the overall literature review chapter. Scott's 'schematic framework, comes in useful for this case owing to the breadth of manifestations and supporting mechanisms of the institutions within Calle 13. This case offers specific insights into the role that pillars can potentially play in the deinstitutionalization process, in particular with regard to some of the micro-processes and factors that seemed apparent. Although there is no literature that overtly explores pillars in relation to the deinstitutionalization process, a number of observations from

Calle 13 indicate that 'pillar activity' could play an important role in deinstitutionalization and, in particular, resistance against the process. Thus in this respect, Scott's conceptual approach, as discussed in the previous chapter that focuses on a literature review, is a useful tool of comparison.

Evidence from the data set indicates that, within the community, members played an intrinsic part in the creation of the physical manifestations of the institutions of AMCO that first influenced the creation of the community as a literal entity. Via active participation, argument, and dialogue, the manifestations were created, built and established by a process that involved newcomer participation at every stage. The active community member involvement perhaps procured robustness in the overall institutional framework that pivots around the driving ideology of the community. i.e. through participation in the construction of the manifestations of the institutional framework procures the ultimate sense of ownership, or, what I posit as '*connected buy-in'*. Thus, a challenge to institutions equates to a challenge to the self. In essence, individuals who have been directly involved in the formation of institutions and their supporting mechanisms or pillars seem to be more likely to more robustly defend them.

This would also explain the similar levels of belief in neo-economic reforms by enterprise 'owners'. In an institutional sense, the enterprises contribute to the existence of an opposing and challenging set of institutions: robust perhaps because of the same principle of institutional ownership via active buy-in and literal creation. The occasional simultaneous deference to the importance of the overall institutional framework indicates the robustness of this potentially conflicting set of ideals.

However, the favouring of the institutional set pertaining to economic reform as the preferred framework can perhaps be explained by community enterprise 'owners' having had more active involvement in the creation of the physical manifestations, i.e. the enterprises themselves, of the economic orientated institutional set. In comparison, enterprise owners have had a more diluted involvement with the creation of the physical manifestations of the overall institutional framework of the community. For example, not one enterprise 'owner' is an original new-comer and their only involvement in the creation of artifacts and other manifestations of the overall ideology of the community has occurred in a more passive sense, such as contributing money towards the building of a new visitors' centre.

Both scenarios indicate that because of the high level of personal buy-in they are more likely to be defended.

The literature set most pertinent to this idea can be found within social psychology, more specifically that which explores the issue of social identity theory and the concept of 'in-groups' and 'out-groups' (Tajfel, 1970, 1974). The gist of this concept is that an individual is more likely to defend the group in which they are identified, its norms, practices and values, and other members of the group because the group comes to represent, at a cognitive level, the individual's identity. Tajfel (1970, 1974) argues that because the individual's self-identity becomes inextricably woven into the fabric of the group's identity, to attack the group is to attack themselves. Thus, to preserve his or her self-esteem steps are taken to defend the group, characteristics and other members as robustly as possible.

This phenomenon was seen in the data set of Calle 13. One of the ways in which to increase the level of submergence of someone into a group's identity is to increase their level of personal activity and engagement with shaping the institutional framework of the group. Active pillar creation would equate to this.

In relation to the deinstitutionalization process in Calle 13, the concepts of social identity theory support the idea that the extent of connected buy-in, via the level of participation in pillar creation, could serve theoretically to simultaneously explain the initial process of deinstitutionalization at the start of the community and the stagnation of the process at the later point in time, i.e. that pertaining to economic reform.

Suspending the argument on whether the notion of cognitively 'transferred' norms and behavioural frameworks does in fact constitute institutions per se, and their dissolving or mutation equates to institutional change, it is possible that the deinstitutionalization process occurred quickly at the initiation of the community, owing to individuals' extensive participation in the manifestations of the overriding institutions and pillars. Several points, relating to group identity, indicate this.

First, aspects of the newcomers' characteristics procured a strong group identity: The nationality base of the group was highly fragmented, with no one dominant country represented. Interviews also indicate that the power base of the group was equally fragmented. At the same time, there were shared characteristics that revolved around a common sense of a

need to 'do the right thing', as described previously as an *ethically* or *philosophically* orientated pressure. There was a common embracing of the ideals of experimentation and creation. These characteristics both forced and encouraged the group to build a new identity, based on their shared values and which were encouraged by a compatibility with the institutional drivers of AMCO. In addition, the group's boundaries were also solidified by the physical differences between the group and the people of the surrounding villages.

Thus, in terms of structuration, the climate of the group identity was conducive for the germination of a strong institutional framework. However, the extensive connected buy-in to the formation of the supporting pillars to the institutional set may have expedited the dissolution of existing norms and values, i.e. the pillars strengthen and bring a personal connection to the new institutional set for community members but they also provide an explicit, tangible and easily accessible set of institutions as a viable and attractive alternative.

This is supported by comparing the characteristics of the group identity, pillar formation and other pertinent characteristics of more recent events of institutional challenge. As the data indicates in the findings section, the direction of more contemporary challenge to the institutional climate is much more in flux: The overall process of change is characterized by the tension between economic reform and the preservation of the original ideologically orientated institutions, and thus, whilst unstable, is almost at stalemate.

Applying the same framework of analysis from a social psychological perspective, more recent stagnation in its deinstitutionalization activity may be supported in the evidential dynamics between pillar involvement, group strength and identity: The community has diverged into those who support economic reform and those which see this as a betrayal against the over-riding ideologically orientated institutions of the community.

Both groups at this point in time suffer from a number of competing tensions. In terms of the pro-economic reform group, these tensions are especially complex and multiple in number. The enterprises were born from a number of differing motivations that reflect both individualistic and collective drivers. The collectivist orientated drivers – starting enterprises with the prime motivation to be of benefit of the community – is partially aligned with the ideologically orientated institutions of the community as a whole. Even individualistic drivers are partially off-set by the community's commercial structure of no private ownership being allowed: each enterprise, despite being independently initiated and managed by a person, is

still essentially owned by the community as a whole and this is further reflected in the taxation and profit distribution structures in evidence.

In terms of connected cognitive buy-in to pillar formation, the group indicates a stronger collective activity to the institution formation of its subgroup, rather than any connected buy-in to the community's institutions. This connected buy-in is also encouraged by positive feedback that was seen in evidence in both direct and in more subtle forms. Visitors buying the produce of small enterprises contributes towards feelings of self-worth and value, for example, as well as the realization that monies produced was ultimately moving the community towards sustainability.

However, the boundaries of the two groups are also blurred and this may help to explain the pattern of 'moveable stagnation', where over a period of time the community changes its stance towards the acceptability of economic reform: sometimes more positive and thus the process of deinstitutionalization progresses but then reverts back some time latter. This intimates power issues[8].

The extant literature base on group identity and conflict support this phenomenon. In essence, each group has an interest in the opposing group. The economic reformists are connected to the wider community on a multitude of levels: in a geographical sense and in a behavioral capacity, group members live and work under the overall institutions of the community. As business owners and workers they contribute a high percentage of their profits to the community as a whole: They understand and operate their businesses under the fiscal and ideological arrangements impinged by the wider regulatory framework of the community.

Conversely, traditionalists who oppose economic reform are able to see, on a purely practical level, the absolute need for economic reform of some sort if the sustainability of Calle 13 is to ensue. The wider community, including the traditionalists, relies on the fiscal contributions that the enterprises make.

Again, it is difficult to enfold extant literature to my findings owing to the lack of directly applicable research and the questionable relevance of research indirectly and tentatively linked to the findings. But the research set relating to institutional current could potentially be linked to the thinking surrounding group identity and group conflict.

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[8] Not discussed here owing to ethical issues of using withdrawn data but discussed conceptually in Appendix D.

In principle, the current was very different between the two differing time periods of deinstitutionalization. At the start of the community, the institutional current was strong. Despite 'superficial bickering' and discussion, the fundamental motivations for participation in the community, in the formation of the institutional landscape and its supporting pillars were common to all group members. Thus, the breakdown and abandonment of prior institutions was a process that was unequivocally supported overtly by the community as a whole, and covertly by the extensive and continuous collective buy-in of the institutional status quo: i.e. the current was strong, ebbing away any conflicting remaining institutions brought on an individual basis.

The later time period of deinstitutionalization reflects a weaker current, characterized by conflicting institutional sets, both of which have established a power base.

Calle 13 has suffered from a lack of resources throughout its development as a community. Aside from the interest and personal motivating factors for starting enterprises, there was a clear awareness across the community of the financial problems that Calle 13 was enduring and that there was a serious issue of long-term economic sustainability.

The literature on competition for resources is relevant here but again in a very loose context. The literature body mainly focuses on when there is a scarcity of resources. When resources dwindle, competition is stimulated. A purely economics based analysis of Calle 13 is less relevant here, owing to the lack of direct competition from other organizations for the same resources. A more ecologically based framework of competition may be more useful.

Within this framework, the competition is intraspecific, i.e. each member of the species is competing for natural resources of food, water, and so on. The difficult physical environment of Calle 13 and its lack of an extensive social security benefits system, for example, means that each member of the community is theoretically competing for the natural resources in the environment, i.e. land which can be cultivated, food, and so on, to literally survive.

Pillar activity (and 'buy-in') and institutional current were found to be key in understanding the deinstitutionalization process in Calle 13, both as potential instigators and preventers. Other factors relating to the prevention of deinstitutionalization as discussed in the overall literature review at the beginning of this project, were in evidence but these contributed towards the robustness of institutions and the current.

As noted previously, examples of total deinstitutionalization where there is a complete abandonment of practices are rare. The concept of 'remnants' is not appropriate to discuss in the context of this study owing first to the contentious issue of whether the transference of norms and values by individuals from one existence to another concerns change in an institutional context. Second, there are methodological problems surrounding the determination of institutional change on an individual basis: one of the key drivers of good practice in grounded theory is the ability to verify, from differing sources, constructs and ideas. Third, in terms of the second instance of deinstitutionalization, the process was not sufficiently advanced to explore the concept of remnants.

4.6.ii Wider reflections on institutional theory

In terms of general observations on institutional theory as seen in this first case and as related to the extant literature base, interesting phenomena were seen surrounding resource competition and the relationship between legitimization and isomorphism.

Resource competition

The economic state of the organization is in desperate need of reform to ensure sustainability, in the context of survival continuity: Economic failure would also equate to the social sustainability of the community as a whole: In the event of failure, the community would be disbanded.

Thus, the community is in a precarious position in terms of resource access and utilization. The natural environment's relationship with external funding parties situates the community in a wider environment of scare resources. The possibility of overall failure is also entertained as a conscious awareness by the self-perpetuated identity of the community as an 'experiment in human unity', i.e. the connotations of the term 'experiment' are that it may succeed but it also may fail.

Within the community, a possibility is that the traditionalists or 'purists' see the economic reformists as making a challenge to the sustainability of the community as a whole, via the perceived challenge to the fundamental ideological drivers and institutions of Calle 13.

The drive to start enterprises that are much more dissociated with the overall ideological drivers of the community can be seen, at very superficial level, to be in line with resource competition theory, i.e. the boundaries of the community dictate that the resources for sustainability are derived from within the community only and are finite, and thus, competition is internally based. Community members starting businesses and making challenges to the institutional status quo are doing so according to evolutionary principles: A limited number of resources mean that only the 'fittest' will survive. In the context of Calle 13, ceteris paribus, this equates to people with the skills and attributes needed to start up sustainable enterprises.

The problem arises when a more fundamental analysis is made of the context, which emphasizes a conflict between the extant literature on resource competition and the phenomena in Calle 13, owing to the complexity in the latter's motivational drivers, which in terms of small business owners are complex and in many respects are unclear.

Small enterprise owners and nascent entrepreneurs could be said to be rejecting the overall institutional forces of the community as so to maximize their access to the finite number of resources within the community. By doing this they advocate economic reform but their motivations were mixed: Sometimes overt contradictions were made by the same participant as to their impetus.

As a group, it was clear that they still valued the community as a whole and the ideology behind Calle 13. Ecological principles of evolutionary forces at work in competing for resources where some members of the species are successful at the expense of others were not seen pan-community. This framework of explanation is damaged in its value by the type of new economic structures most often advocated by the reformists. A rejection of the current economic structure and criticism levied at the internal council and its policies was seen, but not to the extent of advocating a complete fiscal and policy separation between enterprise and the wider community.

There was evidence to suggest that core principles such as 'no private ownership' and taxation on the enterprises could still be accommodated within the economic reform advocated by the reformists, thus undermining the value of competition theory. In this framework, enterprises are still ultimately generating resources for the community as a whole. The finite current resources are 'worked' and 'invested' at a pan-community level, rather than

being competed for by differing and individual members of the community on a hyper-competitive basis for personal survival.

Legitimacy and Isomorphism

There was evidence of enterprises seeking legitimacy in their establishment. Although vociferous in their calls for economic change, this was still expressed within the wider institutional framework of the community, demonstrating a process of change from within. Parallels can also be seen here with the community as a whole seeking legitimacy from AMCO. In both cases, change is sought but as a process it is leveraged from within existing (and more powerful) institutional frameworks, to instigate institutional mutation rather than radical difference.

The literature set indicates that the natural partner with legitimacy is isomorphism. The phenomenon of disruptive behaviour and deviants within economic markets aside, the crux of this argument is that enterprises seek legitimacy by acting within existing institutional frameworks. This causes an isomorphism in the enterprise as the same institutions exist at an industry or societal level influencing players and potential players equally.

The principles of this conceptual chain were seen in Calle 13 but only partially. Legitimacy was seen quite strongly. This is perhaps unsurprising as the overall institutions of the community were omnipresent: As the earlier part of this case describes, no real distinction exists between social, family and economic spheres of life with institutions existing on a 24 hour continuous basis, indicating a consistency and depth in the extent to which they are embedded. Thus, the identity that community members had as enterprise initiators and workers was, in many ways seamless with that of their identity as a social being within Calle 13, with both (and other) identities being influenced by the higher institutions of the community.

This would suggest a high degree of isomorphism in entrepreneurial activity, especially in light of the strong conceptual, geographical and cultural boundaries of the community, i.e. in theory there was little to weaken the institutional framework in the guise of competing institutions.

However, isomorphism was only seen in part. Data are not complete, as some of organizations and projects within the community denied access. Yet, diversity was clearly in

evidence. Types of productivity were varied. For example, invention orientated enterprises and projects such as solar cookers for the home (see *Figure 21* below), electric bicycles, seed storage and propagation, and craft orientated enterprises that levied a high degree of variation in not just product but the purpose of the activity.

FIGURE 21

SUSTAINABLE COOKER (DOCUMENT REVIEW)

Figure 21. A prototype of a solar cooker, designed for domestic use. The solar panel can be tilted to best capture the sun's rays. Experimentation is also being carried out to automatically mechanize the tilt, which itself is powered from solar energy produced by each individual cooker.

Although, as a formal requirement, all enterprises operate under the premise of being owned collectively by the community, there was also diversity in the extent to which this was reflected in the overall strategies of the enterprises. Some organizations chose to actively incorporate a high degree of community involvement in their strategy, overtly propagating a 'collectivity' that went beyond the primitive internal marketing that they leveraged. For example, the stocking of only community produced vegetables and fruit, at the expense of not being able to provide a continuous choice to consumers. Some chose the opposite strategy of choosing to supplement community based produce with externally sourced provisions. Businesses also differed in their structure, with some operating a flat structure, others operating more of a hierarchical organization.

Paradoxically, the diversity in enterprise activity could be still be explained by the high level institutions of the community. Values such as 'experimentation', 'difference', 'creativity', and 'not being afraid to fail' are core to the community as a whole. Although high level, these are reinforced to the community on a daily basis. For example, extensive visible manifestations can be found in the architecture of the community, where differing styles of buildings that offer visions of extreme creativity are juxtaposed to each other.

4.7 Conclusions

4.7.i Summary of contributions of Case One to deinstitutionalization.

The main observations, as depicted in *Figure 22* overleaf, from the raw data were arranged across several themes that were driven by the data set. These themes were then grouped loosely.

I emphasize that themes at this point should be considered flexible and 'fuzzy' in their scope. The potential overlap between themes is intentional. I also make no indication of how the themes could relate to one another – either in a flat or hierarchical structure, for example. In *Figure 23* I map out how these themes could relate to deinstitutionalization both as a process and as a collection of components.

The combined process of induction and deduction that I invoked, has enabled the themes and the grouping of the themes to be extensively embedded in and driven by the data set of the case. Yet it is important to approach the organization and summary of the findings as a series of *potential* contribution to the overall theory within the project as a whole. Maintaining theoretical flexibility at this point is paramount.

FIGURE 22

ORGANIZATION OF DATA ACROSS THEMES
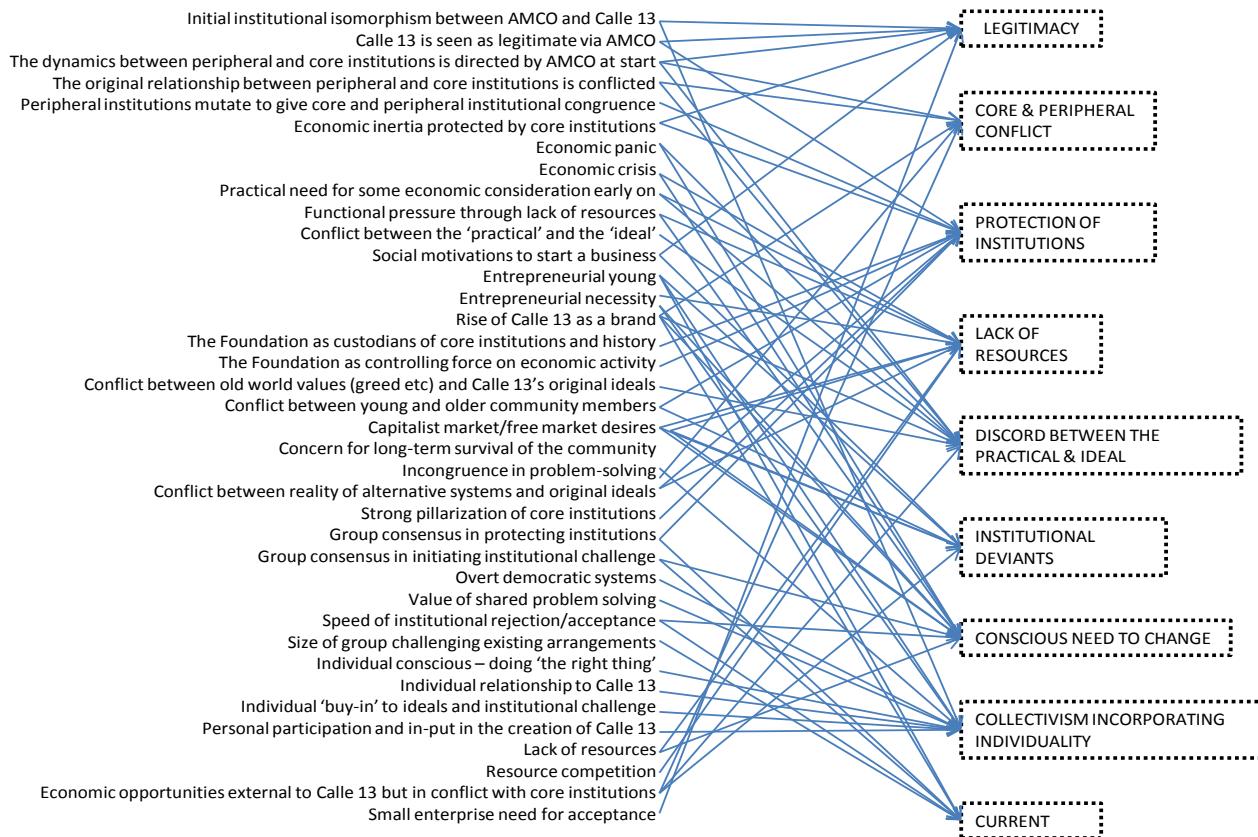
FIGURE 23

COLLAPSING OF THEMES INTO 2ND AND 3RD ORDER LEVELS
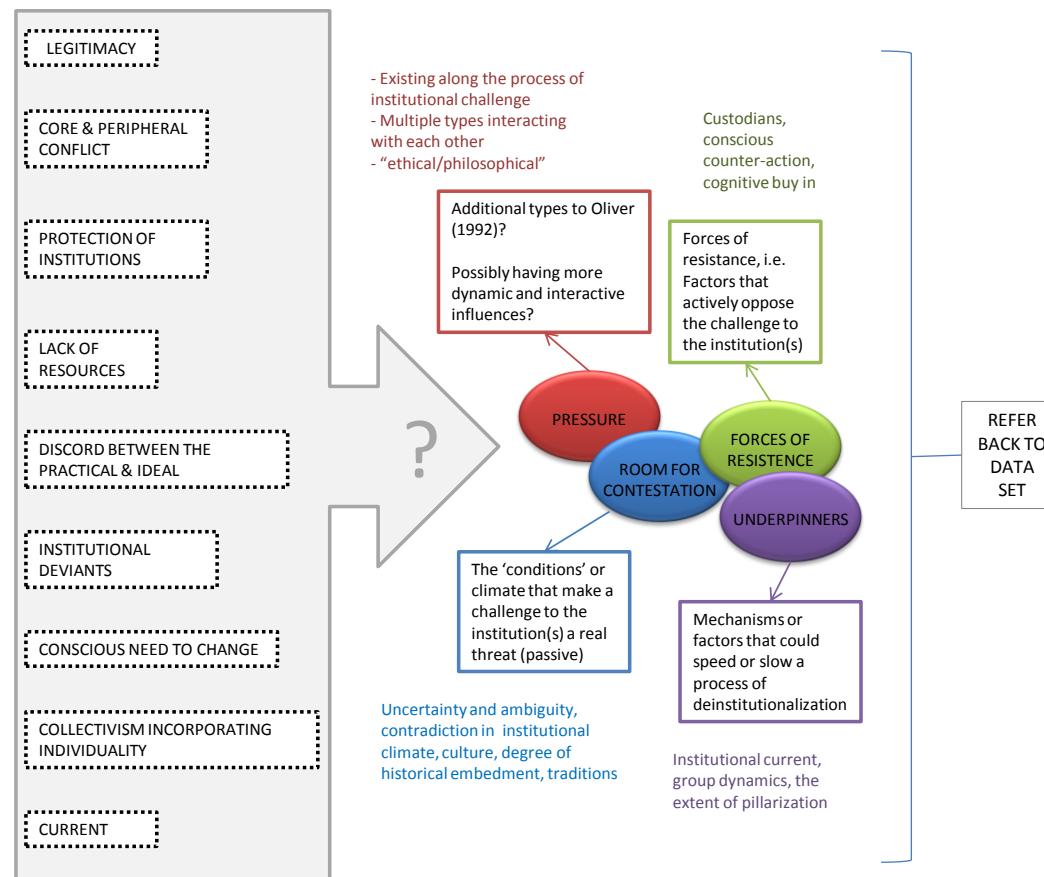
In summary, the following observations are what I take with me into the next case study:

- The specific contextual environment, as a social movement, may be important. Further cases may be theoretically sampled to reflect this.

- Pressure is a key finding robustly embedded in the data. It is reflected in this case as being multi-dimensional and dynamic, i.e. it does not just have a catalytic function but seems to be present along the process of deinstitutionalization.

  Two further observations are made: That there may be more types of pressure than were defined by Oliver (1992) and that these different types may interact with each other.

- There seem to be different micro-processes that underpin a process of deinstitutionalization revolving around both institutional 'challengers' and institutional 'reinforcers'.

4.7.ii Methodological Implications for Case Two

Whilst mechanisms such as continuous self-questioning and 'making the familiar strange' (Spindler & Spindler, 1982) were invoked during the data collection and analytic phases of the case, the limitations of the case remain.

What is paramount to these limitations is the potential influence that they could have on subsequent cases. The problems equate to 'building on shifting sands', i.e. this first case forms the foundations of the eventual theory from subsequent cases.

From the point at which I decided on a multiple case study strategy, I saw the cases existing in a sequential relationship as a given. The use of case studies in grounded theory is well documented and Yin's argument that each case should be theoretically sampled to serve the purpose of repetition, extension or contrast also implies some sort of sequential process (Yin, 1994). Thus, from the point at which I had decided on a multiple case strategy, my approach to the second case was embedded in an assumption that it would build upon the findings of the first case (in the same way that case three would build upon the prior two cases and so on). This assumption continued throughout my preparation for my first case study and whilst in the field itself.

It became clear to me during the final stages of the analytical phases of the first case that the methodological limitations could be addressed to some extent in two ways simultaneously, one practically based and the other more psychological in basis.

First, I suspended my overt analysis of case one not far from its conclusions. In reality, when I came out of the field, my analysis slowed and was punctuated by longer periods of reflection, where I played around with the constructs on a conceptual level, before returning to the data set for simultaneous verification and refutation. At the point at which I realized the potential influence of tangible construct establishment could have on the second case, especially in the context of case one being a highly unusual environment and there being limited scope in the directly comparative literature, owing to its scarcity, I stopped. I posit that it is not possible to 'unlearn' ideas, constructs, relationships, and so on, which start to emerge at a cognitive level at soon as the field is entered. Yet, stopping prematurely of reaching concrete and definitive constructs enabled me to enter case two with only vague ideas of how deinstitutionalization worked in practice: The theoretical benefits of this being that the life force of the principle of 'emergence' could be extended further along the case sequence.

Secondly, and simultaneous to the more practically orientated strategy of analysis suspension, I sought to invoke a cognitive shift on the relationship between the first two cases. The sequentiality of the cases, at least for the first two cases, was questioned. This culminated in a cognitive based disassociation between the two cases. This occurred over a gradual period of time, through the preparation of the first case. When the field of the second case was entered, it was done so without cognitive reference to the first case. In this sense, the field of the second case was entered as if it was the first.

4.7.iii Further limitations and methodological impacts.

As posited before, I maintain that analysis of data starts upon immediate entry to the field, with 'sense-making' occurring as an inevitable cognitive based initial driver of construct emergence.

From the field, several constructs were apparent. One of these surrounded issues of power, and power relations. Even before any systematic 'paper based analysis' was carried out it was clear that this was an area that was taking form as a construct, on a cognitive level.

However, the withdrawal of (interview) data from multiple participants led to the construct not being formed in a tangible way, i.e. I did not carry out a systematic coding analysis on the construct. This was owing to ethical considerations of not 'using' data.

A discussion in *Appendix D* describes in more depth the conflict between the key principle of grounded theory, i.e. 'emergence' and ethical guidelines, as experienced from within this first case. The next chapter builds on the findings and considerations yielded to date, by exploring institutional change in a second case contextualised in a different environment.

CASE TWO

5.1. Introduction

This case is similar to the first case in its structure in that I define the physical economic space as constituting a cluster of small organizations, with the cluster itself having an overall identity. As with the first case, social and economic spheres of life are inextricably entwined and the data incorporates observations on both.

This chapter begins with a description of the geographical and social contexts: I describe the specific settlement – a remote Himalayan, high altitude, farming settlement – that I accessed but also the wider external environment. This latter consideration is relevant owing to its identification as being the host environment of the source of pressure that was in evidence.

The chapter continues with a justification as to the case's selection. It then proceeds with a description of the tactics employed to gather data as well as a consideration of my relationship with the community.

A depiction of the findings is made and then discussed within the extant literature base. The chapter concludes with further discussions that include a comparison between the first and second cases, methodological limitations to this case and a consideration of the contributions that the case makes in terms of building the emergent theory on deinstitutionalization.

The chapter finishes with a statement of the emergent themes to date. This case, building on the first case, is able to make firmer suggestions as to pertinent themes associated with deinstitutionalization. Although not framed as questions and are scoped widely, these areas form a springboard for subsequent cases to develop from.

5.2 Outline of field

5.2.i Himalayas

Twenty per cent of the global terrestrial surface is mountainous (Slaymaker and Embleton-Hamann, 2009) and 10-20% of the global population receives direct sustenance for living from mountains (Meybeck et al 2001; UNEP-WCMC 2000; Vorosmarty 2003; Huddleston

2003). One of the key resources that the mountains offer is water in the semblance of ice melt from glaciers. This is used for irrigation and drinking, for example, and is very often accessed directly from mountain streams. (Slaymaker and Embleton-Hamann 2009).

When an accumulation of ice is greater than its loss over a time span of a few years, this process forms a glacier (Kaser 2006). An estimate of their number is difficult – not all glaciers have been individually logged. Studies that have focused on much smaller areas using satellite imaging techniques are likely to have higher accuracy than those which use alternative methods. In terms of a collective number, The World Glacier Inventory has information for over 100 000 global glaciers (NSIDC 2009), with most of the ice mass existing in Antarctica and Greenland (Sugden 2009).

The Himalayas span 2500km east to west and are considered the lifeline for approximately 10% of the global population (Bajracharya et al 2007). Supported by satellite evidence, the number of Himalayan glaciers is estimated to be just over 18 000, with 9000 glacial lakes (Dahe 1999, Mool et al 2001). The western Himalayas cover the area of Nanga Parbat-Naimona'nyi, including the Kashmir Himalayas and have 5648 glaciers on their territory (Dahe 1999). Kashmir acts as an obstacle to moisture intrusion from the Arabian Sea and, thus, present glaciers have developed widely in the mountains over the elevation of 5000 meters above sea level, including 49 of them measuring over 10km long (Dahe 1999).

5.2.ii Ladakh

As *Figure 24* overleaf shows, Ladakh is situated in the most northern part of India, as part of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It has a population of around 270 000 and a density of 8 people per square mile (Indian Census 2001).

Until very recently, the geo-climate of Ladakh constituted a dry desert climate with short summers, and harsh winters with heavy snowfall. Its elevation means that on the higher grounds snow, ice, and glaciers are common throughout the year. This has recently changed: Up until three or four years ago it received 50mm of rain per year – a figure that historical data show as being constant for centuries. Primary (interview and observation based) data

FIGURE 24

LADAKH

Aston University

Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

indicates that extensive rains in summer are now the norm, although the rain shadow caused by the Himalayas ensure that these are not of a monsoon consistency.

Ladakh's colloquial name of 'Little Tibet', reflects its cultural base. It is predominantly Buddhist and this is manifested in the cultural practices of the villages and homes. In Ladakh, several gompas (monasteries) feature in Buddhist regions. Prayer wheels exist in every small settlement as well as in every home, are turned clockwise frequently.

Much of the infrastructure and cultural practices have remained historically intact. The region's geographical isolation – overland it is necessary to go over the Himalayas and it is

bordered by the Kunlun mountain range to the north – undoubtedly made it an unattractive area for the British to pursue as territory in colonial times. Its lack of wealth in natural resources also ensured a lack of interest from western nations as a whole, and this has remained the case. J. C. Murray Aynsley (1879) describes a three year trip to India with her husband, beginning in 1875. Much of what she describes about Ladakh – its remoteness, its monasteries in specific rural villages and towns, dress, and so on – is also seen today with little change.

The economy has been stable in its genre over centuries. It is agricultural in basis: The most common crops being wheat and barley, which are able to grow with ease at high altitude. Animals are also frequently kept by farmers with the purpose of supporting arable farming activities and the households in general – to pull a plough or to provide milk to drink, for example. The economy of the capital – Leh – operates on a slightly different basis though, as well as showing differing trends in terms of local economy growth and development. Historically there has always been some contact with non-indigenous people – for example, merchants travelling from Tibet to the Punjab[9] and independent travellers[10]. The opening of the military airport in Leh to domestic airlines brought a small trickle of western trekkers from mid-1970s onwards. Mainstream tourist publications – Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, and so on – have begun to incorporate Leh and this has been reflected in a more diverse western visitor base.

Leh's economy reflects this change in its transient population, which is difficult to estimate but estimated to be around 25 000 people, with a density of 3 people per square mile. Throughout the short summer period, 4 per cent of the population becomes employed in the tourist industry (Lorom, 2004), although primary data estimates this to be closer to 20 per cent (interview with the State Tourism Officer). Numerous small hotels compete for business in Leh. Food in restaurants is multicultural as well as Tibetan in basis with four German bakeries selling western bread and pastries, for example.

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[9] No longer in existence owing to Chinese prohibition.

[10] Markedly decreased in number owing to political and security based issues.

Primary data indicates the immense growth in new enterprises in Leh is impacting on the wider environment in three ways. First, interviews with a couple of hoteliers indicated that many of the entrepreneurs that have started up businesses in Leh come from elsewhere in India. After June, July, and August of each year, hotels are closed down until the start of the summer in the following year. Both hoteliers stated that their revenue over the summer period alone surpasses that for the rest of the year in total. As much money as possible is taken back to their home cities/towns, thus limiting the benefits for the local economy of Leh and Ladakh, in that monies are circulated out of the area. Second, as non-trekking tourists have descended on to Leh, the demand for 'home comforts' has increased. Several tourists that I talked to complained that there was no hot water beyond a certain time of day and that sheets were not changed every day. Hoteliers reported that these complaints were typical and further reported that there was little understanding, on the part of Western tourists, of environmental impacts and the shortage of water in the area. Both indicated, for example, that they would liked to have had a combination of squat and compost toilets – the former using much less water and the latter no water at all – but they both stated that they knew that western tourists would not like them. Third, the increase in enterprises in Leh has had an impact on the local workforce of Ladakh. Some workers have left behind their villages to seek work in the summer period in Leh. This effectively leaves behind a smaller rural and agricultural workforce.

Juxtaposed to the new wave of enterprises in Leh is the labyrinth of souk type stalls and small shops. Tailors, fabric stores, bakers, spice merchants and so on are all in existence and a mixture of Ladakhi, Hindi and Urdu are spoken, reflecting the ethnic mix of Buddhists and Muslims, with smaller populations of Hindus (Indian Census, 2001).

5.2.iii Dharsa
Dharsa is a small village that was founded in the eleventh century (see *Figure 25*). It is situated about three to four hours on a local minibus from Leh. The village is about 11 900 feet above sea level and the climate does not deviate from that typical to Ladakh overall.

FIGURE 25

DHARSA

Dharsa consists of a cluster of 14 farms but it also serves as a central village for a much wider population: It has a community hall, a school, and a small tourist lodge that opens seasonally. There is also a semi-permanent *amchi* − a local doctor who practices traditional Tibetan medicine.

Traditional farming techniques are used including those for irrigation. Flatbed irrigation is the sole system, where streams are purposefully channelled towards land to be irrigated, using a system of plugs (a combination of clothes and stones, as seen in *Figure 26* below).

FIGURE 26

IRRIGATION PLUGS

Figure 26. A water fissure from the main stream. Plugs are used to control the flow. (Field data)

Land is then flooded for a short period of time, before the fissures are replugged. The water that seeps on to the land is controlled further by furrows made by building up the soil on

either side sometimes reinforced by stones, which act as further plugs (see *Figure 27*). The water is then 'swept' over the land, so that all furrows are equally flooded.

FIGURE 27

SHALLOW FISSURES

Figure 27. Shallow fissures to encourage equal flooding and flow (Field data)

The same system – as seen on the right hand side of *Figure 28* below – is used to control the community mill that grinds the barley to make flour.

FIGURE 28

THE VILLAGE MILL (FIELD DATA)

Multiple crops are planted. These are harvested for food in the winter months and surplus is sold to the Indian army stationed in Ladakh (see *Figure 29*). Summer is spent harvesting. Animal husbandry includes the keeping of sheep for their fleece, cows and dzos[11] for milk production and cheese. Animals are not slaughtered for meat or hide, owing to Buddhist principles.

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[11] Cross between a yak and a cow

FIGURE 29

ARMY BASE

Figure 29. One of the nearby army barracks (Field data)

The villages and the surrounding settlements are isolated for nine months of the year, owing to extreme weather conditions making the nearby road impassible. Although the village is relatively isolated, is serves as a 'hub' for some of the other local villages, whose children sometimes attend the school. In addition many festivals and other socio-cultural events are anchored in Dharsa, which get attended by villages from other settlements.

5.3 Rationale of case selection

Some of the rationale as to why this case exhibits a natural 'fit' with a grounded theory approach overlaps the common justifications already discussed in the Methodology Chapter, surrounding the scant cohesion in the extant literature base on deinstitutionalization.

The justification of using inductive methods is enhanced when the literature on the interaction between climate change and deinstitutionalization is considered, which is even smaller and more fragmented. Because climate change as an exploratory factor emerged specifically from the field itself, it is noted as a criticism that the basis for the justification of using grounded theory in light of the more specific data set partially stems from post-rationalization.

Yet, there are additional strong and clear arguments in favour of using inductive methods. As argued in the last case, an inductive line of enquiry discourages the forcing of a personal template of reality on the process of defining and making sense of the field: Contextually important, an emic approach afforded by induction enables a more valid study of an organizational cluster that is entrenched in institutions vastly diverse to my own experience. I argue that it is important to minimize the impact of a priori knowledge and to encourage

relevant pressures and institutions and their dynamics to emerge in their natural hierarchy and relational structure.

In light of the specific field of the case this is absolutely crucial: I am a white, western female. I have no experience of the region or of Himalayan people further afield. I have no experience of agriculture in this part of the world, of Buddhism, or specific cultural practices.

From my experiential knowledge of the first case, I knew that any exploration of change would have to focus on its procedural qualities, i.e. *how* the process of change plays out, rather than a purely component orientated examination (Edmondson and McManus 2007).

In addition, the process is, like the first case, extensively embedded in an organizational context involving human and social behaviour that extends beyond the usual parameters of an organization. Grounded theory accommodates the flexibility needed in exploring an area deficient in a synergized literature base, as well as enabling several substantive areas that could be drawn on.

Furthermore, in terms of a contribution to understanding 'change', the case enables an analysis that is grounded at the level of the organizational field – a context that arguably offers one of the most advantageous perspectives from which to explore deinstitutionalization, as a core part of the change process (Scott 2008).

Dharsa was not selected as an extreme exemplar (Yin 1994). It was sampled as a means of exploring institutions within another semi-isolated community. My experiences of the first case whilst in the field raised my awareness of the problem of findings being potentially idiosyncratic: Calle 13 was unique in almost every way and the potential for this characteristic to be reflected in the findings of institutional change was high.

My second case therefore was also selected as a community with strong boundaries, but which are manifested in a different way. Dharsa's boundaries exist largely on a geographical level but, conceptually, have similarities with Calle 13 in that there was still 'leakage': Both communities have boundaries that are only reinforced by semi-permeable means. For Calle 13, the barriers were intangible and were based on group identity and differences between the group and 'outsiders', i.e. barriers were not impossible to penetrate but were psychologically defined. For Dharsa, the boundaries were based on the physical remoteness of the village but,

again, these were penetrated at times with Indian trekkers passing through on the nearby road in jeeps and visiting people from neighbouring villages.

However, despite the relative isolation of the village, any phenomenon found from within the field could potentially be more relevant for outlying villages in the region, making the findings of this case less vulnerable to criticisms of idiosyncrasy.

Despite suspending the analysis of the data from case one towards the end of the process, as I summarized at the end of the previous chapter, loose constructs had developed, especially on a cognitive basis. The concept of pressure was inevitably carried through to the second case as a major input, as did the crux of the first case – 'change' – which manifested itself in organizational and institutional change. The two constructs shared a dynamic relationship with each other and this was reflected in the (limited) extant literature.

Thus, the emergence of one of these constructs was enough to accept the second case as a sampled case. The rationale behind this 'criteria' is fourfold. First, if pressure existed in the second case but with no evidence of change of any sort, this could indicate doubt over pressure producing change. Second, if the opposite was in existence, this indicates that change does not necessarily as a result of or alongside pressure. Both of these scenarios would make a contribution to the building of the theory as it would introduce a challenge to the supposed synergy of the two constructs, as argued by Oliver (1992).

Third, the existence of one or more of the other salient factors from the first case, such as 'institutional current' were non-entities (in terms of their influence of the acceptance of the second case as a sampled case) as their presence, as underpinning mechanisms, would, by default, indicate the occurrence of 'change'.

Finally, if neither pressure nor change were present in the field, then the case would not have been accepted as a sample case: the field would have been considered 'dormant'.

The case was accepted as a sampled case that could make a contribution on several factors: Fundamentally, both pressure and change were seen. Furthermore, the village has unremarkable qualities. Despite the extensive ethno-diversity in the Himalayan region (Körner and Ohsawa 2005), Dharsa exists, like thousands of other villages, as a cluster of agricultural farms, reliant on the natural environment and eco-systems for their sustainability.

Whilst theory building and the concept of generalization share a contentious relationship, the potential for stronger theory can only be benefited by an ability to at least draw strong parallels between cases and other organizations or economic communities exogenous to the overall cases incorporated into an overall project.

Thus, one of the reasons why this case was sampled lies in the typicality of the village's make up and its ability to contribute more effectively to building more robust theory, than perhaps the more idiosyncratic second case. This ripple effect is also present when considering the origins of the pressure in existence. In summary, there is strong uniformity at an organization level but also in terms of the characteristics of the pressure in question, its components and its ecological effects.

5.4 Methodology

5.4.i Aims, objectives and overview.

The aim of this case was to build on the first case, in terms of the loose themes that had emerged but also to address some of the potential problems that the uniqueness of the first case could present in building the foundations of the emergent theory, i.e. those which revolve around Calle 13's idiosyncrasy.

It was not the aim of the case to consolidate the findings of the first case. Thus, Dharsa was not sampled to replicate the first case. At the same time the aim of this second case was not to refute the findings of the first case either, however definite the constructs present themselves on a cognitive basis. It was deemed far too early in the case sequence to consider the possibility of using a second case in this way, with the same principle applying to the aim of using a case for extension purposes.

The partial success of extending the concept of emergence along the case sequence – via the suspension of complete analysis of case one until the field of the second case had been exited – enabled me to manipulate the purpose of this second case. Whilst, ostensibly the aim was to build on the loose constructs of the first case, my language here is perhaps misleading. Of more accuracy, owing to the incomplete understanding of the first case at this point, the aim of Dharsa as a case study was to build *with* the loose constructs of Calle 13.

Thus, in terms of the suggestions made by Yin (1994) as to the specific purpose of each case in a multi-case strategy, the aim of this second case is much the same as the first. The focus of the theoretical sampling of this case is not in terms of it fitting the purpose of replication, refutation or extension and so on, but more for the purpose of being an additional exploratory case.

Clearly I still have more a posteriori knowledge entering this second case than I did with the first. I take with me the loose constructs that emerged from the data set of Calle 13 on a cognitive level. I accept I have an inability to 'unlearn' knowledge in this context. I posit that overt acknowledgement of these constructs and proactive self-questioning whilst in the field of this second case increases the validity of the emergent constructs in *both* cases. Thus, an approach of 'making the familiar strange' (Spindler & Spindler 1982) was heavily endorsed.

Despite the characteristics of the community and my perception of the difficulties facing Dharsa for its long-term sustainability, the objectives of this case are not to present an account that is styled around 'salvage anthropology' (van Beek & Pirie 2008). Taking a possibly romanticized approach of recording idyllic village life before it disappears is clearly not conducive.

This study is essentially an empirical based story of what has and is happening to a human population. The focus is one of economics and business – essentially the livelihoods of a group of families. Yet this part of the world is no exception to the common scenario in small, rural farms where there is little distinction between work, social and home based existences. Thus, it was impossible – and arguably undesirable – to exclude data collection that could be described crudely as having a non-work orientation: Very often, like many ethnographically influenced studies, the dynamics between different aspects of peoples' lives are subtly co-dependent.

5.4.ii Defining the field, population and participant sampling

Akin to grounded theory principles, I used theoretical sampling to select Dharsa as a whole case study with the rationale being detailed above.

No particular event was sampled.

Time sampling was applied. I collected data in the summer period over one month, chosen for reasons of accessibility: the village not being accessible in the winter months, owing to the nearby road being cut off, as discussed in more detail in the previous section.

In terms of population, no sampling took place within the community: All available members and the 14 farms were observed and/or interviewed at some point over a month. The population thus contained 45 people. This included three men from Dharsa on leave from their jobs in the army.

As with the first case, DiMaggio and Powell's notion of the 'field' was used as a conceptual sampling framework (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). Thus, the population was extended from the village base to include two members of a Leh based N.G.O. This organization was concerned with a variety of local issues that included environmental based concerns. The N.G.O. was theoretically sampled primarily for data triangulation purpose. The population also included: Eight visiting relatives to the village; a class of 20 ten to eleven year old school children (six from Dharsa, others from outlaying villages); 7 trekking European tourists; the owner of the tourist lodge; a state tourism officer.

Everyone was willing to take part and no one withdrew their data.

5.4.iii The relationship between myself and the field

As with the first case, my role could be described in this case as that of a bricoleur. The collecting of data revolved around participant observation, which incorporated me being involved with all aspects of life in Dharsa. I stayed on one farm, which constituted the working and home life of my adopted 'ame-le' (respected mother) and 'abe-le' (respected father).

I was a frequent visitor to the other farms in the village (as per custom), which involved working on the farms whilst visiting (again, as per custom).

On 'my' farm, I worked as a regular farmer, in accordance to my gender: I learned how to milk cows, herd dzos and capture yaks. I also learnt how to do other fundamental activities in sustainable farming in this area: I spun sheep fleece, hand churned butter and cheese, of which

I dried the latter for winter supplies. I learnt how to roast barley over an open fire, make apricot oil, as well as mud bricks for walls and building repairs. I learnt traditional, flatbed irrigation techniques. I fertilized and weeded crops, collected and dried cow and dzo dung, and so on.

In terms of my involvement in the household, I was equally absorbed as a regular member of the household. I cooked and learned how to make flatbread similar to chapatti. I washed clothes in the stream and cleaned alongside my hosts. I was not afforded any special privileges as a foreigner: I washed in the stream and slept on mats also alongside my hosts.

I engaged in other activities such as a Ladakhi version of a baby shower and a local festival, where in accordance with my gender, I took part in appropriate activities such as serving *chang*[12] but refraining from male orientated activities such as the archery competitions.

I was included in every farm and household task that a Ladakhi woman would do, from playing with children and feeding babies to mending walls. As per the norm in Ladakhi communities, I was never left alone.

My omnipresence within the community enabled a natural emergence of understanding with respect to the social and human dynamic complexities in an environment that was very alien to my own living experiences.

I underwent some language training in Ladakhi prior to my arrival. I also organized an interpreter – a young woman local to Leh, fluent in Ladakhi, Urdu, Hindi and English – who spent two days with me at the end of my stay. She was also instrumental in gaining informed consent and dealing with other ethical issues, such as anonymity, which she translated to my hosts and other farmers at the start and end points of the study.

Children in the village, especially the girls, were the most curious and my interaction with them quickly became very affectionate, instigated by the children: Hair plaiting and hand holding became frequent and it was clear that I had taken on the role of big sister to several of the younger girls.

The adults of the village were clearly amused at first but, as with what seemed to be typical of their acceptance, I stopped being a novelty very quickly. Apart from a few initial questions

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[12] Fermented barley based drink

asked about my skin and hair colour, where I came from, and then later about global warming and climate change, my hosts and other adults from Dharsa showed little interest in me as a 'foreigner', beyond an initial few minutes of curiosity.

My extremely quick and extensive acceptance into the village community was very positive for the purposes of participant observation. My position in the first case was one of 'outside observer': In Dharsa I was unequivocally an 'inside observer'. I spent enough time in the community to recognize that I was treated no differently to any other community member – at least as far as I could ascertain. People would talk to me as if I was fluent in Ladakhi and when I did not understand they would patiently repeat what they had said more slowly, sometimes with miming, or a demonstration of what to do, or sometimes just smiling and patting my arm, depending on what was trying to be communicated.

But this level of integration also had a practical disadvantage in that logistically it was difficult to record data from observations. I was never left alone but I made a judgment that to overtly write in my notebook would not be conducive to preserving the strong and open bond between the community and me.

5.4.iv Recording of the data

As discussed, the extensive and genuine integration into the community made it difficult to record data, as did my constant accompaniment, as per familial norm. Yet, most of the data collection in the participant observations revolved around note taking. As a consequence the strategies I employed to record my observations as well as my own thoughts on my position, emergent ideas, constructs and so on were threefold. In terms of practicalities, I consistently wore the loose salwar kameez, typical of many women in Asia, whilst in the field. I began to keep my notebook and pencil hidden, tucked in the waistband of my salwar (trousers), with my kameez (tunic) over the top.

In terms of timing, I wrote mostly at the end of the day – at around 1am, as I had adopted the task of sweeping the kitchen floor at the end of the day when everyone had gone to bed and I could spend twenty minutes on my own. Sometimes I wrote whilst in the 'bathroom'. Other times I wrote whilst at the stream washing or washing my clothes.

5.4.v Data sources

The data as a whole was not sourced to any particular time period. Once in the field, it was evident that some sort of historical research was going to be necessary to provide a contextual basis for the data that was starting to emerge. The field was broad in its scope, both in terms of participant sources and in the substantive areas of life in Dharsa and further afield which emerged as relevant.

5.4.vi Specific methods

As in the first case, data collection methods were crafted from within the field, on an opportunistic basis, to ensure they were 'field driven' and not the result of pre-emptive reasoning. This was deemed especially important, owing to the inevitable 'baggage of knowing' taken into this case from Calle 13.

Document review

No written archives have emanated from Dharsa itself. However, a collection of approximately one hundred photographs[13] from the previous thirty years were accessed from one of the farms. These depicted a wide range of activities and were used for triangulation purposes.

As noted previously, I kept a diary/log book to record observations as well as reflections on my own active and passive role in the study. Frequent self-questioning was employed in an attempt to 'make the familiar strange' (Spindler and Spindler 1982), and the formation of a priori constructs. Grounded theory styled 'memos' were also incorporated as much as possible, owing to the recording limitations as described above.

Participant observation

As noted, my role within the community was one of total immersion and I experienced all economic and non-economic aspects of day to day life. The recording of data via note taking

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[13] The source of these was undetermined.

from a participant observation perspective was extensive and formed the bulk of the data obtained. Sometimes the prevention of immediate note taking was impacted upon, not just by the practicalities of trying to find time to do this covertly, but by the consistent workload of the day. For example, it was not practical (nor ethical) to stop irrigating the land for the purpose of recording.

Like the first case, e-priming – not using the verb 'to be' – was adopted as a technique to increase the richness of the data and to keep my recording of observations 'close' to what I was seeing, rather than using interpretive prose (Bourland and Johnston 1997).

In addition, participant observation inevitably involved some conversation. This was frequently recorded in notes and very often I reflected upon these in my diary. Further to the activities that I participated in, as discussed above, after two weeks in the community, I was asked to teach an English language session with school children in the village. During this time, I asked the children about their ambitions and what they liked doing.

Interviews

Within the community I conducted 10 semi-structured interviews (with the aid of interpretation) with Dharsa farmers and visiting relatives and one semi-structured interview with the owner of the tourist lodge on the outskirts of the village. These were scheduled at the back end of the time spent in the community largely for triangulation purposes, as were the two brief semi-structured interviews carried out with members of the N.G.O.

One interview with each of two groups of trekking tourists in Leh was carried out (in English) when I left Dharsa, as was one semi-structured interview (in English) with a state tourism officer, again, in Leh. My orientation in Leh included talking to various people as well as two hoteliers. This data contributed to my general understanding of the area.

Despite recommendations by Glaser to not electronically record interviews (Glaser 1978, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1998), interviews were recorded via a Dictaphone with all participants, apart from those from the N.G.O. (who requested otherwise). This was for reasons of clarity of language.

5.4.vii Analytic framework

This case followed the framework carried out in the first case.

First, the raw data were read and re-read multiple times to elicit a thorough understanding of the community as a whole. The case was written up descriptively to help generate insights into emergent trends and constructs (Gersick 1988; Pettigrew 1988). This was done whilst in the field as categories started to emerge after a relatively short period of time.

As in the first case, and as described in the Methodology Chapter, coding strategies were applied to both formalize the emergent categories and to determine the relationship between the categories. Both inductive and deductive techniques were employed.

5.5 Findings

This section is presented as follows:

- First, I give an overview of my observations of the field.

- Second, I describe the role of pressure that was exhibited in Dharsa. I describe sources of data in support.

- Third, I discuss the organizational change experienced in Dharsa that revolved around farming practices and scope. I use sources of data to illustrate the narrative.

- Fourth, I detail the institutional change in Dharsa. Again, data is utilized to support the narrative.

- Fifth, I discuss some of the underpinning issues potentially at play.

- Sixth, I present my first and second order categories as a result of my initial coding.

- Seventh, I then discuss relevant extant literature driven by the data procured.

- Eighth, second order and third order categories are presented.

- Ninth, I then move on to compare the data sets of Dharsa and Calle 13. This incorporates a consideration of pressure as a relatively discreet category as well as other factors.

- Tenth, I describe some of the tactical limitations of the second case.

- Eleventh, I state the summary of contributions to date that will be taken into the next chapter.

- Twelfth, I finish by describing the subsequent development of the project along further cases.

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5.5.i Overview

FIGURE 30

OVERVIEW AND ORGANIZING FIGURE FOR DATA FROM CASE ONE
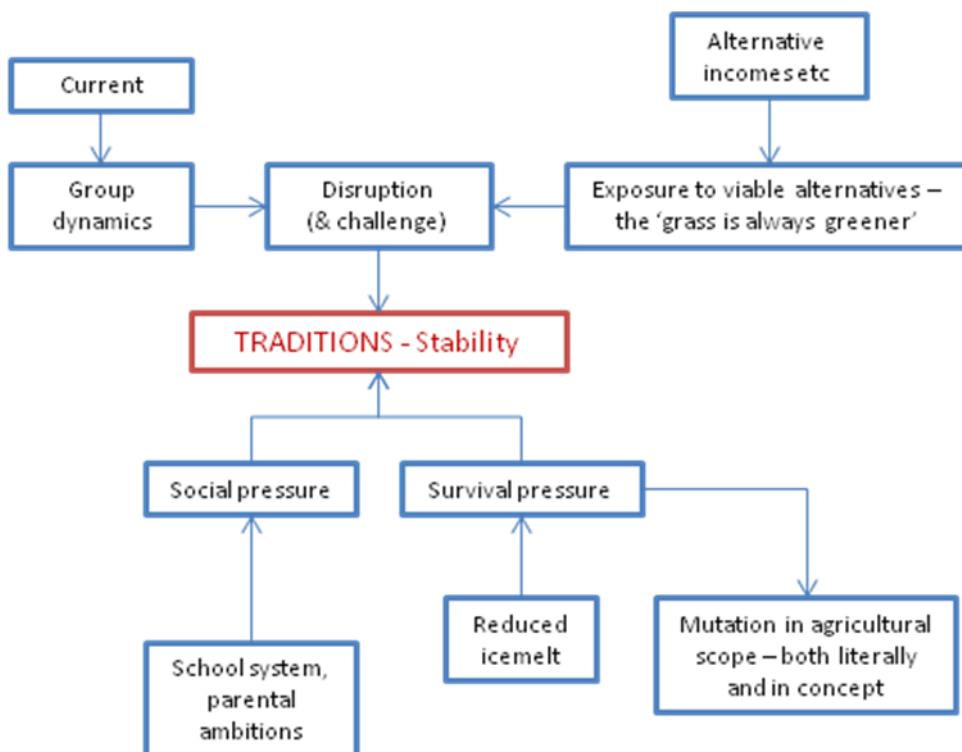
Pressure was a clear factor to emerge from the data set in this case and its origins are clearly established in the tangible and visible problem of reduced water flow. This was the end point

of the exogenous based chain of cause: Reduced water flow was the result of a decrease in ice melt, which in turn was propelled by glacial retreat.

The pressure on the farmers in this sense was inflexible. The cause of the pressure could not be altered or influenced in the extent of its severity or existence by perception. The cause was physical, visible and tangible in basis, as was the literal effect, i.e. inadequate irrigation.

Organizational change was evident as was institutional change. The organizational landscape of the farms as a whole has changed in recent years, as did aspects of the structure and organization of most of the specific households, with many seeking sources of external, additional income, for example.

Institutions seemed to be mirrored throughout the whole of the community historically and the extent of traditions suggests an extensive and robust stability over many hundreds of years. The phenomena of 'traditions' seemed to be absolutely pivotal in this case. The community as a whole accepted the need for change for long-term survival and this seemed to be influenced from differing sources according to differing generations.

Also key here were the role of pillars that underpin the institutional landscape within the community. The deeply embedded and ritualized cultural components seemed to have an impact on the extent to which institutions were dissolved.

There was evidence of a generational spilt in terms of the extent to which traditions were rejected and this is possibly owing to the differing options available to community members.

The concept of institutional current was interesting in this case. It emerged as salient but took on a different dimension in this case. Fundamental to the findings was that although there was a generational spilt and individual farm diversity in how they sought to 'solve' the problem, there was a complete cohesion in the community towards change being necessary and acceptance that each farm should innovate in accordance to their own abilities.

5.5.ii The Role of Pressure

To mirror the organization of the findings of the first case, the data set suggests the following question: *How has pressure evolved in Dharsa?*

Via observation of all the farms, I identified environmental changes and, more specifically, melt water flow, to be a primary source or cause of pressure at the 'front end' of a process of deinstitutionalization and change in the organizational landscape of the community. Fundamentally, the evidence for this lies in the irrigation practices of the community. Responses to questions asked (via an interpreter) identified that glacial streams had decreased in their speed of flow and the general water level had dropped over the course of two to three summers ago. An interview with one senior member of a prominent Leh based NGO, who had been visiting the area for eight years stated "*…there is no doubt that the water flow is much much slower now. Even five years ago, water was plentiful…*". Data from another NGO informant supported this as did the villagers themselves.

Observations indicated that a deficient amount of glacial melt water – identified to be the only source of water for the village, determined from observations and interviews – was impacting upon all farms, and thus the community as a whole: The time allotted for each farm to direct the flow of melt water using traditional systems of cloth and stone plugs and soil based channels was extended on a daily basis. This extension was not done by agreement. Each farm simply 'ran over' their allotted time.

There was evidence of a general awareness of global warming as a concept, primarily through NGO contact but also via some of the young adult children of farmers who had gone away to study in Leh as older children or, in two cases, to Jammu University. Climate change local to Dharsa concerned all of the adult farmers and several echoed Hena's sentiments:

> "*…there is many change happens with the rains as example…many rains happens now. At summer…before…no rains happened…now wet…before we go two maybe three months with no rains…I think the world change…not only [Dharsa]…The weather here is more important…maybe it will kill…the world is getting more hot…we need to make it more cold…but for us the weather decide if we live or not…we can only do what we can do to live…*"

Thus, through the conscious awareness of the environmental based changes and the implications that these could have, beyond their current impact, causes what this paper terms *survival pressure*, i.e. there is pressure of literal survival. There is in essence no distinction between social and work lives here. Observations indicate that the two are seamlessly entwined. Thus, the survival of the farms is posited to equal the literal survival of the farmers and their families. Clearly, without change or intervention the opposite would also be true

However, the data also procured another type of pressure more in line with Oliver's framework of deinstitutionalization – *social pressure*. Coding and comparison showed that this type of pressure to be a mediating factor and it stemmed from two differing sources.

First, interview data from farmers indicated some deference to the perceived esteem of westerners, depicted by the comparative wealth of trekking tourists. However, this data did not indicate a want for money or 'riches' per se: Most instead spoke about "*…a better life...*", although there was some indication that money was needed for this. Observations during the six week period suggest that villagers' contact on the whole with trekkers is limited – I saw a total of 12 trekkers (in two parties) but, collectively, tourists' waste is seen more consistently, with discarded plastic bottles and cartons being the norm. Furthermore, observations show at least one tourist jeep per day and interviews indicated that farmers in Dharsa knew of the rapid commercial development surrounding tourism in Leh.

Second, social pressure was also being perpetuated by school systems, which discourage farming as a profession. There was no evidence to suggest that teachers were directly discouraging farming. However, one short story English textbook used for seven year olds, depicted farmers negatively, termed "*lazy*", "*slow*", "*stupid*" and as "*bungbu*" (donkey). It also refers to "*…olden times…*" when talking about riding animals as transportation rather than using cars.

During my one classroom teaching session, I asked a group of 20 ten year olds what they wanted to be when they grow up. All answered either "*doctor*", "*teacher*", "*airline stewardess*" or "*prime minister*". In response to a question on what they liked to do, the most common answer was "*looking after [my] animals*" and "*helping with the harvest*". When I asked them if they would like to be a farmer when they grow up, all answered in the negative. Surprisingly, despite the confirmed knowledge of the tourist industry in Leh and its comparative wealth, no child stated a tourism related job as desirable.

This negativity towards farming is echoed in the sentiments of their farming parents. For, example, Dolma states "*…I am pleased for my daughter…she is in Jammu [University]…she will have a better life…*". Her other daughter, a science teacher with a masters degree in English, who came to visit, physically recoiled when I asked her if she would like to return to the farm to work some day, saying, "*Oh no…it is very hard life and for the last few years it has been harder…Sometimes I wonder if my parents will survive another winter…*"

5.5.iii Organizational Change

The data set procured the following loosely defined question: *How has the organizational landscape of Dharsa been impacted by pressure(s)?*

All farms are currently surviving but there is strong evidence of a change in the organizational landscape (see *Diagram 2*). Two specific and simultaneous types of change emerged from the data. First, every farm has mutated in their function, i.e. evidence indicated a process of strategic innovation was occurring – to varying degrees – where each farm has changed the inputs to revenue stream production. Second, a start in the demise of farming was also evident in the organizational landscape of the community as a whole. Both types of change were identified to be the outcome of the impacting social and survival pressure.

First, in terms of changes made to farms, multiple crops, as per tradition, were still being harvested but interview data suggest that two farms were considering adopting a one crop policy to try and produce more income. They showed an awareness of the demands from their main buyer, as indicated by Dolma,

> *"…Army buys food from us…is better for selling to the army. They pay more and we know that they will take everything…I know that army needs to do this…army needs all Ladakh farmers to give* [sell] *vegetables…if no, eat nothing except rice…they need to pay more perhaps…"*

The experimental use of artificial fertilizers (identified as crystalline urea and diammonium phosphate from stored drums) was observed in only one farm, although further observations and interviews show this use to be isolated to two 20 kilo drums. Amo said, "…*a man from Leh come one day maybe two summers before…he sell us bag…we use little…I don't know…I think no difference...*". 'Night soil' (human waste from the compost toilet) was still very much the norm as organic fertilizer, with all farms continuing this traditional practice as is the use of bitter almond paste as a pesticide. All farms, apart from Amo's indicated either a disinterest in the use of modern fertilizers or a vehement opposition to their use, citing that they were not good for the soil.

The primary strategic change though has been in innovating alternative revenue streams outside of traditional farming outputs and several initiatives have been developed by

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individual farms. First, across all farms there was an indication that alternative employment, as an additional revenue stream was being pursued by the males of the family. Seasonal income from carpentry, as a postman, and builder were observed. Several of the farmers indicated that a position in the Indian army was deemed the most attractive because of the comparatively high income that it brought. Two N.G.O. personnel reported that Ladakhi males were highly valued by the army for postings in Ladakh and elsewhere in Jammu and Kashmir State, owing to their tolerance of the high altitude in the region. This has meant that the women in the families have now taken a more central role in the management and day-to-day running of the farms, including harvesting, as well as the running of the farm as a home, as observed and as indicated by Dolma,

> "…*I don't see my husband for many months…also Stanzin [*Dolma's bother-in-law*]…it mean that I work the farm…we try to have decisions when he come home…sometimes not possible…I do all the work myself…[*with my] sisters, mother and girls* [children*]…sometimes it is hard. It was not always same. Something same…I do cook and I do clean but now also the many farming…[*Dharsa] always sent some men to army…eldest sons…in last year more go now…we need money…*"

Further, farms were starting to innovate strategically in terms of producing alternative goods (to farming) to sell, primarily in Leh to trekking tourists. The produce – including apricot oil to be used a skin moisturizer, dried apricots, apples and berries to eat, and an exfoliater for the skin made of crushed apricot kernels, in addition to organic soap and apple juice – were bought and packaged by local co-operatives and shops in Leh that were clearly marketed as environmentally conscious outlets, which all of the seven trekkers via interviews reported as attractive: All had bought produce there and the most prominent reason given was that it was organic and locally produced. This was supported by the choice available in local shops: Nestlé, Kraft, Tata tea and other Indian manufacturers of cookies, jams and noodles and so on were all freely available in Leh, as were Pears soap, manufactured by Hindustan Lever and, more rarely but still available, Johnson & Johnson moisturizer.

Participant observation (through making apricot oil and spinning) and interviews indicated that the making of the produce to sell was again time consuming. By stimulating alternative revenue streams, the production activity was added to the day to day running of the farms, i.e. they were carried out with no regular extra workforce, although extra farm workers were recruited at specific times.

Second, evidence suggests that a demise of farming has started. Four farms in the community have started to cultivate smaller plots with a further four considering the possibility of doing so. All farms indicated that the lack of water was *"worrying"*, paraphrasing Chering's comment:

> *"...the stream is not enough...this year worse...plants are weak and few...We have worry we will starve in winter...we have many snow and the road is broken to have trucks..not possible...But we need money too...With no vegetable for selling, money is hard...".*

Observations of farm plots supported this with large areas suffering from lack of irrigation, as did observations of irrigation itself, and the lack of water underpinned the farms decreasing their yields of crop production. This decrease in crop yield has also had implications for other aspects of traditional farming. Animal husbandry is in decline with seven farms reporting that animals had not been replaced because of a lack of income, owing to insufficient surplus crops being produced to sell. Sequentially, this has implications for threshing, as Chering states, *"...we use our animals...dzos...for threshing as well as with* [by] *hand...if we have no animals...do we thresh by hand only?..."*

Observations of all farms indicate a decline in the farm buildings that were built collectively by the villagers themselves. Many of the main buildings, i.e. the family home, are over four hundred years old, so some disrepair is inevitable. Mud bricks are now the norm, rather than stone owing to resources and human capability: Nilza, an educated teacher visiting her parents explains,

> *"...before, the houses were of stone but now it is not possible...many young people and their father are away for long times now...physically it is very difficult...it is difficult to lift stone and many farms now do not have the money to pay* [for outside labor]*..."*

5.5.iv Institutional Change

The data set procured the loosely defined question: *How has the institutional landscape of Dharsa been impacted upon by pressure(s)?*

The changes in the organizational landscape show what is happening currently in an applied context as the result of pressure. However, there are also institutional changes underway.

Whilst the data indicated a coupling between institutional and organizational change, a causal relationship was not established. Yet, it was clear from the data that environmental changes and its subsequent pressure were causally instrumental in the procurement of both, albeit in a more 'latent' way. Two primary 'umbrella' changes were noted in the institutional landscape of the community: First, the breakdown in the preservation of tradition and, second, the dissipation of collectivism.

Interviews with the N.G.O. and village elders indicate a strong institution of tradition within the community as well as within the farms themselves. Historical records indicate that traditional ways of life had been ongoing since the fifteenth century, including farming practices, and are supported by a number of salient 'pillars', including the perpetuation of artifacts. The establishment of the Ladahk Autonomous Hill Development Council in 1995, with representative of elders from all villages, has contributed to the preservation of the institution of traditions, through a regulative pillar for example.

Other traditions have thrived through the support of more normative or cultured-cognitive orientated pillars. Traditional dress is still worn and a version of this is worn by the women to farm in. Cows are milked by hand, winter fuel consists of cow and dzo dung, and the use of the traditional communal water powered village mill to produce flour is also continued. An alternative method would be to outsource to a commercial mill in Leh. Data indicate that this was tried but rejected four years ago. Angmo says,

> "…the *older people complain*[ed] *by the taste…they say "Angmo, this bread no good"…There is no difference. It taste same. But we use the mill* [in the village] *now because we did do before…the same…it is the* [Dharsa] *way…*"

On the whole, the geographical position of Dharsa has made it historically easy to maintain an institutional equilibrium, in terms of traditions. The fragile but historically enduring interaction between Dharsa and the natural resources in its environment has also meant that institutions of tradition have been kept until changes in the flow of glacial melt water and their subsequent impact on irrigation. There is some evidence to suggest that there is some erosion to supporting pillars of tradition owing to the environmental changes and subsequent pressures on the farms.

The evolutionary pressure on farmers has forced the strategic innovation of its practices to the extent that the meaning of the term 'farming' has taken on new connotations. Village (male) elders defined farming within traditional boundaries, i.e. crop production and so on. Women farmers indicated some consideration for traditionally non-farming activities such as the making of apricot oil but not as much as their children who readily and fluidly mentioned these alternative revenue streams as farming activities.

The value of traditional farming also differed amongst generations. Village (elders) held farming in high esteem, as "…*a way to keep the Ladakhi way…*". Women farmers also held farming in high esteem but expressed a desire for their children to "…*go to school, get a good job…*". They also indicated that children saw how hard farming life had become, for example the evening meal was frequently prepared at 1am before rising at 4.30am to milk the cows – supported by participant observation. Children had little regard for farming as a valued job but still indicated a liking for different parts of farming, such as looking after animals. The challenge inflicted on the value of traditional farming, via the social pressure perpetuated by aspects of the schooling system and largely supported by farmers themselves, existed before environmental changes. Nilza, whilst laughing, recalls,

> "...*yes, I remember when I was a student* [at the school in the village] *telling farm is bad, is for the people with no education…no writing.., that farming was for donkeys…*".

Several other farmers recalling their time at the school paraphrased Nilza's views.

The data also indicate that a main institution of collectivism was also being eroded. Supporting mechanisms that were very much orientated around cultured-cognitive and normative pillars have traditionally dictated that each farm was trusted and mutually supported, physically and emotionally by the other farms within the community.

To a large extent this has continued. Data from observations show, for example, front doors are only closed at night and most farms don't have locks. It is an intrinsic part of the community for the female farmers to help each other physically with weeding vegetable crops and harvesting for each farm is a community based activity. There is no separation between the social and work practices: dropping in for a cup of tea or *chang* will also unquestionably

involve helping to weed the hostess' gardens, for example. However, this collectivism does not extend to irrigation. Up until the water shortages three summers ago, the task of irrigation was shared like any other. Observations and interviews have indicated that now the opposite is the norm, with farmers verbally fighting over water, which is now seen as a precious resource. My diary notes of a particular episode recall:

> *"Another fight started over the water again today. Whilst I washed downstream and hid from view, "Namgyal" moved the rock and rag plugs to divert the flow towards Sutu [house]. I knew that they were over their allotted time. Five minutes later I heard the startings of an argument. The plugs kept being put back, then removed, then back again. This went on for about 20 minutes. Namgyal gave up in the end but did not come over to help Dolma as normal. When I went to see Dolma three hours later she still had not finished irrigating (on her own). Large parts of her land lay dry and eventually the time came when the stream ran dry because another farm had plugged it for their own irrigation".*

It was not until four days later that the two women started to help each other again. From observation, the output in irrigation, weeding and cooking all declined. No one from other farms helped either household. When I asked about the fight, Dolma said,

> *"…it is normal…everyone now fights because of the water…yes, people stay away* [from helping]*…it is normal…they worry too about what the* [lack of] *water will do to their farms…now everyone argues and then no one helps…it is normal…and all because of water…"*

This sense of collectivism was also eroded by other factors. The organizational changes within the farms had forced the community population in accepting workers from outside the area at specific times. At harvesting, where threshing is still mainly done by hand – a trend perpetuated by the decline in animal husbandry – workers from outside the community were hired from as far afield as Tibet for example. Dolma describes harvest time as

> *"…much work but much chang…we rest…we drink…we work. Before I cook special food…*[Now] *it's not the same…people are different…Now I do not cook…they are not guests. They work for money…"*

5.5.v Underpinning issues

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As noted, institutions in decline seemed to revolve around collectivism and tradition, both of which were extensively embedded within the community. To a large extent 'tradition' incorporates several interrelated organizational and institutional elements of the community.

Several further inter-relating factors influenced the erosion or mutation of these. Ultimately, the survival and social pressures were the driving forces behind the organizational and institutional changes within Dharsa. But micro-processes were also influential in the deinstitutionalization seen within the community, as well as points of resistance, i.e. factors which instigated the rejection of full deinstitutionalization.

The micro-processes observed again revolved around pillar activity, implicitly discussed in the previous section as a tool of deinstitutionalization and organizational change.

The said pressures on the community have procured, via a process of change, the introduction of money into the community. I identify money to be a core pillar for the 'threat' of new institutions surrounding 'individualism' and 'modernity as status'. It was also a key vehicle in the erosion or mutation of institutions revolving around collectivism and tradition, despite not much explicit desire for money being shown by farmers per se.

The role of pillars as a dynamic entity was partnered by the institutional current of the community. This was seen as a recurrent theme along the process of organizational change in Dharsa and the associated institutional mutations in the community.

The tradition of reciprocation within the community as a basis for the 'payment' of services was strongly embedded in the collectivism of the village. This was seen in evidence in the village in a number of areas, despite the adjunct evidence that farms were starting to see themselves in competition for natural resources, i.e. most predominantly water. As indicated by observational evidence discussed previously, the women often shared weeding duties and activities that surrounded the harvest. Doors were left open, with neighbours often leaving vegetables and milk in the kitchen. The six hundred year old water powered mill on 'my' farm was considered to belong to the village, which most households used to grind their barley, and the task of changing the stones (once every forty years) fell to no one farm in particular.

Why and how money was originally introduced to the community is ambiguous and could not be clearly established. Although evolutionary pressure dictated the need for mass uptake of additional employment by farmers, it is likely that money has been in existence in the community at some small level before this. This did not emerge from the data set, although there is a strong historical trend to suggest that this is the case, which revolves around the Indian army having traditionally sought Ladakhi adult males as recruits, owing to their tolerance of high altitude climates. In addition, although speculative, this area fell on the major trading routes between what is now Pakistan and Tibet, before Chinese intervention, and it would seem likely that some trading did occur historically in this region perhaps incorporating some monetary based transactions.

On a mass scale though, evidence suggests that institutional change surrounding how money is perceived, i.e. something which is desired or valued (but as a means to an end) only came in to being with the advent of the pan-uptake of additional employment. This brought more money directly into every farm and made the concept of money much more tangible across all farms in the community. Thus, money became a dormant pillar - a representation and symbol – of change that had a shared presence visible in every farm of the community.

Money, as a pillar, took on a more dynamic element with the hiring of additional farm workers. Migrant workers are often hired specifically for the harvest but also sporadically to help mend walls and make bricks. They form a distinct subgroup of the own: Physically they look different with facial features that identify them as coming from other parts of India; they wear jeans and other western clothes and almost all speak Hindi or Urdu and no Ladakhi.

Fundamentally, the hired workers know each other. I saw groups of these young men regularly hanging around a designated corner in Leh waiting for a recruiter to pick them up in a truck where they would be driven to various local villages, where the recruiter would sell their services. There was a clear camaraderie between the workers and brief conversations with local shopkeepers confirmed this as the norm in the summer months.

During three days on 'my' farm, two migrant workers were hired to make bricks. During this time, I noted that they ate separately to everyone else and rarely interacted. Dolma elaborated on the differences at the time of harvesting before and after the arrival of migrant workers:

> *"...harvest is always party...much drinking* [chang] *and much work...it is difficult work...much pain...but we drink and I cook special food...we laugh, tell stories...Then we get Indians...not only India, sometimes Tibet...I cook special food but they bring food from Leh...they do not like...they do not speak I think because of language...They work, we pay money...they are not lazy because we pay money...they do not come in house...they good workers...they do the same. After they come...it is not the same...sometimes a lot...30 men* [in Dharsa]*...Now I do not cook...Now at harvest...it is more just work..."*

Dolma indicates that the rituals – as pillars – behind harvesting that institutionalize the process as one of festival and celebration are being eroded. This seems to be through a combination of several differing factors but the role of money seems to be a central one. The other key factor seems to be the emergence of two groups – Ladakhi villagers and non-local farm hands, each with their differing institutions and features that only serve to distinguish the groups further.

The development of the importance of money seems to be a vehicle of institutional change in other respects also. Whilst the hiring of farm workers was instigated by the origins of the evolutionary pressures on the farms, the synergic trend of male adult farmers seeking additional employment is fuelled by the social pressure as discussed before.

I observed two adult children return to their parents' farm (on a motorbike) for a brief visit from Leh. The son wore jeans, T-shirt and a leather jacket with his sister also wearing jeans with an Indian *kameez* (shirt). I talked with the sister at length in English, who told me that she had a teaching job and neither she nor her brother (a waiter) wished to return to the farm, citing that it was too hard. I asked her father, via his daughter, how he felt about his daughter not wanting to return to the farm. She said,

> *"...he says that he is very pleased that I have good job, I teach and I speak English...he says that it is very good that I have a better life...to have a nice house with a refrigerator. He does not want me to work on the farm...He would like me to go to Bombay, maybe England...he says farmers are stupid, uneducated and poor..."*

Other farmers with younger children are aware of the messages that textbooks reiterate with regards to how farmers are seen but also echo the western, educated connotations that money seems to procure.

Thus, money and materialism have become pillars which have contributed to the mutation of the traditional orientated institutions of Dharsa. However, the farmers' attitudes towards money is confused in that whilst it is seen as something to be valued, many of the things which able to be bought in Leh, transported by visiting relatives for example, I saw nothing which had been purchased.

Traditions are still very much in existence and some of these pillars serve as a resisting force against change. Farming and household activities could be aided by various tools available in Leh, and yet none are bought. Even the threshing machine that was once hired from an entrepreneur was only used for one season by some of the farmers. In subsequent years the hand methods were reverted to because *"…the older people do not like the taste…it is not the same…"*. This was despite the decline in animal husbandry meaning that the only other option open was threshing by hand – extremely physically demanding – and yet was chosen over the use of the threshing machine.

There was some sporadic evidence that money, rather than what it represented, was valued by some parts of the community. The additional jobs sought by adult male farmers were paid and this three-way association between non-farming jobs, money, and modernity, served to simultaneously degrade farming as an occupation and raise the status of these external occupations. Data revealed that this status was also driven by *'…modern job things…a start time and finish time…one hour for lunch…maybe uniform'*.

The institutional current in the community adds a further complexity to the deinstitutionalization process surrounding collectivism and tradition. The phenomenon was very much in evidence in the community and its fragmentation, i.e. weak current, within very contexts can partially explain why total deinstitutionalization has not occurred yet.

In the first data source, in reference to the activity of hiring migrant workers, the institutional current becomes fragmented. The need to hire workers from outside the community is a given. Reciprocal working in neighboring farms by neighboring farmers has already been maximized in terms of productivity. The hiring of workers from outside the community overtly serves a functional purpose but evidence also indicates that this may have had an institutional effect also.

I posit that in this particular environment, immigrant workers are being asked, on a covert subliminal basis, to work within the institutional framework of Dharsa. When they exhibited polite refusal by, for example, choosing to consistently eat their own food and not sit with community farmers at 'rest' periods, they cause disequilibrium to the whole group – community members and immigrant workers collectively. As this point, with a challenging set of norms, values and behaviors that are adhered to and practiced by the immigrant group, the institutional current becomes weaker. The weaker current is not enough to procure the uptake of any of the new institutions by Dharsa community members but it is enough to erode some of the Dharsa traditions associated with the harvest, such as the cooking of 'special food' and drinking of *chang*.

Current also emerged as salient in the breakdown of traditions and collectivism in a wider context. The potential weakening of the current by the young adults, who chose to perpetuate alternative pillars to support alternative institutions, was counteracted by their non-continual presence in the community. Furthermore, when there was contact, it was not conflicting in design. On the contrary, there was strong evidence that community members showed extensive encouragement for their offspring to follow more western orientated lifestyles.

In addition, adult children also indicated that whilst they thought farming was not a good profession, they also adhered voluntarily to other strong traditions. Visiting children took part in festivals and ceremonies in the village, often adopting voluntarily traditional dress and taking on active roles with enthusiasm.

Overall the institutional current of the community as a whole was complex in that it varied depending on context and the specific institution in question. On the whole, institutional current was strong at its highest level with community members in strong agreement towards

'change' but elements of fragmentation did exist with peaceful divisions occurring between groups. At the same time, the preservation of traditions was also shared as a value and many traditional practices continued either in their purest form or as an adaptation, alongside more fundamental changes. There was much cohesion across the community in this respect.

There also seemed to be an acceptance of more individualistic pursuits and a shared understanding that in some dimensions, in particular those which revolved around money and the pursuit of natural resources, a move away from collective principles was inevitable.

5.5.vi Grouping of themes

As in the previous case, first order codes were applied to generate different categories of activity. These are depicted on the left hand side of *Figure 31* overleaf. Again, via second level coding, these are further grouped in to the themes which are illustrated on the right hand side of *Figure 31*.

Figure 32 demonstrates the collapse of the themes further into four categories. Again, as with the last case, constant reference back to raw data and case write ups was made to ensure 'fit' between the emergent themes and the 'story' of the case.

FIGURE 31

ORGANIZATION OF DATA ACROSS THEMES
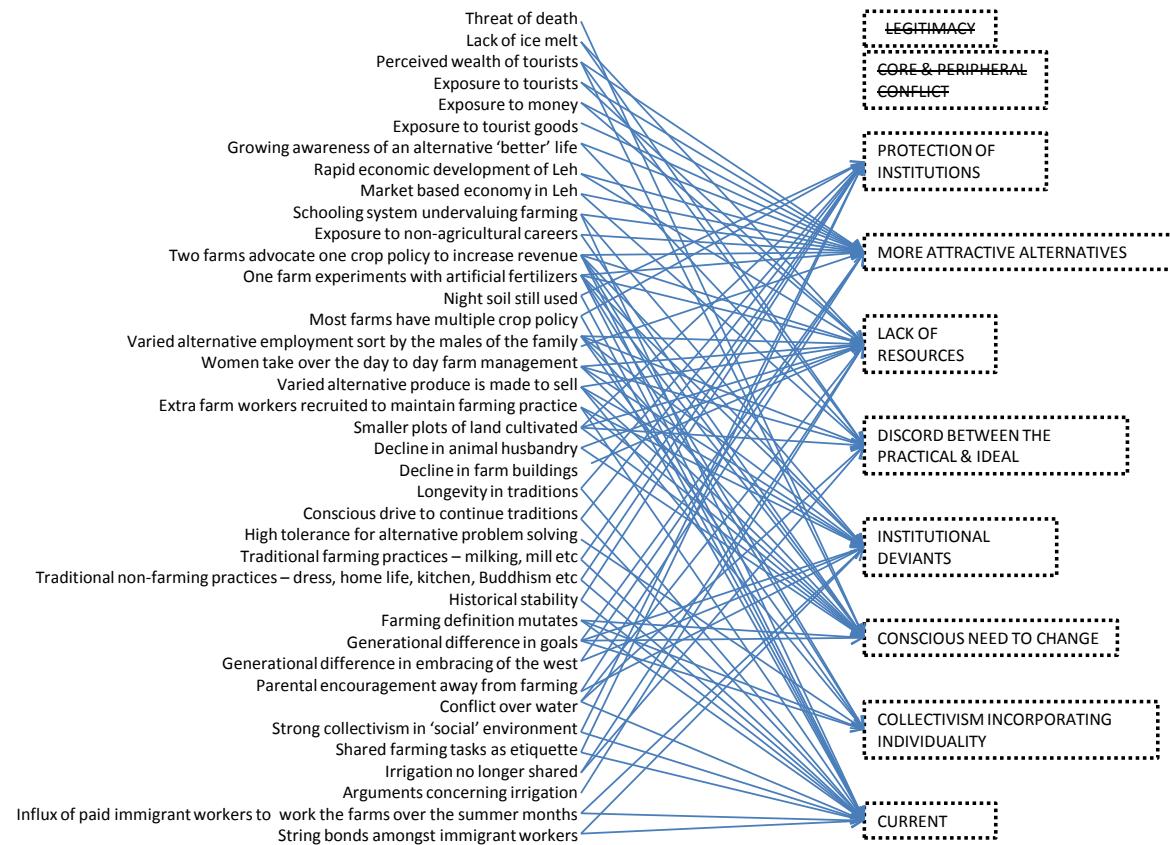
FIGURE 32

COLLAPSING OF THEMES INTO 2ND AND 3RD ORDER LEVELS
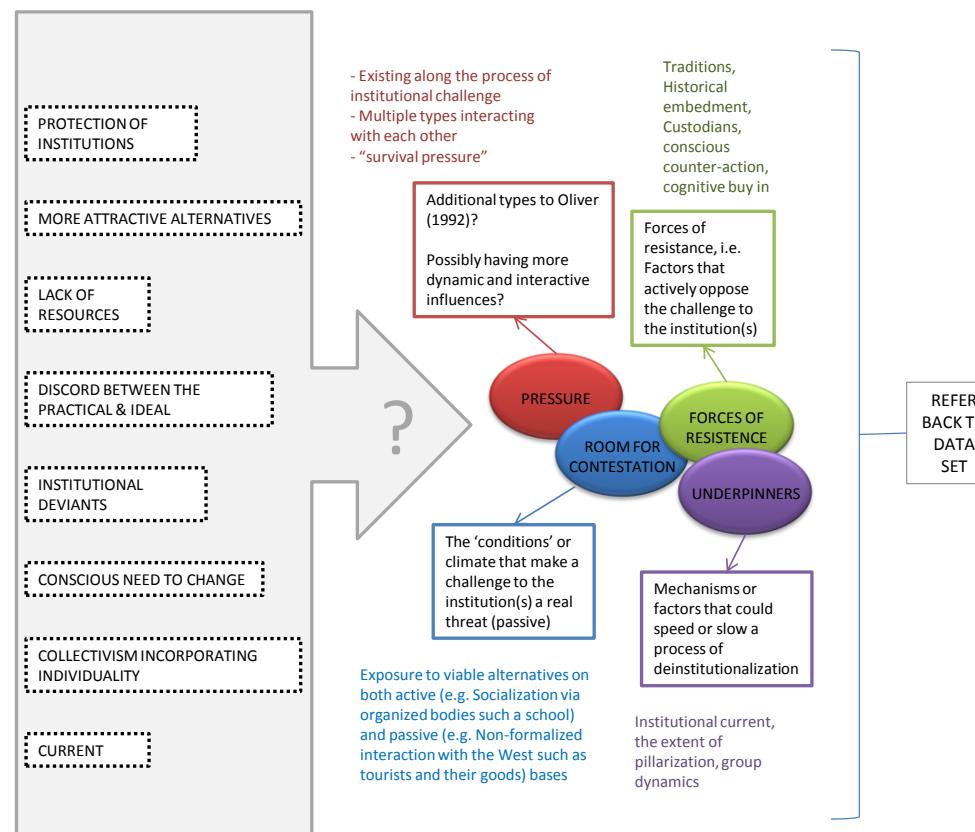
5.6 Discussion

5.6.i Enfolding relevant extant literature

Previous research in several areas becomes pertinent here for differing aims. Emergent themes of pillars and institutional current are significant and are reflected in the findings of the first case. Especially pertinent are the themes surrounding group dynamics and identity. However new literature also becomes relevant. Identified from the findings, I posit that some consideration and discussion of literature should be made, with the aim of building internal validity. Literature has been grouped into sets:

First, that which relates to evolutionary principles and the competition for natural resources, in light of the identification of survival pressure, defined as pressure or threat to literal survival in that death is a possibility.

Second, literature surrounding traditions, custodians, and remnants becomes more pertinent here, owing to the pivotal role that these take, both as a 'resistance' against challenge, as well as a more intrinsic part of the identity, characteristics, and historical social stability of the community.

Glaciological literature

First though, the glaciological literature may be useful in determining how widespread the phenomenon of glacial retreat is. It is not the purpose of this study to focus on the causes of the degradation of the relevant glaciers either in this region or as a whole, or to engage in a debate on whether current glacial recidivism is a small fluctuation in a historically stable system or the start of a more catastrophic irreversible decline (see, for example, Cogley and Adams 1998). Neither will the glaciological literature contribute to the building of theory that concerns the breakdown of institutions and institutional change. However, in terms of the type of pressure that the phenomenon produces, it becomes relevant in determining how idiosyncratic the case is.

Mountainous regions present greater challenges in the debate on glacial change, not least for their extreme geo-diversity (Barsch and Caine 1984). Despite the hindrance of topographic shadowing for example (Paul et al 2002), the development of sophisticated and automated remote sensing techniques has greatly reduced methodological problems surrounding access

to these areas (Sugden 2009). Generally, there are substantially more glaciers in retreat than in advance, both on a global scale and in reference specifically to northern Asia, measured by both length and mass.

In Himachal Pradesh, remote sensing techniques revealed an annual ice thickness loss of m.w.e. per year between 1999 and 2004 (Berthier et al, 2007). What remote sensing techniques have done is to achieve a more accurate measurement of movement over time. Berthier et al's study indicates, for example, that the thickness loss was about twice the long-term rate for the period of 1977 to 1999.

The problems associated with remote sensing techniques though are, to a certain extent, addressed by data collected by field evidence. Studies conducted in the field also indicate a general trend of glacial retreat and icecap melting. For example, the ice man of the Örtzal Alps – buried 500 years ago and only revealed as a result of ice melt in 1991 (Bortenschlager and Öggl 2000) – and the discovery of well-preserved wooden bows that have been dated around 4 k.a. BP (Haeberli 1994) and other artifacts discovered from melting glaciers and icecaps (Dixon et al 2005).

Research on the geographical area most specific to Dharsa is sparse but cohesive. Collectively it supports the idea of glacial retreat, via satellite imagery. For example, Milam, Janapa, and Gangoti glaciers have reduced their length (in meters per year) 9.1, 20.5, and 18, respectively (Shukla and Siddiqui 1999; Kulkarni et al 2004; Thakur et al 1991). Field evidence also suggests a vertical decline in glacial mass. Philip and Sah (2004), for example, report a vertical shift of 100 meters within 37 years in the Gangotri glacier (as well as horizontal retreat of 1500 meters).

Whilst it is not clear what percentage of glaciers are in retreat overall, it does suggest that this is at least a phenomenon not idiosyncratic to the glacier relevant to Dharsa.

The potential problem of idiosyncrasy still exists though in the context of the human population. If glacial retreat is accepted to be a trend that is not specific to the relevant glacier to Dharsa, this still does not mean that the strategic options open to villages will be the same,

or, when human factors and sociological difference are considered, the choice of what to do, how to change, and so on, will be uniform.

The effects of glacial retreat and reduced ice melt impacts a huge number of people across a wide geographical area. Yet, despite cultural and individual differences, the concept of survival pressure limits the number of options that are at least viable. Of the mountainous population, almost everyone living 2500 meters above sea level are considered highly vulnerable to environmental change (Huddleston 2003). Aside from the reliance on glacial melt water for survival by millions and the catastrophic outcomes of glacial lake flooding to riparian areas and their human populations (Richardson and Reynolds 2000), even when a wider economic perspective is taken, the implications are dramatic: About fifty per cent of the global population benefit from goods and services from mountainous regions (Messerli and Ives 1997).

Conceptual evolutionary principles

One of the two main types of pressure to be exhibited in Dharsa concerned what I have called survival pressure. When compared to Oliver's (1992) description and examples of the different types of pressure that she identifies – social, functional, and political – the manifestations of the pressure of Dharsa suggest a much more critical form is in evidence.

Whilst the reduction in ice melt water cannot be called a 'jolt', it is still severe: The implications are that if nothing is done then death becomes the likely option.

The context of this pressure is perhaps limited to environments where first there is an intrinsic and inextricable relationship between work, social and family lives, as seen in the first case and perhaps instances of entrepreneurial or family based ventures. Yet, this in itself is not enough to embody conditions where survival pressure may be inflicted: On the failure of entrepreneurial ventures, for example, the costs may surmount to financial and psychological losses, yet in terms of survival it is the enterprise that ceases to exist rather than the individual in a literal sense.

Rather the essential factor as a requisite for survival pressure to flourish is the constraints of the environment that may restrict problem solving or innovation, as well the non-negotiable state of the pressure, with the possibility of personal death. The manifestation of this pressure being embedded in climate orientated changes, as seen in this case, is a good example: Although, manmade glaciers are being experimented with in this region, there is little that the villages can do to either prevent the glacial retreat. Nor are they able to negotiate the pressure on a psychological basis, i.e. the source is 'real' and thus 'coping' with the pressure by cognitive manipulation is not an option when the eventual applied outcome of death is still the same.

Interestingly what was seen to a great extent from the data set was that change and survival was proactively sought along evolutionary terms. The data set indicates an element of competition over ice melt water and this most directly relates to the literature set on competition for resources and, at its most basic, to principles of evolution and social Darwinism. This latter framework would also incorporate an explanation of the social pressure facing Dharsa, as discussed previously.

The range of intellectual sets amongst social Darwinists is wide (La Vergata, 1985) but generally the principles advocated seem to offer an explanation for the process of deinstitutionalization, or at least institutional change within Dharsa.

Hofstadter (1955) discusses a struggle for existence amongst scarcity, survival of the fittest, and social change being a slow and gradual process, akin to the biological processes that happen within anyone species as Darwin himself advocated. Hawkins (1997) chooses a differing but complementary set but crucially includes the notion that the pressure of population growth on resources generates a struggle for existence and that the physical and mental variations in anyone population have an impact upon the survival of individual members of a species. Although there is not a significant population growth within Dharsa, the reduction in natural resources in the other side of the equation serves the same principle.

On a slightly different plain is the Darwinian notion that there is an (innate) drive within individuals to continue their genetic line. This could explain the several instances from the data set that seem to identify farm owners accepting that long-term there is little future for farming in the village, and even the survival of the village itself as a community. Alongside

this was clear evidence that parents were actively encouraging their children to stay in school and pursue alternative careers. The exposure to viable alternatives (to farming) seems to give the challenge to deeply historical traditions within the community momentum, again in part made possible by the alternative of personal death if their children were to stay within the village.

Traditions

As stated previously, traditions were key within this case. The strength of the traditions is validated across several points: In the face of survival pressure to abandon the village; exposure to viable (and attractive) alternatives; changes in the dynamics of the community as a group, with the influx of migrant workers and the younger generation that have differing traditions or at least not adhere to them to the same extent, i.e. the institutional current is weakened.

In addition, both conceptually and more explicitly within the extant literature base, 'remnants' and the role of 'custodians' can also be considered at this point.

The data indicate that despite the extensive and inflexible pressure exhibited by the community that threatens personal survival, factors may exist that counteract the institutional (and organizational) change and breakdown, that may logically be expected to occur in the context of such pressure and exposure to viable alternatives.

As indicated by the data and the previous discussion on the extant literature base surrounding evolutionary principles, such pressure that threatens is extensive and fundamental to the sustainability of the farms but also to the literal survival of a human population. In effect villagers faced the choice of either implementing change or not surviving.

But the change that was seen was incremental in its progression. Traditions were adapted rather than rejected in their totality. For example, the definition of what 'farming' constituted broadened to incorporate additional activities and revenue streams, rather than being abandoned in their entirety. Even the younger population who had left the village, returned continually and took part in traditional ceremonies and practices without hesitation.

From the literature set available, examples where total deinstitutionalization has occurred are rare, although they do exist: Davis, Diekman, & Tinsley (1994) for example, describe the

process of firms abandoning their organization structures and Greve (1995) describes complete deinstitutionalization in strategic planning.

More frequent are the hybrid institutions that are created. This was seen in Dharsa frequently amongst the younger people and most specifically in an organizational context during the description of how practices of celebration during the harvest had changed with the arrival of immigrant workers.

Some processes do not result in hybrid institutions. Challenging and established institutions jostle for dominancy before settling into a working juxtaposition. The value placed on recycling and zero waste and natural products such as 'night soil' for example, was juxtaposed with the use of chemical fertilizers in one farm.

Dacin and Dacin (2008) extend this phenomenon and suggest that in the majority of instances where deinstitutionalization occurs a "remnant" (pp328), i.e. fragment of the old institution, remains and this forms the foundation from which a new institution arises. From this perspective the notion of 'institutional mutation' becomes substantiated: The two terms closely resemble each other.

Dacin and Dacin build on the idea of remnants and during the course of their case study into traditions, identify the role of the custodians being key to their preservation. Several researchers have pointed out the murky boundaries between the two concepts of 'traditions' and 'institutions'. 'Continuity' is core for many researchers exploring traditions as a construct. Shils (1981) defined them as 'cultural heritage' (12) implying a strong historical relationship in their preservation or continuance. This historical embedment is supported by Soares (1997) and Hobsbawn and Ranger (1984), although the latter takes a slightly different focus on their use in power relationships and constructs, which was not seen to any significant extent within Dharsa.

Clearly Dharsa's organizational environment is structured around deeply embedded historically driven traditions. The parallels between traditions and institutions has been clearly argued to the point that they overlap in both definition and construction (Dacin and Dacin, 2008; Oliver, 1992) having compositions that revolve around values, meanings, and intangible narration (Hobsbawn and Ranger, 1984; Shils, 1981), making this literature relevant to Dharsa.

Both Shils (1981) and Soares (1997) also acknowledge the active role of custodians, a construct seen in a case study by Dacin and Dacin (2008) that explicitly examines the traditions and custodians surrounding the Aggie Bonfire at Texas A&M University.

However, in Dharsa the role of custodians seemed to be diffused throughout the community. No one group or person was actively involved in preserving traditions. Even the young adults who had left, still voluntarily participated in the traditional aspects of the community. The concept of 'collective memories' (Zerubavel, 1997) seems more applicable.

This was perhaps owing to the size of the community and that it was relatively boundaried. There was uniformity in Dharsa with respect to economic activity, i.e. although some diversity had occurred, the organizational landscape still fundamentally consisted of farms, which, on a working basis, often overlapped in their manpower and were isomorphic in the processes of their common activities, for example irrigation. Thus, there was a strong commonality and limited exposure to dramatically different organization and process types. Whilst some exposure to the tourist industry did happen, this was sporadic. Perhaps if we take the construct of continuity as being core to the 'strength' of traditions and institutions, it is not surprising that the settlement does not seem to need specific custodians for the preservation of traditions.

Like Dacin and Dacin's case study, elements of institutional change did occur though. They designate the term deinstitutionalization to this process but acknowledge that it did not complete in its most absolute form, i.e. total erasing of institutions. A similar incomplete process was seen in Dharsa. The term I posit in this context is institutional mutation, as discussed previously.

Dacin and Dacin (2008) build extensively on Oliver's model where she describes the three types of pressure – political, functional and social – to be the instigators of a process of deinstitutionalization, as depicted in *Figure 33*. Interestingly, their inclusion of 'crisis' as a further addition also has implications for the data that emerged from Dharsa.

However, before I discuss 'crises' as a literature set, it would seem pertinent to finish discussing traditions with an exploration of Dacin, Munir, and Tracey's work on traditions, as

FIGURE 33

EXTENDING OLIVER'S MODEL
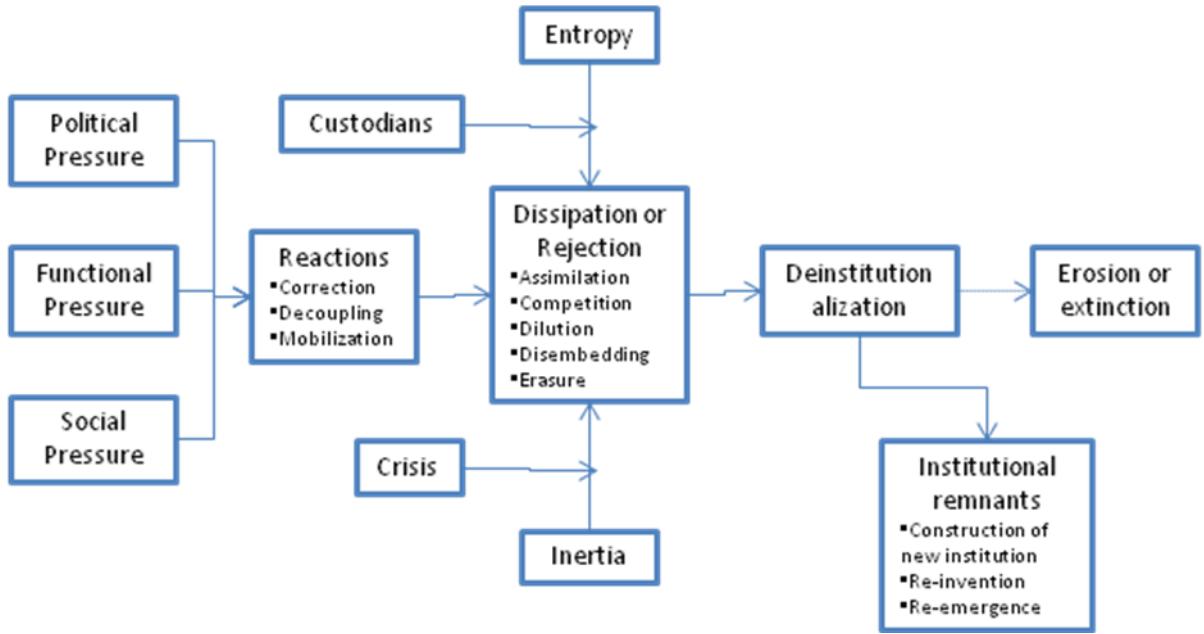
briefly mentioned in the overall literature review chapter (Dacin et al, 2010). Especially pertinent to Dharsa, is their exploration of traditions as a stable phenomenon, and interestingly they also resurrect the idea of micro-processes as making a contribution to understanding institutional change.

Despite, Zucker (1988) arguing that the stability of institutions is the norm rather than the exception, as Dacin et al (2010) suggest there are still instances where traditions are maintained and are manifested as institutional stability – an area that has been neglected in modern institutional research. The experiential data in Dharsa suggest that at least some traditions are maintained, not as remnants, but in their totality. This seems to be in defiance of both the social and survival pressures facing the community as well as the potentially disruptive influences of changing group dynamics and current within the community and the exposure to viable alternatives.

Dacin et al (2010) point to the largely ritualized process of engaging in the formal dining practices at the colleges of Cambridge University, in maintaining the institutional framework

of the traditions in this setting. Differences abound though – most notably that the Cambridge dining system incorporates transient participants, and that socialization into the rituals and traditions begins as late teenagers.

Yet, several of the findings of their work can be related to Dharsa and can explain the relative stability or at least resistance to the challenges facing the community and its traditions and institutions.

Most prominently, Dacin et al (2010) point to the 'performance' and ritualization of the formal dining system where roles, for example, abound. Dharsa does not represent the same context of an artificial performance per se. Yet, agriculture within the village exists on a strict annual based procedure: Harvesting, for example, must happen at a specific time of year and the same festivals are carried out with each member of the community having the same specific role, that is defined not just by gender or age but by the traditions surrounding 'the script'.

Dacin et al (2010) also support the idea that institutions are reinforced locally, although in Dharsa, the isolation and introversion of the village makes alternative externally driven reinforcement not really feasible anyway.

The concept of pressure though is not discussed, even though this would have introduced an interesting dynamic at the micro-level that Dacin et al (2010) advocate: The pressure to 'fit in', for example.

Jolts

For the third conceptual area that I discuss, I return to the notion of pressure, and in particular the role of survival pressure: Its typology revolved around there being a constant and tangible force that threatened the survival of the community and, by default, each resident community member.

To describe the pressure as 'survival' perhaps intimates that the pressure was a gradual phenomenon, especially within the context of the evolutionary principles as discussed above. At a literal level, this is true. The glacier would have been in retreat over a number of years. However, the nature of the pressure *almost* becomes a 'jolt' or a sudden crisis when the interaction between the seasons and the human population is considered. During the winter,

spring and autumn, the movements of the settlement and farming activity is extremely limited. Food is stored inside for the winter months, supplemented rice is delivered for the whole winter period in early September and no 'farming' takes place at all during this nine months. The long winter gives way to a relatively warmer spring at the end of May and this is when a frenzy of farming activity occurs. It is also when the first irrigation is carried out.

The suspension of farming activities – and more specifically those which revolve around the land and irrigation – makes the naturally gradual process of glacial retreat *seem* more like a jolt in that the effects of the retreat, i.e. a reduction in ice melt water, are only experienced after a long period not interacting with the phenomenon.

The literature on crises and their relationship to organizational and institutional change could potentially be useful here. The research in to crises blends the concepts of pressures, change and organizational/institutional climate. This paper defines a crisis as where the status quo reaches an untenable position, be that from within an environmental or psychological context, i.e. a crisis may exist where an untenable situation is experienced on an inter-personal level and/or at a group level. The data from Dharsa suggests that, at least at an environmental level, a crisis does exist.

A type of crisis that has been explored to a large degree is the concept of 'jolts' and with the suspension of exposure to the gradually intensifying crisis of a decrease in ice melt water, this seems a potentially relevant area of extant literature to compare. Endogenous jolts to organizations can include a frequent or radical change of leader (Hill, 2009) or fraud (Caldiero, Taylor, & Ungureanu 2009; Wang, 2010) but in the context of this case, exogenous jolts may be more pertinent.

Many of the jolts that have impacted on organizations have revolved around the consequences of large macro based financial shocks within exchange rates, inflation, and interest rates. These have largely been examined via large scale, econometric based studies (Jareño & Navarro, 2010; Oxelheim, 2010) and are such difficult to compare to the more qualitative orientated methods that this case has used. Studies using alternative methodologies do exist though. Wan & Yiu (2009), for example, used the Asian Economic Crisis of the 1990 as a natural experiment to explore responding firm strategies and Ahmadjian and Robinson (2001) examine the same adversity impacting upon the cultural norms in the work practices of Japanese firms. Yet, even studies that have focused their explorations of economic jolts on

small organizations, enabling opportunities for investigating a wider set of dynamics; many have done so only from a purely fiscal approach (Del Mar, McKenzie, & Woodruff, 2008; McKenzie & Woodruff, 2008). It is difficult to draw more substantial comparisons between the literature set and this case, where the social environment in inextricable to the organizational landscape, beyond a cursory nod towards the notion that jolts do seemingly impact upon organizational and institutional frameworks.

Examples of more socially orientated jolts do exist however. Britt (1991) looks at the coping strategies towards policy changes, as an environmental based jolt and the effects of the Cuban missile crisis, JFK's assassination and the events of September 11th have also been explored at an organizational level (Bloom, 2009; Crampton & Patten, 2008). However, again, there is not the same degree of interwoven institutions in the social and organizational fabrics of the specific context in question, compared to that of Dharsa, which the data suggests as important to how the process of deinstitutionalization plays out within the context of institutional current and pillars.

5.7 Further Discussion

As *Figure 32* indicates, themes were very loosely grouped into four areas that seem to cover the trends emergent from the data set. These were 'pressure', 'forces of resistance', 'climate for contestation', and 'underpinners'.

As seen, these very closely mirror the themes identified in the first case with minor differences at a high level: Legitimacy was not seen and neither was there any evidence of institutions occupying a core or peripheral position in the overall institutional landscape.

There were, however, differences between the two cases in the detail of how each theme played out in their specific environment.

FIGURE 32

COLLAPSING OF THEMES INTO 2ND AND 3RD ORDER LEVELS

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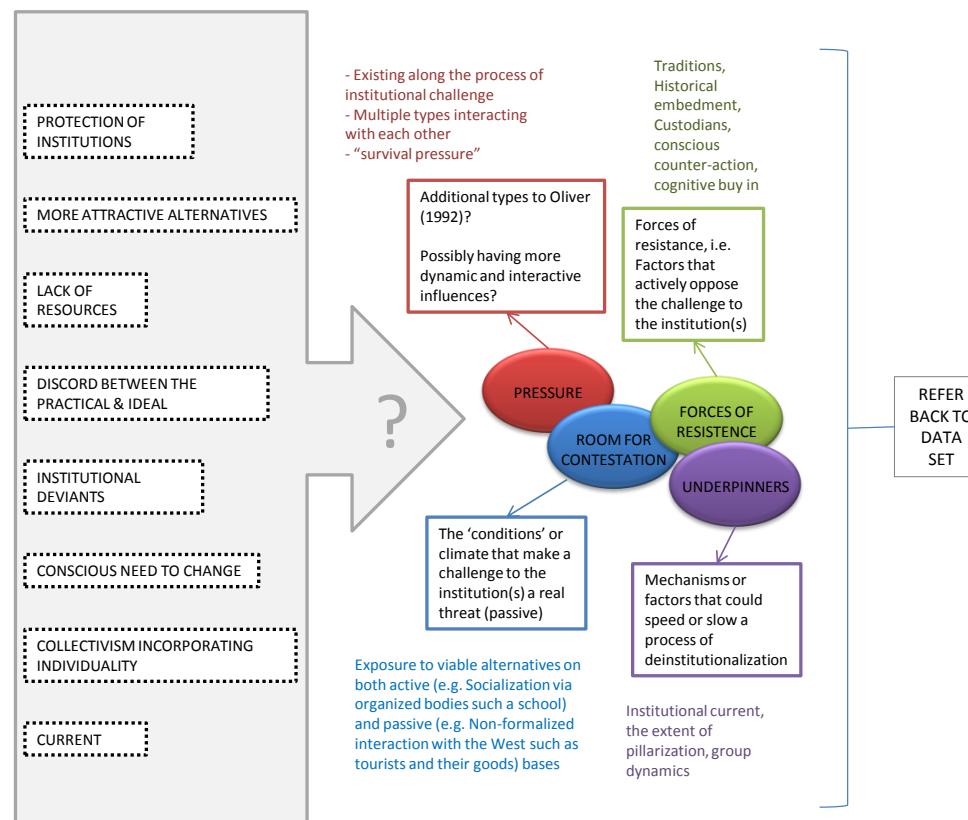
5.7.i Comparison between case one and case two.

<u>Pressure</u>

This category refers most overtly to Oliver's main claims as to the antecedents of deinstitutionalization, i.e. that of pressure.

The two cases offered a very different literal environment for exploration. Case one was defined as an environment that existed to perpetuate a social movement, i.e. Calle 13 was a manifestation of a social movement. It was an artificially created self-propagated 'experiment in human unity'. Dharsa as a settlement was created organically and had been in existence since the eleventh century.

One of the key things to arise from the findings of the first case was a conscious awareness of how important the ideological environment could be to the findings of the case. I was aware that the inextricable linkage between the social movement and the literal environment of Calle 13 could transcend a simple philosophical layer of meaning. As I increased my time in the community, I understood that the ideology embedded in the community was its driver and raison d'être for its existence.

The findings, as related to a deinstitutionalization process, were restricted in that to maintain validity could only be reported in the context of deinstitutionalization within social movements.

Thus, on a first point of comparison, the findings from Dharsa indicate that some of the findings potentially are not idiosyncratic, occurring in Calle 13 also. Pressure occurs in both and the findings from both cases combined strengthen the observations surrounding the diverse and multi-faceted dimensions of 'pressure'.

The second case supported the indications from the first case that there was more of a dynamic entity to the role of pressure than the extant literature base suggests. Pressure existed in its various formats along the chain of institutional and organizational change within Dharsa. Moreover, the same phenomenon of differing types of pressure interacting with each other was also seen.

Survival pressure was not seen in the first case as a type of pressure but combined with the observation of 'ethical pressure' in Calle 13, this supports the suggestion that in terms of

typology, pressure is a diversified construct, much more so than the extant literature base suggests in the context of deinstitutionalization.

A caveat to this latter point, is that the differences in the types of pressure between the two cases highlights the extant literature tendency to glaze over the drivers and mechanisms involved with each type of pressure. The survival pressure exhibited in the second case is literal in basis: Glacial retreat and a reduction in ice melt water are tangible and physically manifested phenomena. The first case primarily identifies sources of pressure that have a perceptual influence to them. A cognitive role in the characteristics of pressure has not been noted in the literature base and yet the distinction between the two cases is clear on this point.

<u>Forces of resistance, climate for contestation, underpinners</u>

There is more blurring between the next three categories to the point that it is strongly posited that the emphasis of understanding should be at the level of the individual themes rather than at the category level, as depicted by *Table 9.* At this point in the project it is not validly identifiable that 'historical embedment' for example, is a 'force of resistance' or part of the 'climate of contestation'. I expect to more tightly define or modify these as the project progresses.

1. The extent of pillarization

Pillar activity – as supporting mechanisms – played a key role in the institutional changes underfoot in both Dharsa and Calle 13. The two communities differed in their social and organizational environment, and also in the extent to how far the three pillars supporting institutions were manifested in each community. Thus, it was not surprising that pillar activity within the deinstitutionalization process also differed between the two communities, in terms of which pillars were mobilized, how they were created and maintained, and so on.

2. Institutional current and traditions

Institutional current was also seen in both cases. In Calle 13, the phenomenon was defined, on the basis of the emergent data, as being the extent of the cohesion in the population towards both the established and challenging institutions. Extensive cohesion equalled a strong

TABLE 9

	Presence in Case 1	Presence in Case 2
Pillarization	Yes. Part of the community, actively involved in their creation.	Yes. Historically and passively adhered to.
Institutional current	Yes. Varied but weak.	Yes. Stronger.
Traditions	Yes but less.	Yes but more
Group dynamics	Yes. Contained within the community.	Yes. Exposure to non-community groups.
Exposure to alternative	No.	Yes.
Custodians	Yes. Overt.	Yes. More subtle and widespread.
Conscious counter-action	Yes.	Limited.
Historical embedment	Yes. But with extensive adaptation and change.	Yes. In all spheres.
Cognitive buy-in	Yes. Active.	Yes, Passive.
Power bases	Yes (but not discussed for ethical reasons).	No.
Institutions on a core v peripheral scale.	Yes. Strong influence	No.

current. When a population was fragmented in its attitude, current was considered weak. Case one suggested that when the current was strong, this enabled the process of institutional breakdown to be manifested at a quicker pace.

Dharsa suggests that this framework could be potentially more complex in that its impact as either an inhibitor or enabler to deinstitutionalization depends on other interactional phenomena that seemed to have a pivotal role.

In terms of the established institutional set surrounding the construct of collectivism and the challenging institutional set surrounding the construct of individualism, current was strong. This was a dynamic entity that was relatively straightforward and free from interaction with other enablers and inhibitors.

In the erosion of the institutional set surrounding traditions though reveals a more complex and dynamic manifestation of the institutional current. The existence of remnants enabled a consensus surrounding the breakdown of traditions but without their total loss. The group's approach to *how* the changes occurred, i.e. how traditions were replaced, was diversified but the unity in the extent to which they were willing to allow this to happen was strong. This was enabled by the presence of remnants and the pillars of the traditions. In other words, there was fragmentation in how 'development' and modernity was manifested within the community but a strong agreement as to how far this process should go, in terms of the extent to which traditions were totally rejected, i.e. complete deinstitutionalization.

The institutional current in Calle 13 was identified as a reasonably distinct and separate phenomenon. The findings of Dharsa suggest that a more interactional element should potentially be considered as more pertinent.

I posit this tentatively. In light of only two cases at this point, clearly trends of any sort are unlikely to be valid. Two issues suggest caveats.

First, although there are some overlaps in terms of pressure between the two cases, Dharsa's main source of pressure revolved around survival. As discussed previously, the potential consequence of this pressure was individual literal survival. In the first case, if the community was unsustainable and resulted in Calle 13's demise, its residents could return home. In other words the sustainability of the community did not unequivocally equate to personal survival. In Dharsa, the literal survival of the people was more tightly meshed to the survival of the farms but also to the community as a whole as a human population.

Second, the historical grounding of the traditions was extensively embedded in structures of stability and preservation that have changed little in over nine hundred years in the literal context of Dharsa and, as a people, for much longer. This therefore suggests a much more robust defense against the pressure that is forcing the change.

These are distinctive caveats individually. However when combined, a further point of difference between the two cases are noted: The tension between the two opposing dimensions – the pressure demanding change and the traditions resisting the change – is greater than that which could be seen in the first case.

3. Institutional current, group dynamics, exposure to viable alternatives

A further comment on the institutional current in both cases concerns the group dynamics of each community. Whilst both communities are relatively closed with their boundaries only facilitating limited 'leakage', there was a difference between the two.

First, Dharsa's institutional current was weakened by a change in the group dynamics of the community, at least on a seasonal basis. The hired immigrant workers constituted a group of their own with their own set of institutionalized practices. Their literal, physical presence within the community ensured a continuous exposure that inevitably altered the group dynamics as a whole, perhaps affecting the current. Yet at the same time the group seemed to represent a simple alternative rather than a direct and aggressive challenge towards the traditions of the community as a whole.

Together with the acceptance of social pressure, the general current within Dharsa was strong, i.e. there was significant agreement about the need for fundamental change (although the manifestations of change were individually determined, yet still tolerated as alternative but productive strategy). All farms, sought additional employment for example, yet the *type* of employment differed amongst farmers with a high tolerance level for this difference.

Calle 13 on the other hand had less exposure to differing sets of institutions. Viable alternative working practices and systems of organization were presented from within the community. If this had been done subtly, then perhaps change would have been more forthcoming, as the research by Creed and Scully (2005), and Scully and Segal (2002) suggests. There was very limited exposure to alternative institutional sets, traditions, practices, norms, and so on, exogenous to the community.

4. Custodians, traditions, conscious counter-action

Custodians were more pronounced and overt within Calle 13. They constituted an organized force with an overt and transparent agenda of maintaining the institutional climate and as an active resistance against challenging institutions.

In Dharsa however, the role of custodians was much less aggressive. Perhaps owing to the type of pressure exhibited on the community, there was evidence of a resigned acceptance that although the traditional way of life and work practices would eventually cease to exist, some of these traditions could be kept on until such time. Thus traditions that were preserved, whilst spanning both social and work spheres, did not impinge on institutional mutation and

organizational change. Traditional dress was preserved as was the role of festivals. Barley was ground by the traditional mill method to make bread and rituals surrounding the harvest were maintained.

In addition, who was identifiable as a custodian was less clear than in Calle 13. In the first case custodians were easily identifiable perhaps in light of the comparative 'challenging' group, which propagated ideals much more aggressively, perhaps because the custodians (the 'purists') were also aggressive in their defence. In Dharsa, to a certain extent, most people seemed to be a custodian of something but with much less aggression. The level of acceptance of inevitable change was much higher.

5. Historical embedment, cognitive buy-in

This latter point is perhaps more surprising owing to the longevity of the traditions within Dharsa, as opposed to Calle 13. On the other hand, Calle 13's original institutional set were very much spiritually based where belief and cognitive buy-in is likely to be the product of conscious choice for many, especially at the time at which the community was first established.

On this latter point, the original new comers in the community indicated markedly more passion and commitment to Calle 13 than their children or more recent new comers. I suggested from the evidence that I gained that this was because of their active involvement in the creation of the community itself and thus, by default, the pillars in which support the community's institutional set.

In comparison, Dharsa's institutional set has more historical presence, longevity, and stability than Calle 13, but rituals are maintained and buy-in is achieved passively via socialization as children, rather than the active involvement in Calle 13 in the creation of the pillars which support the institutionalized practices.

Yet, comparatively to Calle 13, the stability of the institutions that govern not just agriculture but live in general is so for that every reason, i.e. the institutions are historically embedded in all spheres of community life with extensive longevity. Calle 13 has a history of organizational based institutions that were adopted from AMCO and then adapted to the community as it began to take place. Yet, some of the institutions were newly created and manifested as a product of the wide cultural backgrounds of the new human population. An

absence of any historical social based institutions was apparent, which gave rise to a certain amount of volatility, at least at the community's outset, within the institutional climate.

6. Other factors

Competition for resources takes more of a central role in the second case. In Calle 13, the concept is seen within the wider context of institutional theory but in Dharsa it becomes more central to the specific process of deinstitutionalization.

Whilst the defining of core and peripheral institutions was of central importance to the first case, this did not emerge as key from within the data set of the second case. No evidence emerged that institutions could even be defined as such from Dharsa.

Interestingly there was no evidence of 'power' as a construct in the second case. Whilst conceptually 'power' was seen in Calle 13, the relational data were not used owing to ethical considerations, discussed in more depth in the preceding chapter.

5.7.ii Tactical limitations of Case Two.

The subsequent chapter outlines my reflections at this point on the methodology utilized as a whole across the two cases and how it has developed both in terms of the implications for application and on a philosophical basis.

However, there are a number of limitations in the methods used specifically in this case and the tactics that I employed in their application.

First, my use of observation, of which a large part was participatory, had both advantages and disadvantages for this context and the project as a whole.

I was mindful of my reliance on interviews in the first case, regardless of how unstructured they were. They are also a particular bias of mine on a personal level, probably owing to experience. My immersion in the context of this case effectively forced me to hone observation skills.

A month prior to my arrival I underwent some training in Ladakhi. I am not a gifted linguist but this formed part of my 'survival tools'. I also felt that some effort in the language was appreciated by the community and my initial mistakes also broke the ice. Whether a more

fundamental grasp of the language would have helped is uncertain. Fluency would have enabled me to ask more questions. However, in the context of the knowledge that I had brought with me from the first case, there would have been the possibility that I would have subconsciously 'tested' a posteriori knowledge, rather than letting data emerge.

My lack of language also encouraged more sensitivity to the wider environment and the nuances of the economic and social domains of life. It demanded that I used a more creative array of methods. A lack of language also had the effect of suspending deep set sense making, i.e. beyond the superficial sense making process that is automatically engaged in when arriving in a non-familiar environment. I posit that language is a vehicle that represents the quickest route to perceptual clarity of an environment, yet in its efficiency often discourages subtle phenomena that make indicate that verbally derived conclusions are not always accurate.

Nevertheless, the language barrier did present distinct limitations for the case. First, 'snapshot' situations, i.e. those which were transient in both context and time period, could not be easily understood. For example, the 'baby shower', where only women were present would have been a good opportunity for me to discuss the changing role of women within the farms. I was restricted to two visiting women who spoke English. They translated in part my questions that I put forward to some of the group but on the whole, I felt this was 'forced'.

I felt the use of a translator procured some adverse effects. During my participant observation, the rapport between me and the farming family which I stayed with, was one that was strong. I was assimilated into the family. Despite the language differences, I was quickly absorbed into the farm and adopted various tasks on a regular basis. I worked no more or less than any other member of the family and partook in all of the household chores that a Ladakhi woman would do.

However, when I used a translator, the 'distance' between myself and the interviewee became temporarily enlarged. The tone and manner in which the interviewee conveyed indicated a formality. In one incident, the woman insisted on wearing formal dress before questions were asked. Expressions were serious and earnest. I noted there seemed to be a notable difference in the extent of this formality, depending on who the translator was. The greatest 'distance' occurred when Rinchen – my 'official' translator – was present. This may have originated from the translating of issues concerning informed consent and confidentiality, which on

reflection I failed to convey on any other basis than that which was heavy handed, insensitive and clumsy.

Thus, for subsequent translating, Rinchen's presence may have invoked an association with formality, seriousness, and so on. This may have caused a bias in what informants said.

Other limitations surround the timing of my visit. Ideally a visit which incorporated the winter period would have been conducive to procuring a much more rounded data set. Clearly as I was only there for the summer period meant that I was only able to observe for an incomplete time. I had to rely on interviews, documentation reviews, and historical photographs and so on for data on the winter period. This was crucial because of the distinct seasonal variations on Dharsa and the specific effects they had on the farms, their operations and ultimately their sustainability.

5.7.iii Summary of contributions to date

Despite the tactical limitations and mistakes made within this study, the case makes a number of contributions towards the building of theory.

Whilst in the first case the contribution of the findings towards deinstitutionalization are stated with intentional vagueness, owing to the validity issues surrounding the utilization of just one case at that stage, the introduction of a second case allows movement towards a firmer and more confident base of suggestion.

Clearly, common findings across the two cases indicate a greater extent of validity, especially (theoretically) in the context of extant literature, than the findings from just one case can offer. The next brief chapter details my reflections of the methodology to this point in the case chain. However, as a precursor I posit that the dearth of directly related literature decreases the potential for making conclusions, high in validity, at this point.

Thus, whilst the contributions made from this case build upon and consider the findings from the first case, and include tentative research questions that suggest some clear direction of theoretical development, I still propose purposeful vagueness and flexibility.

- Pressure is a salient construct to the process of deinstitutionalization.

It is an entity that may exist in a dynamic format. It may exist in multiple formats which interact with each other.

These formats extend beyond the three different types that the extant literature suggests exist and may or may involve perceptual processes in their identification.

The differing types of pressure may act as a catalyst but also interact with each other along and during the process of deinstitutionalization.

- Factors which may span the categories of 'forces of resistance', 'climate for contestation', and 'underpinners' seem to have an impact on deinstitutionalization and institutional change. These include:

  o Custodians as 'maintenance workers' of institutions

  o Whether there is a consciously driven counter-action against the challenge of a new institutional set

  o Whether there is cognitive buy-in

  o Historical embedment and longevity of institutions

  o Institutional current to mean the cohesion in attitude amongst the population

  o The extent to which there is pillarization of the challenged institutions

  o The group dynamics within the population

  o Exposure to alternative practices and systems that are perceived as viable

  o The level of uncertainty and ambiguity in the environment

  o The role of traditions

  o Whether institutions can be distinguished between occupying a core or peripheral role, and their relation to each other

5.7.iv Subsequent development

Subsequent cases are theoretically sampled in light of the conclusions to date. I consider several pertinent points which influence the development of the project, via the choice of future cases:

- Both cases to date have strong boundaries – either geographically or culturally manifested – that distinguish the communities from their immediate surroundings.

- Although both cases are in diverse geographical regions, they are nevertheless both geographically situated in India.

The implications for the above common characteristics in the cases have implications for the validity of the findings to date. The scope for the explored phenomenon is kept purposefully broad, in line with the principles of grounded theory, with the aims of maintaining flexibility and encouraging emergent, not forced, theory. But the characteristics of the cases suggest that what is being explored is deinstitutionalization within very specific environments, i.e. those which are boundaried and Indian based.

Thus, at this point, there are caveats on the findings in terms of the specific environment that deinstitutionalization has been explored within to date. Whilst the aim is to construct theory on deinstitutionalization, what is emerging is theory on deinstitutionalization within boundaried and Indian based environments.

It is expected and encouraged that on the basis of four cases, the emergent model or theory will be more specific and be scoped more narrowly. I argue that if I continued to theoretically sample cases that reflect the environmental makeup of the first two cases it would produce two effects. First, specificity would be prematurely established and would be driven non-organically from external forces, i.e. specificity would not be allowed to emerge from the cases themselves. Second, the validity is likely to be weaker: Seeking refutation or challenge via other cases is important to validating the scope of the suggested end model.

The same principles apply to considerations revolving around variables more closely associated to deinstitutionalization. Micro-processes and factors that underpin the process emerge only whilst in the field. 'Pressure' however is a more complex entity and this is discussed in the next chapter in more depth.

Before the next case is presented, a methodological reflections chapter seems appropriate at this point owing to methodological issues that have advanced alongside the theoretical developments that have ensued.

Thus, the next chapter discusses the implications for the continued application of grounded theory for subsequent cases, in light of the knowledge procured so far. This precedes the subsequent chapter, which outlines the third case.

METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

6.1 Introduction

As the project has progressed, a theoretical basis of institutional change and deinstitutionalization is starting to emerge. A posteriori knowledge has been gathered on an accumulative basis. Simultaneously, the way in which the methodology has been applied along the trajectory of the project has changed, owing to the increasing knowledge gained from the data of the cases. The data from the first case was not analyzed formally nor completely before the second case was started, to try to continue conditions that allow for key methodological principles to be applied, such as emergence and so on. However, the state of play as to how the principles of grounded theory can be applied, with two cases now completed has changed.

This brief chapter starts in *Section 6.2* with a reflection upon the methodology at the point on the project's trajectory of being at the end of the second case. The implications for case three are discussed in *Section 6.3*, before the chapter concludes with a brief summary in *Section 6.4*.

6.2 Methodological state at the end of Case Two

As opposed to data collection methods such as surveys and quantitative interviewing, the application of grounded theory develops sequentially across a multiple case study structure, leading to a mutation in its format. The former noted methods could be described as 'cleaner', embodying a template style in both tool creation and application, i.e. the same questionnaire, for example, may be applied identically to differing participants or organizations within the same project, owing to an assumption of disassociation between data and data collector.

Grounded theory, with its assumptions of a more intrinsic and dynamic link between the researcher and the data, does not have this advantage. The crux of the differentiation between the approaches is that, owing to the key principle of emergence, data are collected on a gradual basis with an active acknowledgement of the contributions that researcher cognition

makes to knowledge accruement. Thus, knowledge is accumulated but this has a dynamic relationship with the field itself.

This was demonstrated in the project to date. The first case was entered into 'blind', i.e. I had no knowledge or awareness of even the existence of the community before I 'discovered' it for the purposes of the project. To a certain extent I engaged in a sense making process when I first started to read about it, but this process was much expedited at the point at which I physically entered the field. Knowledge was gradually built throughout the case. I recorded, via a diary, reflections of what I was experiencing but also overtly questioned and made hypotheses, i.e. I attempted to make automatic, covert, and cognitive based processes more tangible and overt so they could be addressed tangibly as potential influencers on the emergent theory.

Data were analyzed but the process was not completed before the second field was entered. At this point, although the data had not been fully processed from the first case, I still took a priori knowledge in with me to the field of the second case. Constructs, such as pressure, in addition to the 'unused' construct of power were all taken with me on a cognitive basis into the second field. I did not consciously compare the two whilst in Dharsa and yet, on reflection, it seems impossible to suggest otherwise. Ultimately though I entered the second field with much more specific knowledge than when I entered Calle 13: This being an unavoidable process when multiple cases are utilized.

At this point in the overall project, two cases have been accessed. Data have been collected, analyzed and processed to the point of saturation. I have not presented research questions but have nevertheless grouped constructs into specific areas as illustrated in the Findings sections and *Figures 23 and 32* within both the case chapters. Although these areas have been scoped widely to try and maintain theoretical flexibility, I question the capability of adhering to 'emergence' as a key principle of grounded theory for future cases.

My state of knowledge is unquestioningly at a more developed stage currently after the second case, which in turn was more developed after the first case. It is this development of knowledge, the firming of constructs and movement towards the development of research questions, fundamentally embedded in the data, which challenges the continuance of 'emergence' as a core and 'pure' principle in grounded theory.

My experience in this project propels the argument that emergence as a key entity within grounded theory changes in its manifestation over the course of multiple cases. I posit that this change is inevitable and needs to be overtly and tangibly addressed in the application of grounded theory to studies that use multiple cases but clearly has more immediate implications for the development of this project as a whole.

The data collection during my first case was fundamentally driven by emergent principles. Whilst the same principles were adhered to during the second case, because of the knowledge that had already been procured, emergence was 'impure' as an applied concept.

This trajectory – where there is a progressive decline in a climate across the cases that is conducive to developing knowledge on an emergent basis – is argued to continue throughout subsequent cases in this project. Thus, at this point, questions should be raised as to how the methodology can be purposefully applied in light of these issues in subsequent cases.

6.3 Implications for Case Three

The third case has been theoretically sampled on points of both difference and similarity, as detailed in the subsequent chapter. I take with me knowledge of Oliver's model of deinstitutionalization as well an increased knowledge of institutional change in general. I further take with me relatively clearly defined constructs that emerged from the previous two cases revolving around pressure, current, and pillar activity. I have further knowledge on the possibilities of power and other constructs being potentially salient in institutional change. In addition, I have tangibly formed constructs that concern the conditions or climate that make a challenge to the institutions possible, as well as a group that seem to be opposite to this that revolve around forces of resistance. I am aware of the extant literature base surrounding these constructs and that via my reading of the literature I have become aware of other potentially viable constructs, such as leaderships style for example.

The original question that arose from my experience to date asked whether the principle of emergence could be maintained consistently throughout all cases accessed within a multiple case project. My experiences of the first two cases and my reflection of the state of my knowledge as this point suggests otherwise.

As a key principle of grounded theory, the benefits of encouraging emergent data are fundamental: It allows for a more fundamental embedment of knowledge in the data and field; it acknowledges the dynamic role of the researcher and their impact on the data whilst simultaneously minimizing the problems of subjectivity often associated with case studies.

Thus, at this point, my aim must be to extend the principle of emergence from the prior two cases as much as possible. The strongest tactic to do this, i.e. the avoidance of a specific extant model, is not an option: Deinstitutionalization has already been established and has already become entwined in the data set collected from the first two cases. Instead, I suggest the tactic of suspending background research into the environment of the third case. My knowledge of deinstitutionalization at this point is both theoretical and experiential in basis and thus has cognitive form. Clearly I am not able to 'unlearn' this, in the same way that I could not unlearn 'power' as a construct that emerged from the first case, as discussed in *Appendix D* that describes the ethical conflict that arose from the first case,

If I were to explore the third case, via popular media for example, prior to my entry to the field, I risk subconsciously creating theoretically embedded hypotheses, owing to my knowledge to date on the deinstitutionalization process. I argue that these would be more robust and less easy to consciously dissolve than any premises made without theoretical embedment. It would mean that potentially I would enter the field ready to 'test' theory rather than build it: forcing knowledge rather than encouraging emergence. .

The third case was suggested by a colleague, who summarized it briefly for me and I have avoided searching for more in-depth knowledge, justified by the above argument. My knowledge prior to entry to the field consisted of the location of the community and that it had faced extensive flooding over two recent time periods and that this has had an effect on homes and businesses.

This tactic of suspending knowledge of the case until entry into the field seems important when I consider the similarity of cultural background between myself and that of the case: An argument I make based on the geographical location of the community. I posit that it is more likely that premature sense-making would occur when the culture between the researcher and the environment is more similar.

6.4 Summary

In light of the discussion around how far emergence can theoretically be extended along the chain of cases in projects using multiple case strategies of data collection, I delay the pursuance of case knowledge prior to entry to the field of the third case as a key tactic, as described. I acknowledge that this is not the most robust of tactics but still argue that it is likely to make the most impact on extending emergence, in light of my experiential and theoretical knowledge gained from the first two cases and exploration of the extant literature surrounding deinstitutionalization and institutional change.

My discussion here also raises questions surrounding the theoretical sampling of the third case, especially in light of the strongest construct to have emerged from both previous cases and the literature base on deinstitutionalization and institutional change: Pressure.

This is addressed in the sampling rationale presented in the next chapter that outlines the third case, which is preceded by a description of the field, as structured in the prior case chapters.

7.1 Introduction

This case focuses on flooding in a small town in the north west of England and in particular – but not exclusively – that which occurred in 2009 as the last extensive river flood to impact the community and its enterprises.

The case has been theoretically sampled. The floods were an easily identifiable adverse event and, at the point of sampling, were identified as a pressure and the town itself is remote enough to be considered boundaried to some extent. A full rationale for the case's selection forms the basis of the start of the chapter, as *Section 7.2*. The context of the case is described in *Section 7.3*, with a description of the wider geographical setting in *Appendix E*.

The chapter continues with *Section 7.4* describing the methods and tactics employed in the case, with overall findings detailed in *Section 7.5*. Extant literature is enfolded and a discussion on the most pertinent research is made in *Section 7.6*. The chapter concludes with a consideration on the limitations of the case in a tactical sense, followed by a summary in *Section 7.7* and an overview of the contributions made by the data gathered from this specific field.

7.2 Rationale of case selection

The case selection was driven by the state of a posteriori knowledge gleaned from the prior two cases. Theoretical sampling was utilized to select the case. In line with the suggestions of Yin (1998), this case served the specific function of replication but with a simultaneous element of extension.

The previous two cases each revolved around a community that had a joint identity of both economic and social bases, entwined and synergized with one another. The economic structure of the third case has a large proportion of micro and small businesses within the community. Like the first two cases, there seems to be very little distinction, if any at all, between economic and non-economic spheres of life.

Calle 13 and Dharsa were also strongly characterized by being 'boundaried', i.e. that there was a strong and clear division between the communities and their immediate surroundings. In Calle 13, this equated to a complex combination of cultural and semiotic factors that were embedded in both the practices of the community as well as more visible and tangible manifestations, such as the style of housing, and the visitors' centre. In Dharsa, the village was boundaried on the basis of its geography but also bases of kinship and friendship. It was physically isolated from other villages in the region, with the lack of transport and winter weather conditions increasing the village's isolation. Kinship and friendship ties effectively maintained the links between upper and lower Dharsa, but further defined the village, as a whole, as a complete entity.

The third case was chosen in part as another boundaried community in that Cockermouth is a rural and relatively isolated village with factors that indicate that it is a complete entity: Its historical development, for example, as outlined in the previous section; its modern day political status under Allerdale Borough Council; and more social-economic factors such as a market place and an obvious cluster of trade. Yet a distinction can be drawn in terms of the amount of expected population movement in and out of the village – at least in comparison to Dharsa there will inevitably be more movement, for example, in terms of a temporary and transient population of tourists.

This latter point may suggest that a more isolated and more extensively boundaried community could have been sampled as a third case. Yet, it was the emergence of survival pressure from the first two cases that suggested the merits of pursuing a third case in a slightly different environment. The first two cases were typified by their wider context of, amongst other characteristics, having no monetary support system as a guarantee for personal survival. The lack of a state supported social welfare system in these two cases could be contributing to the manifestation of the stimulus in the wider environment as a pressure on personal survival. Thus, a third case that explores the effects of a stimulus on organizations in an environment that has a 'safety net' of state sanctioned monetary support via a national welfare system allows for a more reliable exploration of relationship between pressure, the type of pressure, and organizational change.

Clearly, still with these points in mind, many other villages could have been selected that would have reflected the identified characteristics. The further major consideration that led to

Cockermouth being selected was the issue of the stimulus itself. Torrential rainfall and the rivers Cocker and Derwent bursting their banks led to extensive flooding as depicted in the next section. Not only did a stimulus for potential organizational change exist but the catalyst was environmental in typology. This potentially aligned the specific village with Dharsa on this particular characteristic.

Finally, a secondary driver of choosing this particular context as the third case, are the added benefits of selecting an environment that is more closely aligned in culture with my own. Whilst the advantages of accessing unfamiliar cultural environments was noted in the first two cases, at this point in the overall project there are benefits to exploring a field in which there is a stronger shared culture with the investigator. The foundations for the emergent theory have already been established (emically) from the first two cases. There is a possibility that the cultural diversity within the prior cases was so extreme that trends may have been unintentionally ignored. This third case would potentially allow for these to be more readily identified.

Section 7.3 Outline of context

7.3.i Cockermouth

Cockermouth has a population of just less than eight thousand people and the town was established as a market town in 1221. It still purposefully maintains its 'traditional feel' in terms of its local economy. In many ways it reflects the majority of other small towns – the benefits of which (from a sampling perspective) were discussed in the prior section of this case. For example, it has three supermarkets and a small number of 'chain' stores. In addition, it reflects other towns in the UK, having schools, churches, a sports centre, for example, and other typical community based organizations and provisions.

In most other ways the local economy champions micro and small enterprises, many of which have had a presence in the town for many years. 'Firns Home Hardware', for example, was established in 1939. In particular, independent retailers reflect the demographics of local residents as well as catering for demands from tourists: Hairdressers and wool shops are juxtaposed with teashops and arts and craft galleries and potteries. Churn in the occupancy of business premises is low.

Tourism is clearly an established source of revenue for the local economy. The micro and small enterprises that target the tourist market are indicative of this, as is the tourist information centre that exists in the Town Hall building. Jennings brewery with its advertised tours, the (privately owned) castle, Wood Hall Gardens, Elva Plain Stone Circle, and Isel Hall all support the idea of a lively tourist trade, as does Wordsworth House: the birthplace of William Wordsworth.

7.3.ii Flooding in 2009

During a 24 hour period in late November 2009, 314mm of rain added to the extensive waterfall in the previous two days that fell over parts of Cumbria and which had already saturated the ground. This culmination of rain occured owing to the cooling effect of the Cumbrian fells: The region has a higher than average annual rainfall because of this.

The accumulated rainfall had the end effect of the Rivers Derwent and Cocker busting their banks and, as *Figure 34* taken from the *New Civil Engineer* below indicates, this affected the infrastructure in the area most extensively around Cockermouth, including the damage to bridges, making some parts of the community inaccessable.

FIGURE 34

Aston University

Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

Source: New Civil Engineer (2009)

A combination of sources, including emergency service records, local council inspections, and local knowledge show that the number of properties flooded in the Allerdale region amounted to 1721 – about 77% of the total properties in the region. Within this figure, 917 were in Cockermouth, and of these, 226 properties that reported flood damage to the Cumbrian Police force are described as 'commercial property', this being about 80% of businesses in Cockermouth.

Figure 35 below shows the geographical spread of the flooding in Cockermouth, and *Figure 36* depicts Main Street in the initial stages of the flooding.

FIGURE 35

2009 FLOODING IN COCKERMOUTH

Aston University

Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

Source: The Environment Agency (2009)

FIGURE 36

FLOODING IN MAIN STREET (DOCUMENT REVIEW)

7.4 Methods and tactics

7.4.i Overall aims and objectives

The aim of this case was to build on the previous two cases, in terms of the emergent themes that came into being. Themes were loosely identified in the first case and some of these were present in the second. At the end of the second case, themes were more consolidated: They had a stronger and clearer identity, driven by extensive evidence from the data set. The extent to which institutions were historically embedded, for example: In the first case there was longevity in the institutional framework of the community, yet this underwent considerable change as the community went from existing on a purely ideological basis to being manifested at a literal and physical level, and then again when competing institutional logics emerged as more economic forces came in to play. The second case revealed much more longevity in the history of the institutions, and the high probability that these adapted and changed much less than seen in the first case. Cockermouth, as a case, offers the opportunity to explore historical embedment in a slightly different setting, across several different bases of

comparison: The town is as old as Dharsa from the second case, for example, but less geographically boundaried, i.e. it is not so isolated and impermeable to visitors and potential settlers. This is not to say that Cockermouth was theoretically sampled to 'test' emergent themes from the first two cases but nevertheless served the purpose of providing a different context to compare and contrast data.

In terms of the case objectives, as discussed in the previous section of this chapter, this case serves the purpose of replication with some element of extension, owing to the state of a posteriori knowledge at this point in the overall project. This combined replication and extension contributes towards the building of theory by seeking to enhance the validity of the emergent themes to date. It strengthens the conclusions drawn by addressing inevitable criticisms that the emergent themes from the prior two cases could be idiosyncratic to their anomalistic environments.

The aim of this case is not to test the constructs established to date. I do not set out to purposefully exam and investigate 'institutional current', for example. Yet, as I previously outlined in the rationale for the selection of this case, the existence of 'pressure' – as a catalytic entity – was a key factor in the case's theoretical sampling.

Nevertheless the existence of a posteriori knowledge forces a different approach towards the collection and analysis of data. Efforts to make the 'familiar strange' (Spindler & Spindler, 1982) were enfolded in the tactics of gathering and processing the data. But the operations and more general objectives of the case were carried out within the realistic confines of my experiential knowledge base.

This study is essentially a contemporary historical account of how the human population in a small village in the north of England has responded to extensive periods of flooding. Whilst many homes suffered water damage, the focus of this case is on the economics and businesses in the community.

7.4.ii Defining the field, population and participant sampling

Akin to grounded theory principles, I used theoretical sampling to select Cockermouth as a case study with the rationale being detailed in the previous section.

Initially, the November 2009 flooding was identified as the stimulus, and 'event' to be sampled that partially drove the selection of the case itself. However, it soon became apparent that prior flooding of the town on other occasions could well have contributed to how businesses have responded. Thus, whilst the participants focused on the most recent flooding, the historical flooding was also included in recollections.

Whilst I visited Cockermouth twice – once in October 2010 and once in May 2011 – the timing of my visits were not relevant to the data collected, largely owing to the data being of a group of recollections rather than reflecting any 'real-time' study. Thus time sampling was not applied.

In terms of population, the village was too large to be sampled in its entirety. The population consisted of a cluster of businesses located where the worst of the flooding occurred. A further population was accessed that consisted of businesses affected by the flood but to a slightly lesser extent.

DiMaggio and Powell's notion of the 'field' was again instigated (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991). In practice, this extended to the wider town, especially in the context of exploring the reactions and changes initiated after the flooding had occurred. This included formal local government sanctioned plans and initiatives.

Owing to the type of data procured, data was spread across multiple sources thinly: In total, 47 people initiated some response. Several of these offered more detailed descriptions of what happened during the flood and the aftermath.

People were happy to take part and no one withdrew their data. However, the overall willingness to talk about the flood and its effects had diminished. As one participant based at the tourist information office stated, "…we are trying to move on from the flooding now…"

7.4.iii The relationship between me and the field

My relationship to the field was one of visitor. I spent a total of three days in the field on my first visit, with a further two days in a second visit.

Because the first case involved the exploration of a cultural environment alien to my own, many of the interviews, especially in the early stages of the case, were instigated with the

purpose of orientating me as to how the community 'worked'. I entered Cockermouth however with a posteriori, thematic knowledge but also with an implicit cultural awareness and appreciation. This, to a certain extent, negated the need to seek sense of the environment via initial interviews.

Initially I spent time in the village in an orientation period but, unlike the prior two cases, my presence was relatively anonymous in that nobody stopped me to ask me what I was doing. As with the other cases, no appointments had been made prior to entry to the field. Interviews were carried out on an ad hoc basis. In one instance, I was asked to come back at another (specific) time but most of the time, especially in the first visit to the town, people were happy to talk.

7.4.iv Recording of the data

This third case procured new considerations as to whether interviews should be recorded electronically or not. For methodological reasons, the preference during the first two cases was to not record interview data electronically, although some of the Dharsa interviews were recorded owing to my difficulty in understanding some of the (English) pronunciation of the (Ladakhi) translator.

However, the positioning of this third case, and one that functions for the purpose of replication, allows for the transcribing of interviews. This is because essentially themes have already emerged from the data sets of the prior two cases. I posit that themes are likely to emerge in a loose form very quickly initially but the details of their structure and how they are related to other constructs and facets within the field emerge more slowly along the trajectory of the multiple and sequential cases. Thus, the time taken to record and transcribe interviews is not at the detriment to the cognitively based quick development of the constructs – in essence, this third case begins with these already having taken place.

A further justification as to why the recording of the interviews is beneficial and not detrimental for this case is the reliance on interviews as the sole interactionary method of data collection. In light of the aim of the interviews – to elicit an understanding of the human reaction to the flooding of business owners' small enterprises – I posit that very little, in terms of data quality, is likely to be lost in the process of focusing on what is said rather than the

inclusion of any 'real time' observation. Furthermore, whilst the tone and other non-verbal communication could be commentated on – which could be taken note of whilst interviewing – extensive importance is placed on *what* is said rather than the manner in which the dialogue is imparted. Thus, most interviews were recorded with the exception of shorter ad hoc interviews.

7.5.v Data sources

Forty-eight people were talked to in total, of which 31 had enterprise interests in the town. This latter group comprised of business owns as well as employees. The former group included residents of the community, community led organizations such as the Cockermouth Heritage Grant Scheme, the tourist information centre, and employees in tourist attractions, such as Wordsworth House. Enterprises that were accessed spanned small catering establishments, two hairdressers, a toyshop, two bookstores, an ironmongers and hardware store, a physiotherapist, an independent brewery and a shop selling wedding dresses. In addition, several business owners were also talked to who had set up temporary stalls in an indoor market area.

Much of the data was derived from historical sources. The majority of this was sourced locally in the town. Further secondary data was gathered from historical archives sourced at the British Library.

7.4.vi Specific methods

As in the first two cases, data collection methods were crafted from within the field, on an opportunistic basis, to ensure they were 'field driven' and not the result of pre-emptive reasoning. This seemed to be even more important than in the prior cases as the need to take any opportunity to not 'test' or force data was valuable, in light of my a posteriori knowledge.

Document review

A document review was driven by the data collected from interview sources that hinted that historical trends that pertained to both the flooding as well as the population of Cockermouth may be instrumental in answering questions that developed whilst in the field relating to why

certain observations existed. Local historical publications were gathering. Again, grounded theory principles applied: No specific topic was sought after and material included economic, social, and geographical data. Some minor material was also sourced from the British Library archives. This was sought on a more specific basis mainly for the purposes of triangulating documentation found and often written locally.

<u>Interviews</u>

Most interviews were carried out on an ad hoc basis. Some of these were semi-structured, especially those carried out during the second visit. Interviews carried out during the first visit were more unstructured, with people being encouraged to talk about what happened during the 2009 floods, and what happened afterwards.

7.4.vii Analytic framework

As with the prior two cases and in light of a grounded theory approach the data collection and analysis was cyclical. The case followed the framework carried out in the previous two cases. First, the raw data were read and re-read multiple times to elicit a thorough understanding of the community as a whole. The case was written up descriptively to help generate insights into emergent trends and constructs (Gersick 1988; Pettigrew 1988). This was done whilst in the field as categories started to emerge after a relatively short period of time.

From this, themes were grouped together to obtain first order level categories, which were then collapsed into second order level categories. Categories were then compared to the case write up again to check for consistency in meaning and 'fit.

Data surrounding the stimulus was compared to the stimuli in the prior two cases. The constructs and field characteristics from the prior two cases were also compared to those in Cockermouth, despite there being an absence of institutional change.

7.5 Findings

The event of the 2009 flood was identified, at the point of making sampling decisions, as one of the main drivers of including the case in the overall study. In light of the findings from the

first two cases, a third case must have suffered some sort of change in the external environment. Cockermouth was selected for that reason but based ostensibly on the 2009 flooding at the point at which the rivers Derwent and Cocker meet.

Yet, the field and some of the data collected suggested that the 2009 flooding was largely superficial in terms of an indication as to why the community and organizations reacted as they did. The value of historical data that described events throughout the town's development over a number of years became evident when a number of patterns were identified through the analysis of historical documents – both visual and pictorial. Interestingly, the historical patterns seem to have value in two ways: First, for understanding the flooding as a stimulus itself – this was not an anomaly but something that occurred frequently in the town's history; second, for understanding the enterprises' reaction to the 2009 flood, via the strongly embedded traditions and community organization throughout the town's history.

With these findings in mind, this section that describes the findings of the case is structured slightly differently to the counterpart sections of the previous two cases. There is strong evidence to suggest that the reasons as to why the town reacted in the way that it did seem to be historically motivated. Thus, this section is structured as follows:

- First, I give an overview on my observations as a whole

- Second, I discuss the role of pressure

- Third, I discuss the organizational change within the case

- Fourth, I describe the lack of institutional change, evidenced by the dataset

- Fifth, the underpinning reasons as to why organizations have not changed within the town are discussed, incorporating a consideration of the historical stability of the underpinning institutions surrounding collectivism, as well as the town historical experiences of flooding.

- Sixth, I present first and second order categories that arise from the dataset of this third case

- Seventh, I discuss relevant extant literature

- Eighth, I present second and third order categories

- Ninth, I compare the findings from this case to the findings in the previous two cases

- Tenth, I outline some of the tactical limitations of the study

- Finally, I summarize the contributions which the case makes.

7.5.i Overview

FIGURE 37

OVERVIEW AND ORGANIZING FIGURE FOR DATA FROM CASE THREE
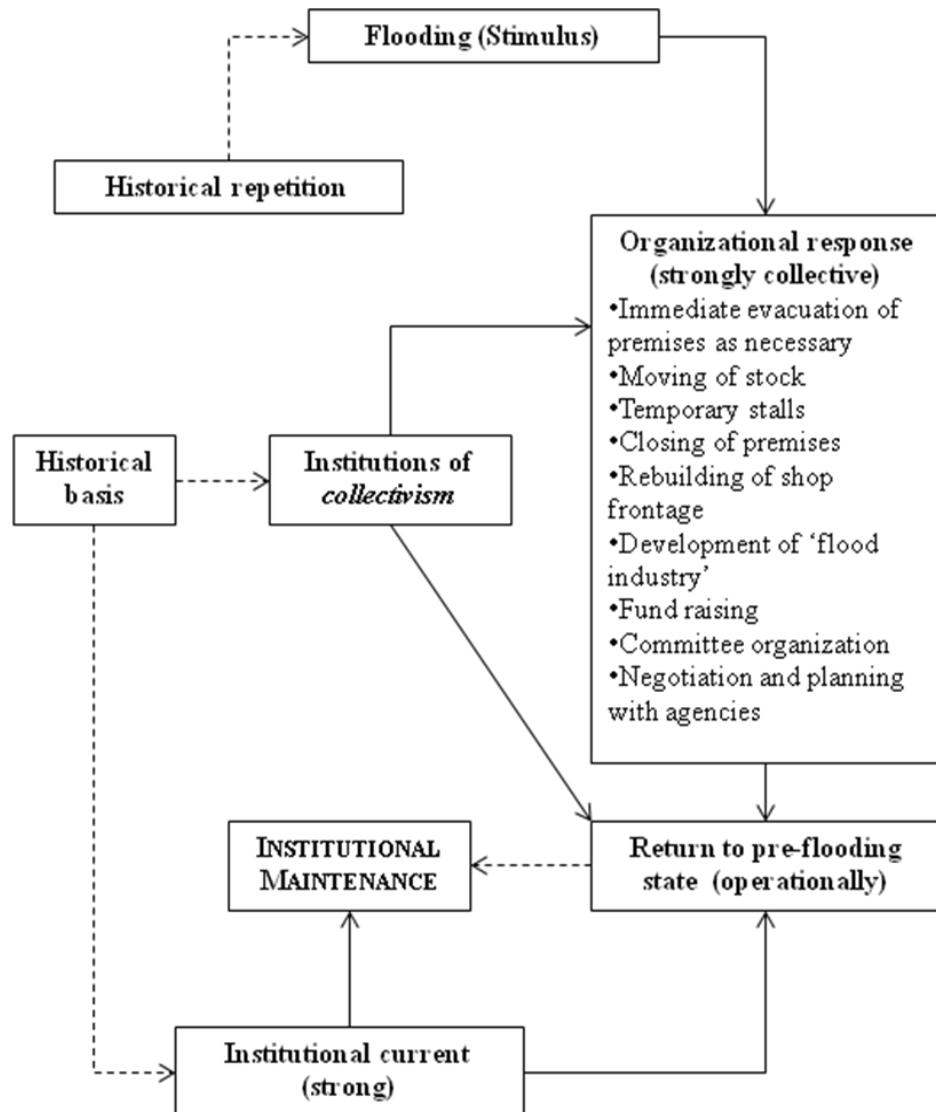
The most important factor to emerge from the dataset of this case was the role of 'traditions' and the historical embedment of the flooding of the two rivers, i.e. the source of the pressure, as well as the collectivist orientated institutions themselves.

Some pressure was exhorted on the organizations who were hard hit by the 2009 floods. This was manifested as functional pressure. The floods had effectively, to varying degrees, caused enough structural and cosmetic damage to close businesses, although in the majority of organizations this seemed to be temporary. Put at its crudest, some pressure came about as a result of the knowledge that flooding was inevitable again in the future and that the firms were not equipped to deal adequately with the water in the future, as they had experienced during the 2009 floods. Yet, this was accompanied by a sense of inevitability. As an employee in one of the arts buildings stated, "…it will happen again…maybe worse. That's what we are trying to do now, taking…or…making sure that we can put things [in place] like the flood [defence] barriers but it [the flooding] will happen again…"

Organizationally, nothing really changed apart from cosmetic enhancements and some structural renovations. Some companies closed down permanently, some moved their trade temporarily to market stalls, others chose to close down and reopen when the renovations had been completed to their flood damaged premises. On their return, the businesses operated as they had done prior to the floods. No new processes or systems within each organization were implemented. Rather, as of 2010, the problem of inevitable future flooding is being collectively solved within Cockermouth at a community level. There were indications that some businesses were concerned with the effects of the flooding in 2009 on their future insurance premiums or whether they would still be able to get insurance, in light of the most recent flooding occurring on the back of, albeit less severe, flooding in 2008 and 2005. Yet despite this, no real change has been seen.

In terms of the norms, practices, and cultural values within the firms, again nothing really changed after the 2009 floods. Neither of the two visits to the town – around six months apart – elicited evidence that changes had occurred within firms. In addition, it was the institutional set within the wider community that seemed to influence how the organizations responded to the floods. Strongly embedded traditions of collectivism and self-support within the community were seen during the floods, as well as in the immediate aftermath and some

eighteen months later. Thus, the pressure elicited by the floods seemed to strengthen and maintain the institutional set, via the role of the tradition of collectivist orientated norms and processes that have a deep, historical embedment in the cultural make up of the town.

7.5.ii The Role of Pressure

The role of pressure took on a more complex format than had been seen previously, certainly when compared to the relatively straight forward pressure in Dharsa that surrounded the retreating glacier and lack of ice melt for irrigation. In Cockermouth the pressure felt by businesses was more fragmented in that the stimulus, i.e. the flooding, had multiple implications that changed over time and elicited multiple further pressures. At the same time, the extent of the pressures, i.e. how much they impacted on the businesses institutionally was very weak. The data set surrounding the role of pressure in this case drove several questions (also answered by the data set in the cyclical inductive and deductive process of analysis).

At its most basic, the floods had caused extensive physical damage to premises, significantly limiting the capabilities of carrying out 'normal' trade. Staying with Oliver's nomenclature, the type of pressure seen in this case was 'functional'. Several sources indicate this. Interview data across enterprises suggest that the worst hit businesses did not open for up to eighteen months after the flooding and photographical evidence support this as well as the extent of the damage, as indicated by *Figures 38* and *39* below.

FIGURE 38

EXAMPLE OF VACANT PREMISES (1ST JUNE 2011)

FIGURE 39

EXAMPLE OF INTERNAL FLOOD DAMAGE

However, as time progressed after the 2009 flooding, additional pressures for the businesses occurred – again, all functional in basis. The immediate pressure during the floods was to save as much stock as possible. Many of the businesses had transported some of their stock to the dryer upper floors of premises but several of the businesses reported "*the majority*" of their stock having been carried away by the flooding. One of the largest shops selling artists' work that spanned product lines such as jewellery, fine art, sculpture, clothes, and home decoration items describes their experiences as such. M.J., the owner, stated,

> "*…we started grabbing things…some of the jewellery just got washed away…As well as a lot of the pottery smashed…We started to take things upstairs…there were dinghies outside and we were passing them* [the goods] *through the windows…At least we could give some of the things back to the artists, y'know…But we lost a lot…maybe three quarters of our stock…*"

After the initial flooding, financial implications also became a source of pressure to a certain extent: With no premises to operate from, affected firms had to make choices in terms of their future operations. Several interviewees stated that their insurance brokers delayed surveying the damage and subsequent dispatch of payment so much that this affected their ability to start renovations of their premises and this had a knock on effect on their income. The lack of

revenue for business owners was a clear pressure, as was the subsequent pressure of uncertainty. As K.L, the owner of a café stated,

> "…*It was a real gamble starting this* [the company]*…it took every penny that I had and then I had to borrow some more to even get open…We weren't here for long as it was. It feels like my world has collapsed, along with the bridge. The worst of it, is I'm not sure what will happen. Right now I have a wife and a baby and no money coming in…I don't know how long we can survive. I can't pay my staff to do nothing so they're out of a job and it just goes on and on. We didn't have as much as the places up the top…but if I just knew how long this was going to go on for that would be a start…*"

One of the solutions for some businesses was to trade from one of the stalls that had been set up on a temporary basis for affected firms. This kept some revenue flowing into the businesses but this option was also hampered by the lack of visitors, i.e. potential customers, to the town, not just in the immediate aftermath of the floods but for several months afterwards. The Tourist Information centre recalled "*a lot*" of people telephoning for "*at least a year*", enquiring as to whether the town was open as well as saying that they had kept away from the town owing to the media reports of the "*chaos*". In reality, the businesses which were not badly affected and those which had chosen to temporarily trade from one of the stalls in the auction mart were now suffering the additional pressure of having no customers, and sequentially, no income.

Some of the businesses chose not to operate from one of the temporary stalls in the auction mart. Some were in the financial position of being able to close down premises and wait for the building infrastructure to dry out, suspending trade completely until renovations had been carried out. One such business that suffered extensive delays to reopening its doors to their customers was a gallery housed in a building that is around six hundred years old. The building was assessed as especially porous and owing to its age, it required drying out over a long period of time that took almost eighteen months. Further delays were caused by insurers, which meant that even after the drying period restoration did not start for a further eleven months. As stated,

> "…*After much discussion and meetings with English Heritage it was decided the only course of action was to dry the building very gently in order to preserve the unique plaster work. September* [2010] *saw the restoration ready to start but insurance problems yet again held up the work and it was not until October that the contractors finally started…Even as contractors started restoring damage to the ground floor walls Allerdale council slapped a Stop notice on work after querying the type of plaster being used. And as if to rub salt in the wound it was on November 19th, exactly*

a year after the floods that the Stop was imposed. This meant the gallery and its artists missed the busy Christmas period [of 2010]*…"* (Document review.)

When queried as to why they had not taken one of the temporary stalls, one of the employees stated that

"…We didn't really want to be reduced to a market stall…We have beautiful things and…well…I'm not sure that our artists would have been very pleased [at] *having their pieces in a market…"*

Nevertheless, the same store reported no problems in the relationship with their suppliers, i.e. the artists, and this was echoed across all of the enterprises discussed. Thus, the flooding did not procure a pressure on the supply chain for any of the organizations, with several saying that their suppliers had actually initiated more flexibility in their relationship, over and above any contractual agreements, in a mark of support for the town.

Neither was there any evidence to suggest that there was acute or extensive pressure felt by the businesses in terms of the flooding occurring again. Most of the businesses responded after the 2009 flooding in making tangible changes in their shop's organization, for example, as discussed below. But there seemed to be a distinct lack of concern that the events would be repeated, yet not in a way that suggested denial. Most of the businesses sampled acknowledged that further flooding was inevitable in future years. Some people mentioned climate change, for example, one hairdresser stated,

"...I think this thing [flooding] is going to happen more and more isn't it?...I know you see a lot of places where there are droughts and things…we always get hosepipe bans don't we like for the whole of summertime…then you've got places like here and Yorkshire, across the Pennines that are always under water. Climate change isn't it…the planet is changing, even when we have no water…"

But there was also a strong trend indicated by people describing aspects of the history of the town. This was clearly divided into two different factions. First, business owners as well as participants from the wider community discussed the historical flooding of the town. This was strong triangulated from a document review that included both written and pictorial records. At a theoretical level this has implications for the supposed coupling of a negative event, i.e. the stimuli, and subsequent pressure. At an applied level it seemed to have influence the

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attitude towards the risk of future flooding. Second, it was at this point that the strongest institutional set emerged from the data collected, in that there was a strong sense of collectivism and self-help in the town, that were extensively embedded in the town's history, again triangulated by an extensive review of historical documents. This is discussed below as an underpinning factor.

7.5.iii Organizational Change

In the immediate aftermath of the 2009 flood, firms were generally faced with three options as a result of the flood damage. Businesses could take up one of the stalls that had been set up in Mitchells' auction mart as mentioned as a temporary measure to continue trade. They could close their operations permanently and 'deincorporate' – albeit not an option that was always voluntary. A third option was for businesses to suspend trade temporarily until their premises have been renovated. Many of the larger businesses had stock that was not easily transportable, or not suitable for trading via stalls or smaller premises. Evidence from several sources suggest that "…*most are just having to wait until their properties are repaired before they can start trading again*".

Not every business was extensively affected. A second handbook shop, for example, closed for only 3 months, although the water level reached about a meter high. Stock was relatively easy to save as it is a small shop, and the water levels did not rise as high as in other shops in different locations. After a drying out period, the shop was back open with the owner making no changes at all.

All extensively affected businesses, i.e. those which needed renovations, seemed to have taken advantage of the physical devastation. Several businesses in their renovations had incorporated changes to the layout of their premises and contents that made them more 'flood friendly'. Electrical wires that are usually fitted into skirting boards, for example, were fitted to the ceiling with the view that if floods were to happen again then there was less chance of the electrics being destroyed. Some businesses which had the majority of its stock shelved had new shelves fitted that were easily and quickly dismantled. This would enable stock to be more quickly moved to higher floors of property, as well the shelves themselves. Some of the business properties were so damaged that the walls had to be stripped back beyond the plaster.

Some businesses chose to wood line their walls during their renovations with panels that were horizontally split into two parts. The aim of this was that if minor flooding were to happen in future then only the bottom halves of the panels would need to be replaced. In terms of the physical layout, many of the enterprises redesigned the inside of their premises to greater extremes. Several businesses with higher floors rearranged where the main business activity would take place in the future. A hairdresser, for example, moved the salon part of her premises to the upper levels of her shop, with the ground level space becoming an extended waiting and reception area. Jennings Brewery also rearranged their layout, moving vital equipment again to the upstairs floors of the premises.

The strongest trend for organizational change emerged as a collective approach to the renovations. The business community had decided as a whole to take advantage of the flood damage to the front of their shops to replace "*1960s tat with a Victorian retro look*". As a result, the facades of the individual shops looked much more in keeping with an attractive old fashioned main street. As one shopkeeper stated,

> "…*We've got a lot of really old buildings anyway. Percy House is the oldest…people come here* [to Cockermouth] *to…because of the old fashioned way of life…it's slow and everyone says hello to you…We didn't want the Sainsbury's here at first…there's no way it would have come on to the main drag…that's not what we're about…tourists like the independent shops that sell traditional things…that's who spends the money…that's what keeps us* [the town] *going…So, when we knew we were going to be alright* [financially] *we decided we wanted to try and make it a bit more…well…attractive…but in an old fashioned way…*"

To a certain extent the collectivist approach to the façade renovations may have been driven by fundraising via formal and informal channels, also being collective in basis. The Cockermouth Heritage Grant Scheme, as a collaborative partnership between the Town Council, Chamber of Trade, Churches Together, and other organizations, drove forward the opportunity that the flood damage had presented for developing a more attractive frontage for tourists, as stated by the initiator of the project "…*I could see that the floods could be a rare opportunity to improve the town – not simply put it back to how it was but re-build it better…*"

No one business reported any change in their strategy for trade. There was no evidence to suggest that the choices of product lines changed following the floods. The strongest evidence

suggested that businesses focused on repairing their shops as quickly as possible so recommence trade as it has been before. Apart from taking advantage of the physical damage to create more attractive shop fronts, as well as some minor changes to try and reduce the impact of further damage, such as the moving of vital equipment to higher floors, as described above, there was no evidence for any individual product or process innovation or change in strategy within any one business.

However, there was strong evidence to indicate collective initiatives to attract more tourists. Prior to the 1990s, Cockermouth was not keen to develop itself as a tourist centre, citing the problems with parking and crowding issues. However, Millers's shoe factory closing in 2003 with the loss of 1100 jobs added to the depressed economic climate of the region. The town, again on a collective basis, started to initiate a tourism drive: There is some evidence to indicate that Cockermouth having once seen Windermere as an undesirable model to mirror with its problems of overcrowding, it was now seeing it as a demonstration of how much revenue could be brought into a relatively isolated market town.

After the floods, the drive to maintain tourism, or at least to bring tourists back to the town as quickly as possible, was initiated through various projects both on large and small scales. Even the boarded up damaged property that awaited renovation was embellished with historical poster boards as to how that property had looked several decade ago, as depicted in *Figures 40* and *41*. The Tourist Information Centre regularly received calls after the floods asking if the town was open, to which they responded with encouragement to potential visitors, and this was verified by evidence from several of the affected businesses in the town.

FIGURE 40

THE GLOBE HOTEL WITH HISTORICAL POSTER BOARDS

FIGURE 41

HISTORICAL POSTER BOARD

To a certain extent, and again on a collective basis, the data suggests that a small scale 'disaster industry' had emerged in the several months that had followed, primarily to support the more formal grant orientated revenue from government agencies. Up to October 2010 it was possible to buy a 'Flood Map' that enabled a self-guided walking tour of the flood sites and affected businesses, with the sale of photographs, stickers, and bags all going towards the relief fund. William Wordsworth's birthplace, now a National Trust site, sold DVDs of the floods as they occurred, again contributing to the flood relief fund. As one shopkeeper stated, "…*communal sense that the blow could be turned to advantage*…" with another person adding,

> "…*suppose it was similar to when you see a crash on the motorway…you know you shouldn't look out of respect for the victims but you do anyway because…well you do don't you?...everyone slows down to see the wreckage out of curiosity…That's what we realized when tourists started to come* [after the floods]…*I'm not even sure they would have normally come to Cockermouth anyway…I think a lot of them came to see*

the motorway crash, except this time it was water and lots of it…cars floating down Main Street, beds and the like…".

A third informant commented,

> "…*Don't know who thought up the idea of the…of the DVDs and the bags…but it was a real town effort…it was quite obvious when people started turning up they were tourists of a different kind…wanting to know how bad it was…I think some somewhere thought hang on a minute, we could make some money here…flood tourism…and to a great extent it's been successful…but long term I don't know…it's not nice being the victim and we have so much to offer…in summer you can't move down Main Street for visitors spending their money and that's what we need to get back to, you know?...*"

This last point was echoed by the sale of merchandise. In 2010, the slogan on the hessian shopping bags for purchase was 'Cockermouth – Open for Business'. In 2011, the same bags have 'Forward from the Flood' as their slogan, perhaps indicating the town's desire to move away from a flood orientated strategy for their revenue and to return to promoting Cockermouth per se, i.e. as an attractive tourist market town. This change in approach was reiterated in early summer 2011, when many of the shopkeepers and some of the central agencies such as the Tourist Information showed a reticence in talking about the 2009 flood and consequences, commonly stating, "…well we are trying to move on from the floods now…"

The collective economic strategy of the town was thus to build on the previous success the town had seen with its two festivals that had been held on an annual basis in the summer for several years before the floods had hit, again to try and attract more tourists. Thus, a food festival – 'Taste of Cumbria' was initiated along with a music festival and other shows, with the aim of increasing the local economy.

7.5.iv Institutional activity

As the economic activity within and across the organizations suggests, there is a strong sense of collectivism. This was identified as a main 'umbrella' institution. Some of the evidence, as discussed above, is presented as data which supports the idea of collectivism being at the crux of the organizations' unwritten 'rules'. In other words, individual enterprise responses to the flood, especially in terms of monies, strategies for survival, and renovations, were not seen to any great extent. As one shopkeeper stated,

"…well, we're a community…we all know each other and some of us have been here forever…Some of us are like family…and my father and his father and his father before that…"

Additional data supports this idea of collectivism. Businesses all voluntarily paid in to the flood relieve fund, regardless of how much damage they had suffered themselves as a result of the 2009 flood. Jennings Brewery is a good example. As an independent brewery started in 1828, it is long established in the community. Despite having suffered major damage, the independent brewery still donated £178,000 to the central flood relief fund. Further examples can be found in the renovations carried out by the organizations in that local joiners and electricians were used, with the largest gallery for example, hiring a local woodsman to make new beams for the derelict ceiling.

Several pieces of evidence do suggest that the issue of collectivism could perhaps have been influenced in part by some processes and initiatives that were applied to the management of the aftermath of the floods. The appointment of the Flood Relief Manager for example and a collective flood relief fund suggest this. A further example can be found in the reciprocal arrangement between the Association of British Insurers and central government, where the former agreed to insure premises vulnerable to flooding if the latter funded flood defence systems on the rivers Derwent and Cocker, again approaching the effects of flooding on a community basis.

Yet, evidence suggests that the issue of collectivism is much more deeply embedded into the community than the more recent organization and post-flooding response suggests. First, the central administration (at the town level) of the flood relief fund as well as many of the other grants, and management of the renovations and strategy for growth, was done in partnership with the organizations themselves. Several businesses spoke about their involvement and the ease of accessibility to plans, citing community meetings and so on. Few barriers were in place in terms of access to committee members – many of whom came from the enterprises themselves – or local government figures. Several business owners referred to Dr Les Tickner – the Flood Relief Manager as "*…Les, our flood relief person…*" for example.

Nevertheless, at this point it could be argued that the strong sense of collectivism seen post-flooding is a new institutional set. In other words, the 2009 floods via functional pressure could have changed the institutional landscape from individualism to collectivism. Yet, a

historical review of records suggests very little change, with the seeming reason being that which revolves around traditions.

Historical collectivism

Several historical trends have encouraged a collectivist stance in the town, some of which are not specific to Cockermouth but reflect the social and economic organization across England as a whole.

As noted at the beginning of the chapter, Cockermouth was a community that was formed on the basis of farming. The farming practices of Cockermouth and the surrounding areas suggested that there was much necessity for co-operation amongst farmers with access to land with an infield-outfield system around the mid seventh century. The infields were intensively farmed with oats, barley and beans, whilst the outfields were cultivated as to the collective demand within the community. The community, as whole, addressed questions such as how much of the outfields should be cultivated and how much should remain fallow to increase yields for future years. How many animals each farmer should be allocating to graze on the outfields was also addressed through collaboration and a stinting system still exists today on unfenced fell land. Manure – as a result of grazing cattle – was gathered from the outfields and was a valuable collectively owned commodity, protected legally: A resolution passed by the court leet in 1690 states for example, "…*It is put in pain that no inhabitant within this borough shall sell or give any manure to any in Brigham sub poena 6s. 8d…*" (document review).

Across England the Black Death in the mid fourteenth century had the effect of reducing the population and thus the availability of manpower. Many surviving labourers recognized their worth and collectively started asking for more money. Edward III imposed a national pay scale to control the people but this also had the effect of organizing people into groups with a shared identity. The control of clothing by law also served to identify people in collective groups according to their class and the payment of wages was done on a half yearly basis to prevent people from moving location, again, stabilizing the organization of the population into identifiable groups.

Yet the collectivism in the town was seen at a deeper level than just merely in the organizing of people. Edward III had also been responsible for previously abolishing slave labour but

with that it would seem that a change in attitude also came about. Community based tasks were now carried out not under the order of their 'owner' but in a voluntary and more dignified capacity as a contribution to the wellbeing of the town. As Trevelyan (1964) describes

> "…*For purposes of war and police, and for town-works of all sorts like digging a town ditch or drain, repairing the town bridge, helping in the harvest in the town fields, very occasionally cleaning or mending the street in front of his own house, a man might be called upon for personal service by the civic authorities. Such work in the common cause was not regarded as 'servile', like work on the lord's demesne…*"

Further involvement with the community was also given to workers of all statuses by the structure of open courts and meetings, which encouraged Cockermouth residents to make their voice heard, regardless of their wealth.

In the late eighteenth century, the town's organization and management – before the emergence of local government – again drew on the sense of community that Trevelyan (1964) reports. Systems were put into place within the town, designed to protect the residents from being taken advantage of. These systems were self-policed with responsibilities being shared out amongst the townspeople. These included, for example, two mill lookers to ensure the stones and equipment used in the mills were in good order and that tenants were not taken advantage. Two people assessed ale and bread to ensure it was of good quality, and four people assessed the value of houses and land so dues could be calculated fairly. All these posts were filled by the townspeople and were rotated every year, with a consideration of what was needed by the town being discussed at town meetings.

One of the key meetings was the vestry meeting. The church seemed to play a central role in the development of the town but in a broader sense than might be implied. In addition to the religious services it provided, the church was also concerned with enabling a platform of community involvement but also the welfare of the community that the relatively exclusive leet courts did not allow for. One entry in the vestry book for 1791, calling for a meeting, for example, states,

> "…*Notice is hearby given that a Vestry meeting will be holden on Wednesday next at two o'clock in the afternoon at the Ring of the Bell to consider some method for Recovering of the £100 lent by the Town to the late Mrs. Elizabeth Fletcher, decd., July 3 1ˢᵗ 1791…*" (Bolton, 1912)

In addition, the vestry meeting and public participation was open to all regardless of social class, politics or even religious affiliation.

The community's organization self-management seemed to gradually merge into a more formalized system more akin to local government around the turn of the nineteenth century. Positions of responsibility became more formalized, for example. Four assessors were put in place to determine the value of land and dwellings to correctly calculate the amount of dues collectable. Two assessors had the responsibility of determining the quality of the bread and ale produced in the community. A further two people were appointed to look after the activities of the mill. Like the property and produce assessors, the responsibility that these people held was to ensure that the people as a whole – who took their corn or grain to the miller – were not taken advantage of: The mill lookers assessed the stones and measures and made sure that the miller did not skim any corn or grain of the amount that was given to him. Market assessors held a similar responsibility, ensuring that the markets were in good order. Other positions included pinfold lookers (responsible for the animals kept in the pound), hedge lookers (assessed boundary fences), leather searchers (responsible for tannery equipment), and swine ringers (to identify pigs). All these positions were institutionally reinforced – the method for doing so differing along a time trajectory: At the start, people 'emerged' to take responsibility for the jobs, at a later point in time, the positions were more formalized recognized. However, the collectivist institution seems to underpin the movement, i.e. that the community worked for the benefit of the community itself. This was also demonstrated by the annual review of both the community's needs and the positions themselves with the input of everyone in the town.

The Health of Towns Act in 1848 was a national Act in that it was designed to enhance the living conditions of towns and villages in England, especially in light of the problems of sewerage, typhoid, tuberculosis, and diphtheria. Cockermouth however, chose to consistently reject its adoption, seemingly to try to maintain its own methods of self-management and organization that seemed to be perpetuated by institutions of collectivism.

This was also how the rejection of the superseding Local Government Act 1858 played out. Cockermouth was not the only town to avoid adopting the Act but nevertheless was still in a very small minority. Bolton (1912) reports that in December of the same year a meeting was called to discuss the resolution but the vote, involving all townspeople, rejected the Act's

adoption. The same occurred in 1862 and it was only after a specifically vicious outbreak of fever that the Act was accepted in late 1663.

The Cockermouth poorhouse was exceptionally well run, as Mannix and Whellan (1847) state, "…*it is one of the most complete and best conducted workhouses in the North of England…*" Evidence of a community with strong institutions of collectivism that underpinned the town's organization and day to day life can be found in the attitude towards Cockermouth's poorhouse. The historical document review indicates a strong responsibility felt by the town as a whole towards the workhouse, of which whose residents were strongly integrated into the community itself.

Some evidence suggests that there may have been some non-altruistic motives and individualistic motives for the good treatment of residents of the poorhouse, especially in the context of employment. Farmers, for example, frequently hired people from the workhouse in order to reduce the taxes payable – the amount of which was directly linked to the amount of people within the workhouse.

However, there seems to be stronger evidence that indicates the town felt a genuine altruistic responsibility for residents of the poorhouse. Outings and Christmas treats were the norm, with funds being raised by community based fetes and so on, with individual people frequently making additional contributions. The West Cumberland Times, for example, at Christmas 1877 reports,

> "...*The inmates at the workhouse has their customary Christmas dinner of roast beef and plum pudding. Mrs Watson of the City and District Bank, also treated the old women lodged in the sick wards to a quarter of a pound of tea and a pound of sugar each; and Miss Benson, of St Helens, sent tea and sugar to all the other old women who are inmates of the house. The Rev. W. Williams, vicar of Christ Church, who is chaplain to the workhouse, gave snuff and tobacco to those of the old inmates who use these articles. To the children he also presented oranges and Mr. J. B. Banks furnished them with a supply of marbles…*"

These efforts of altruism were not just present at Christmas, with frequent outings organized, funded by charitable means throughout the year. There is also strong evidence to indicate that the 'insane' population within the workhouse were treated well, with two editions of the West Cumberland Times in 1874 indicating small games including a draughtboard and dominoes were supplied, along with illustrated papers. Integration was sought to a certain extent with '*normal*' residents being encouraged to interact with '*insane members*'.

Historical context of the Rivers Cockermouth and Dewent

The above discussion illustrates evidence for there being strong institutions surrounding collectivism and social responsibility towards the management, well-being and organization of the town in a historical basis. This to a certain extent is extended to the rivers themselves, which possibly encouraged a collectivist stance in the economic activity of the town in the mid nineteenth century. As Mannix and Whellan (1847) state "…[the rivers] are of great convenience to the manufacturers of Cockermouth and neighbourhood…" To benefit from the rivers in this way, probably in terms of waterwheels and the power that they produced, suggests some sort of collectivist approach to harnessing the potential gain the water could offer.

The relationship between the people and the river also extends to the extensive flooding that has been the norm throughout the town's history. Historical documentation also depicts a collectivist attitude towards how the floods were responded to in the last few hundred years, both in terms of the aftermath but also in terms of preventative measure that were undertaken.

The first recording of a flood in Cockermouth as the result of the Rivers Derwent and Cockermouth bursting their banks was in 1751, as reported by the West Cumberland Times. This was followed by another extensive flood ten years later and a further one in 1852. By the time of the flood of 1874, the industrial revolution was well under way and, as noted above, the town's use of waterwheels to power the community's economic and industrial concerns was well established. Thus, the damage to the economic health of Cockermouth as a result of the 1874 floods was perhaps more profound owing to the larger scale of the industrial activity at this time. The West Cumberland Times of that year, for example, reported,

> "…Mr. Fletcher's tannery was useless, Mr. Smethurst's hat factory and Messrs. Pearson's tweed mill on the opposite side of the Cocker were flooded, while in Pearson's other factory near Cocker Bridge the water lifted beams, vats and boiler. Mr. Wyndham's brewery and Messrs. Herbert's foundry also suffered. Goods were ruined in many shops, sheep were drowned at a butcher's, Main Street was under water and, <u>as always</u>, the Gote was flooded.

In addition the use of the phrase 'as always' is also suggestive of the frequency of flooding at this particular part of Cockermouth.

Flooding continued into the twentieth century, with extensive flooding in 1918, as depicted in *Figure 42* below, and in 1931 as well.

FIGURE 42

FLOODING IN 1918

Aston University

Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

In the following year, again the floods caused extensive damage, with 5.2 inches of rain falling in six days and the water putting the main roads in the town under water, as illustrated in *Figure 43* below.

FIGURE 43

FLOODING IN 1932

Aston University

Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

This was the year that there seems to be the first evidence of the implementation of a rudimentary strategy to prevent future flooding. Marshall (1971) describes several years in the 1930s where the river was kept reasonably deep via the continual removal of cobbles and, later on, gravel: Systems that were initiated by the community as a whole. Three square arches were also inserted to the Derwent bridge to try and reduce the flooding in the Gote, and two breakwaters were removed. Keeping the riverbed as low as possible was the continued strategy for subsequent years with extensive removal in 1947, 1969, and 1975.

Despite this activity the Rivers continued to flood out, with the first extensive flooding occurring only two years after the initial removal of the cobbles: In 1938, water reportedly reached parts of Cockermouth that had not been flooded before with the effects of water levels reaching fifteen feet higher than normal at the Cocker Bridge, collapsing Barrel Bridge and sweeping debris, railings and other paraphernalia, lifting pavements and causing extensive damage to several commercial buildings and their contents, including documents stored in the vaults at the then Midland Bank. Huddart's shop was so badly damaged that it had to be demolished after the floods had subsided.

Post war, there were extensive floods in 1966, again resulting in severe damage to properties, which were up to a metre under water. Minor flooding occurred for the next forty years but in 2005 major flooding again occurred, again severely damaging properties and businesses.

The document review, as well as supporting interview data, indicates that the flooding of the two rivers in Cockermouth is entrenched in the town's history. There is also evidence to show that the collectivist attitude to the problem of the floods and their consequences is also historically consistent. There are strong norms and expectations that businesses help each other. This has been seen in the most recent floods of 2009 but which is also mirrored in the activities of the town historically, both in terms of the floods and in other community and economic activity.

7.5.v Underpinning issues

Stability of disaster

The overall trend from the data set is one of stability. The occurrence of flooding in 2009, although having an extensive impact on the community in both social and economic realms, was not an isolated event. The event had been repeated many times previously in the town's history. In addition, the physical source of the event, i.e. the two rivers, has had an intrinsic relationship to the community's economic development historically.

<u>Institutional current</u>

The strong collectivism within the community is strongly related to the idea of institutional current. The community, in their approach to how the aftermath of the flooding was dealt with on an economic level, was strongly cohesive. The norms and values of collectivism, which had been so intrinsically embedded in the historical development of the community, essentially meant that alternative institutional sets of individualism and aggressive competition amongst enterprises were rejected, again by the majority of the community. In other words, the institutional current within Cockermouth was strong: There was strong attitudinal cohesion in the approach towards the rejection of alternative institutional sets as well as the maintenance of the institutions surrounding collectivism, implicit examples of which are given below.

An example of such was seen in the invocation of many mechanisms and initiatives post-flooding that actively embraced the idea of a strong collective goal in returning to the operational status quo of the businesses within the community. Central funds were set up to which all businesses contributed, for example, and a flood defence manager was recruited to liaise with central government on behalf of the economic (and social) community of the town.

7.6 Discussion

7.6.i Grouping of themes

The data from this case were grouped differently compared to the data from the previous two cases, owing to the lack of institutional change that occurred. The organizing figure (*Figure 37*) and the discussion on the prominent themes has illustrated the pertinent points which contribute to the overall model depicted in the next chapter.

7.6.ii Extant literature

The literature set most pertinent to the findings of the dataset revolves around that related to institutional maintenance. The findings of the case illustrate that following the combined pressure and stimulus, institutional change was rejected. In other words, the existing institutional set was maintained. This was seemingly done through a variety of mechanisms that served to preserve the status quo.

As seen, these mechanisms were revolved around the concept of traditions and the institutions themselves had a historical basis that was deeply embedded in the community. Thus, further appropriate literature sets revolve around traditions – as discussed in within the second case.

Institutional maintenance

Despite the neglect of deinstitutionalization as a concept within institutional theory, the theory as a whole has focused very much on institutions as transient, changing phenomena. As argued previously in this project, the bulk of institutional theory work has focused on how institutions are diffused. In terms of institutional change, most institutional theorists have been biased in that they concentrate on exploring how institutions are created (Scott, 2008). The approach to exploring institutions as systems that can be stabilized through various mechanisms has not come under a great deal of scrutiny, even though many examples exist at an anecdotal level.

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) argue that institutional stability is most frequently achieved by the invocation of complex mechanisms that reinforce the norms and values and other institutional forms as the *modus operandi* for the situational context under consideration. They further argue that hardly any institutional sets have the capacity to be self-perpetuating. In other words, they suggest that in order for institutions to be maintained, it is necessary for them to be proactively reinforced by systems and processes that equate to the concept of 'institutional work'. Barley and Tolbert (1997), although writing before Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), suggest that institutional work for the aim of maintaining institutions is not just a question of replicating the norms and values and other institutional forms: They highlight the importance of recognizing that institutions are dynamic entities that are inextricably entwined with behaviour and action, and called for a more process orientated approach to examining institutions. Institutional maintenance though is not in contradiction to

Barley and Tolbert's thoughts: In order to maintain institutions a combined system of sense-making, consultation, and enactment is needed, which represents the dynamic elements within any institutional set regardless of whether it is in state of flux or stability.

For Barley and Tolbert (1997), 'enactment' seems to be pivotal in this process and it is worth outlining what they mean by the term, owing to its relevancy to the analysis of data within this case study. They initially define the term by using Barley's nomenclature from an earlier paper from 1986 and simply state that enactment equates to a 'script' (Barley, 1986) However, the authors then elaborate the meaning of enactment as "*…observable, recurrent activities and patterns of interaction characteristic of a particular setting…*". They reject the idea of scripts being a cognitive phenomenon and instead refer to enactment to describe behavioural processes only (which perhaps reflects their preference for exploration of institutions only at the level of the organization). As applied to institutional maintenance, this means that Barley and Tolbert (1997) are stipulating (behaviourally orientated) enactment as essential to institutional maintenance. The data in this case suggests that enactment was present at least at the behavioural level, indicated by the ongoing collectivist orientated institutions reflected in the behaviour of the community: A strong interest in community meetings, for example, that has a deep historical tradition.

One of the most recent and pertinent pieces of work that deals directly with how institutions are maintained is the aforementioned paper by Dacin et al (2010) and this relates well to Barley and Tolbert's notion of behavioural enactment to influence the longevity and stability of institutions. Within the case study of Dharsa, Dacin et al's paper from 2010 was most relevant to the idea of traditions as applied to an institutional context. The work of Dacin et al (2010) is even more relevant for this case study though owing to its more specific context of institutional maintenance. At its crux, the paper was arguing for the importance of the role of rituals in the maintenance and stabilization of the institutions within a relatively boundaried environment. The same differences, as noted in the second case study, are relevant here: Dacin et al's paper incorporates a study of a situational context, for example, that counts young and probably reasonably impressionable teenagers as part of the process of institutional transference and dispersion, where as the populations of both Dharsa and Cockermouth do not.

However, as in the Dharsa case study, Cockermouth shows an important similarity with the population in Dacin et al's study. Whilst the situational context is markedly different, i.e. a small market town compared to the formal dining environment of Cambridge, the institutional context is very similar. The institutional environment in the study of Dacin et al (2010) has historical longevity in terms of the normative behaviour expected of its participants. Furthermore, the longevity of the rituals and traditions – as part of the enactment process – seemed to be strong and sharply defined and this made them more powerful in terms of influence, in comparison to any individual yearnings for rebellion or deviancy. Cockermouth's institutional set surrounding the values of collectivism and mutual support was also strongly embedded in a historical context and thus also showed longevity. Like the Cambridge setting of Dacin et al's study implied, Cockermouth reflected a strong institutional framework that existed prior to any newcomers to the environment. Thus any rebellion showed by individuals would not be enough to challenge the institutional framework to any great extent. In other words, the institutional framework of the situation is stronger than any challenge made to its utility.

At its crux, the work of Dacin et al (2010) illustrated the importance of "*organizational rituals*" (p1393) for the maintenance of institutions. People involved in the dining rituals at the Cambridge colleges, would each be expected to play a particular role that equates to Barley's notion of 'scripts'. But what is especially interesting is that Dacin et al seem to be hinting that 'scripts' have more meaning than purely the behavioural manifestation that Barley and Tolbert (1997) suggest. Dacin et al (2010) in their findings argue that by taking part in the rituals associated with the college dining system, "*cultural material*" is passed to participants and this influences their behaviour at a much wider level, i.e. beyond that of the situational confines of the rituals themselves. This would suggest a learning process at a much more deeper cognitive level than just as a product of behaviour. In other words, the behaviour of the each person taking part in the dining system eventually extends beyond merely playing an enacted role within a given context and instead ignites a much more deeply entrenched influence on the general norms and values of the person that are extrapolated to contexts pertaining to university life and possibly beyond.

In Cockermouth, the behaviour and reactions of the community in response to the flooding was one of collectivism. It would seem likely in the context of the findings of both Barley and Tolbert (1997) and of Dacin et al (2010) that the explanation could lie in the enactment of

activities characterized by collectivist norms but which were completely separate to the town's experiences of flooding. In other words, community based projects, day to day mutual support, and other evidence of collectivist principles in action, strongly influenced the behaviour exhibited by the community in the specific context of the flood(s).

In addition, Dacin et al (2010) suggest that the process of maintaining institutions seems to take place at a more micro level and that this suggests a more strategic element to the process, with a purposeful and conscious aim of maintaining the status quo levied at the level of the individual, within the various 'roles' that each person plays. Whilst the findings of this case study did not reflect the presence of numerous overt roles and easily observable specific rituals seen in the Cambridge dining system, there were formal structures seen in Cockermouth that encouraged the maintenance of collectivism. The value of a more micro level analysis – as argued for by Dacin et al (2010) – was seen. Whilst the extensive formal structures of the Cambridge dining system were not seen in Cockermouth, there was some evidence to show that individuals often took on roles of influence. Sometimes this was on a formal basis as seen in the appointment of the Flood Recovery Coordinator but more often was seen where specific people emerged as 'influencers'. These were people who were particularly strong in their psychological resistance to the floods and who commonly described the floods in a literal sense but also exhibited a positivism in their perceptions: Seeing the floods as 'an opportunity to refurbish', for example. Whilst they did not occupy roles per se within the community – either on the basis of formality or longevity – their role may have been important to the maintenance of collectivism in that it was one of motivation and support. Whilst not of the consciously strategic importance as seen by Dacin et al, it is one example that supports the value that a micro leveled analysis can offer.

7.7 Further discussion

This section starts off by comparing the three cases to date on some of the key phenomena and constructs that have emerged as salient. One of the key things that this case has produced is notion that the phenomenon of pressure and the stimulus, i.e. the 'event' that is the catalyst for the experienced pressure should be decoupled. This is discussed in more depth at the end of this section as an overall contribution to knowledge, as it has implications for understanding the process of deinstitutionalization. However, a distinction between the two

and, perhaps more importantly, the idea that one can exist without the other informs the comparison made of the three cases to date.

7.7.i Comparison between the three cases

<u>Pressure</u>

In Oliver's model, pressure is indicated to be the situation which causes deinstitutionalization. Whilst there were clear differences in the third case compared to the previous two in how the reaction to pressures played out, pressure was still present. Overall, the third case offers an exploration of how pressure impacts on the institutional landscape, and in particular the phenomenon of institutional maintenance rather than the deinstitutionalization process that Oliver (1992) suggests. In essence, Oliver theoretically starts at the point of deinstitutionalization rather than at the point of pressure: She is not advocating that pressure will cause deinstitutionalization, rather that deinstitutionalization is coupled with the occurrence of pressure. In this sense, this third case, like the previous two, does not contradict Oliver's model.

The third case, as mentioned above, introduced the idea that the concept of a stimulus does not necessarily equate to a pressure. The prior two cases supported Oliver's notion that stimulus and pressure mean the same thing, i.e. a stimulus for change could be described as a pressure for change. The theoretical implication of this are discussed below.

The environments of all three cases were very different to each other. The environment of the first case was identified as being equated to that of a social movement. The community and enterprises of Dharsa in the second case has a much more organic basis of establishment and historical development, as did this third case.

The environment of each case also differed how it was related to the type of pressure. Calle 13 was extensively ideologically driven and the pressures that it faced as a community were in some sense a product of its own making. There was strong evidence for an entrepreneurial drive clearly seen in many of the residents and small business owners within the community, as well as a strong likelihood for success if business model(s) and fiscal arrangements were restructured. Although to do so would mean compromising the ideological raison d'être of the

community, the community still had the power to extinguish the pressure of economic decline and poverty.

A more segregated relationship was seen in Dharsa and Cockermouth in that both faced pressures exogenous to the community, rather than the endogenously orientated pressure in Calle 13. Whilst Calle 13 could have theoretically decreased the pressure that it faced, no such control, at least to the same extent, was seen within the environments of the latter two cases. Both of the pressures facing the Dharsa and Cockermouth, i.e. drought and flooding, were the product of wider natural environmental changes and thus were neither the product of the behaviour or activities of the villages or the businesses themselves, nor were they controllable.

Although only incorporating three cases, as *Table 10* indicates, the spread of variables pertaining to pressure is so to suggest that no one variable causes a bias via an occurrence in all three cases.

TABLE 10

VARIABLES OF PRESSURE ACROSS ALL CASES

Pressure characteristic	Case 1 – Calle 13	Case 2 – Dharsa	Case 3 – Cockermouth
Typology of Cause	Economic – Poverty with depleted 'social security' resources.	Environmental – Drought	Environmental – Flooding
Stimulus Orientation to the case	Endogenous cause	Exogenous cause	Exogenous cause
Distance of the stimulus in the day to day activities of the environment.	Close – low income means hand to mouth living for most residents.	Medium – irrigation is needed every day in the summer season, although not at all in the winter period.	Great – the flow of the river is a non-entity in both social and economic capacities in modern day activities.
Ability of case environment to control pressure	High – pressure is internally controlled. Strong indication that the economic decline could easily be reversed (but at the expense of	Medium – economic migration to ease pressure is not possible for most, especially the older generation. But innovation in farms	Medium – pressure derives from loss of income. Temporary provisions for trading are made but little control of insurance decisions on

| | sacrificing ideological principles). | production etc is the basis of some control. | reimbursement and future payments. |

Whereas the findings of the relationship between pressure and the subsequent changes within the first case were restricted to environments which were influenced by a social movement or ideology of some kind, the second and third cases made no such restriction, being devoid of those parameters.

The last case chapter presented evidence to suggest that the findings of the first case were not idiosyncratic to Calle 13: Pressure was apparent as an active force in both of the cases, and this was replicated partially in the third case. However, a major distinction between the last case and the previous two is the dynamics between pressure and the stimulus of pressure. Oliver (1992) made no distinction between the two, implying that the pressure is the stimulus, and therefore further implying that there is no cognitive element to the concept of pressure, i.e. that pressure exists as a stimulus to threaten institutional stability but which operates exogenously to individual experience.

The first two cases mirror Oliver's position: There was no evidence that arose which overtly suggested a conceptual difference between pressure and the stimulus of such. The third case however did suggest a separation of the two concepts, as further discussed as a contribution later in this chapter.

All three cases involved pressure that seemed to have more dynamic capabilities in the case environments than the extant literature suggests. Whilst Oliver's model indicates pressure to be more catalytic in its role, operating at the start of a process of challenge towards the institutional set, the pressure identified in the three cases suggests other capabilities. There are also indications that this may support the notion that pressure and the stimulus for pressure need to be separated conceptually. In the latter two cases – but in Cockermouth especially – the 'event' gave rise to a number of pressures that could have theoretically arisen independently: Given the historical background of Cockermouth, i.e. its history of flooding, the state of the wider economy in terms of recession, and an increase in events that have negatively impacted the insurance industry such as the ash cloud (Bradford, 2010), risk assessors could have feasibly altered their policy to insure premises and so on within a flood

region, independent of there being any floods. This would cause pressure for business owners, independent of any flooding activity per se. The pressure in this sense has less of a catalytic characteristic and has more longevity in how it interacts with the business community.

In terms of the type of pressure, survival pressure – as identified in Dharsa, was not seen. This owed largely to the social security systems and monies available within the networks of individuals who closed their businesses permanently. In other words, where as a decline in income in Dharsa and, in a more complex way, within Calle 13, could have feasibly meant the loss of human life, the welfare system of the more western context of Cockermouth ensures that this would not occur, irrespective of the permanent closure of their business or loss of employment.

Ethical pressure was also not seen overtly within Cockermouth as it had been in Calle 13, although some evidence was seen that could be connected to the strongly collectivist values and institutions that operated within the former community's environment, on both historical and modern day bases. 'Doing the right thing' was equated with a sense of responsibility towards the community as a whole: A notion of hyper-competition was not seen as may have been expected in the context of the literature surrounding competition of resources.

The crux of the pressure exhibited in the third case is that it can be aligned most appropriately with Oliver's concept of functional pressure. Yet, the institutional set of Cockermouth was never really challenged and a process of deinstitutionalization did not occur to any extent. This is discussed further as a contribution towards the end of the chapter, as in essence it builds theory on the relationship between pressure and the deinstitutionalization process.

Forces of resistance, climate for contestation, underpinners

Evidence from the previous two cases posited a position where blurring between the three above categories was necessary in order to not 'over reach'. This is also carried forward to the third case but in a more limited way, i.e. the third case brings about more certainty in the segregation of the categories and the role that each can play in the deinstitutionalization (or resistance to deinstitutionalization) of the norms and values and other structural components of a given context.

Table 11 mirrors the one given in the discussion of the second case study chapter but in addition illustrates the themes identified in the first two cases present in Cockermouth.

TABLE 11

Theme	Presence in Case 1	Presence in Case 2	Presence in Case 3
Pillarization	Yes. Part of the community, actively involved in their creation.	Yes. Historically and passively adhered to.	Yes. Historically and passively and partially actively adhered to in terms of institutions surrounding collective responsibility.
Institutional current	Yes. Varied but weak.	Yes. Stronger.	Yes. Stronger.
Traditions	Yes but less.	Yes but more	Yes but more
Group dynamics	Yes. Contained within the community.	Yes. Exposure to non-community groups.	Yes. Mainly within the community but some interaction with government and national business groups.
Exposure to alternative	No.	Yes.	No.
Custodians	Yes. Overt.	Yes. More subtle and widespread.	No.
Conscious counter-action	Yes.	Limited.	No.
Historical embedment	Yes. But with extensive adaptation and change.	Yes. In all spheres.	Yes but progressive and evolving.
Cognitive buy-in	Yes. Active.	Yes. Passive.	Yes. Active.
Power bases	Yes (but not discussed for ethical reasons).	No.	No.
Institutions on a core v peripheral scale.	Yes. Strong influence	No.	No.

1. The extent of pillarization

In the previous two cases, pillar activity, as supporting mechanisms to institutions, played a key role in the institutional changes present in both Dharsa and Calle 13. Both environments differed in their social and organizational environment but also in the extent to how far the

supporting mechanisms were manifested in each community. Within Cockermouth pillar activity thrived. Normatively within the business environment, collectivism was the norm in terms of mutual support. The most parallels, in terms of the environmental context, can be seen between Cockermouth and Dharsa: Changing natural phenomenon impacting the community as a whole. However, whereas people in Dharsa were supportive of diversified choices that families individually made for survival, the choices that business owners in Cockermouth made were more concentrated around anti-innovation, i.e. striving towards a return to previous operations, on a collective basis. Components of a regulative pillar were implemented to help generate the resources that people business owners needed to do this – the employment of a flood relief manager to negotiate the terms of future insurance, for example.

2. *Institutional current and traditions*

Institutional current was seen in all of the three cases but to varying extents. In the first case, the current alternated in its strength but when it was weak it related to the extensive time periods where there was institutional 'deadlock' in terms of the impact that challenging institutions were having on the mainstream institutional framework. A process of deinstitutionalization and institutional change was seen much more aggressively when current was much stronger in part of the first case and in the second case. However, further support was seen in the third case, where no deinstitutionalization or institutional change took place. A strong current was seen, again (as seen in the second case in particular) underpinned by traditions and associated behaviors. The traditions in Cockermouth underpin the longevity of the institutions surrounding collectivism. The role of traditions in Dharsa were identified sometimes as a force to repel certain changes – the rejection of threshing by machine, for example – but were in other instances superseded by the absolute need for reinvention, innovation, and development for personal survival, which itself was influenced by a strong current.

Thus, a strong current seems to make for either a strong resistance to challenging institutions and preservation of the institutional status quo, or strong encouragement for the breakdown of current institutions, either by the way of institutional mutation or potential decay. A weak current seems to hinder the process of institutional rejection or embracement though, as seen in the first case. The role of traditions, unsurprisingly, seems to play an active role in the

preservation of institutional sets and how far institutions are 'allowed' to mutate away from their original format. However, again perhaps unsurprisingly, the influence of traditions also seems to be impacted by the presence (or absence) of the absolute need for personal survival, i.e. whether the economic survival of enterprise is equated to personal survival.

3. Institutional current, group dynamics, exposure to viable alternatives

The prior two cases elicited a possibility for an effect of group dynamics. In Cockermouth there was very little in the way of discernable separate groups, apart from 'locals' and 'tourists'. Tourists seemed to influence the institutional current by encouraging a cohesion in the collective strategy of the business community: Tourists were the majority source of income for most enterprises. Yet, simultaneously they represented a transient passive group, which had little pro-active impact on the strategies employed by the enterprises and were not considered as part of the community per se.

Compared to Dharsa, tourists also did not impart or represent a 'viable alternative system' in anyway. As stated, they were distinguished as a group largely because of their temporary presence in the town, as on the basis of their purchasing activity. Yet, in terms of presenting an alternative institutional set, the group was defunct, and evidence suggests, in comparison with evidence from the prior two cases that this is an important part of encouraging a process of deinstitutionalization.

4. Custodians, traditions, conscious counter-action

Interestingly, and especially in light of the extant literature, there were no overt custodians within Cockermouth. This could have been owing to the deep set entrenchment of collectivism, mutual help and responsibility within Cockermouth on a historical basis. Although seen slightly more in Dharsa, again, there were no custodians who aggressively perpetuated institutions and traditions in that environment either. The last case chapter compared the role of custodians within Dharsa and Calle 13, with their role being identified as much more pronounced and overt in the latter environment. The data suggested that this difference could have been owed to the type of pressure exhibited, i.e. in Dharsa there was a resigned acceptance that although the traditional way of life and work practices would eventually cease to exist, some of these traditions could be kept on until such time. The traditions that were not eroded – the wearing of traditional dress, festivals, and threshing by

hand, for example, can in many ways be compared to the preservation of the ideals of collectivism within Cockermouth: Both environments managed to preserve some traditions and institutions without overt support from the role of custodians.

The traditions that were not eroded in Dharsa were ones which could be kept constant without impinging on any organizational and enterprise operations. Nevertheless the institutions that related specifically to the working of the farms had to change to ensure personal survival. In Cockermouth though, personal survival (as a pressure) was not identified, owing to the wider welfare state that operated to ensure that in the event of the loss of employment, funds would be available, via a social security system, to the individual.

Potentially this continuance of institutions without any formalized custodian role, could be explained by again referring to Dacin, Tracey and Munir's (2010) study on the Cambridge Colleges' dining system. The authors note that when institutions become entrenched within a specific situation, they spill over into affecting all other behaviour at other times and in other contexts.

5. Historical embedment, cognitive buy-in

Like Dharsa, Cockermouth's institutions and traditions are deeply embedded in the history of the community, much more so than those revolving surrounding Calle 13. The former two cases also share some similarity on the basis of cognitive buy-in, i.e. that within both communities, the maintenance of (in the case of Dharsa, some) institutions are supported by pillars that are not consciously and purposefully created or enacted, in comparison to Calle 13. In Dharsa, rituals are maintained and buy-in is achieved passively via socialization as children, rather than the active involvement in Calle 13 in the creation of the pillars which support the institutionalized practices. In Cockermouth, there was much more extensive causal ambiguity as to why and how people 'bought-in' to the institutional set and their supporting pillars. Thus, even though there is historical longevity and entrenchment of institutions in both Dharsa and Cockermouth, there is a marked difference in the extent to which people are engaged in a process of cognitive buy-in.

6. Other factors

Resources were depleted across Cockermouth as a whole, as seen in Dharsa. However, this seemed to strengthen the collectivist based institutions of the community of the former.

Whilst mutual supportive but diverse solutions were found in Dharsa, there was little in the way of diversity in problem solving in Cockermouth. Funds were centralized and 'pooled' for example, as much as possible, and the town as a whole sought a collective marketing strategy to capitalize on the flooding to bring back tourists to the town. In Calle 13, competition for resources, as a concept, is relevant within the wider domains of institutional theory. In Cockermouth data did not emerge to suggest that it was pertinent at all.

Whilst the defining of core and peripheral institutions was of central importance to the first case, this did not emerge as key from within the data set of Dharsa. No evidence emerged that institutions could even be defined as such from Dharsa. This was also reflective of Cockermouth.

'Power' is also not pertinent to the dataset of this third case and is not pursued as a construct in the next chapter.

7.7.ii Tactical limitations of Case Three

As the flooding was previous to the time spent in the town, historical data was relied on extensively. This included having to rely on post-event accounts of the flood, where there may have been some distortion as to what happened. However, triangulation was extensively implemented to try and reduce this occurring.

Secondly, much less time was spent in the field gathering data, compared to the other two cases. As such, no participant observation was carried out and the data mainly stemmed from ad hoc interviews and historical data, including footage and descriptions of the flooding as well as historical documentation of the town's development.

In terms of the process of grounded theory, at the time I entered the field, constructs had already been identified from the fields of the prior two cases. Thus, in part it was sometimes difficult to allow true emergence of constructs particular to Cockermouth to occur. It was also more difficult to encourage Spindler and Spinder's notion of 'making the familiar, strange', owing to the cultural similarity between myself and that of the town (Spindler & Spindler, 1988). The prior two cases benefited the process of grounded theory in that there was such a vast cultural distance between my own experience and those of Calle 13 and Dharsa, it was a

lot easy to enforce rigorous questioning of taken for granted phenomena. Cockermouth did not allow for such luxury and although I was consciously aware for the need to do this, it was possible that I did not question enough throughout my diary. The limited amount of time I spent in the town also hindered this to a certain extent, as noted above.

7.7.iii Contributions and summary

In summary, there are several inter-related contributions that are raised from this case:

1. Events, i.e. stimuli, and pressure need to be segregated.

2. That pressure alone is not necessarily going to cause deinstitutionalization.

3. That a micro level of analysis brings new light onto how pressure is defined or what components are crucial for pressure.

Overall these combine to give insight into the notion that pressure is not necessarily the same thing as a stimulus or the 'event'. This is the crux of the major contribution that this makes to the overall model. This has implications for understanding how deinstitutionalization may or may not occur, especially in light of Oliver's theory. Oliver (1992) in describing her model discusses examples of what types of event may give rise to a breakdown in the institutions in any one particular environment. She terms these as pressures and groups them in accordance to their orientation and characteristics: Social; political; functional. She seems to indicate that a 'pressure' and an 'event' equate to the same thing. Yet the event and the pressure exhibited in this case show a strong indication that some decoupling is needed. The pressure seen in Cockermouth arose largely because of economic, and what Oliver termed functional, pressure in the aftermath of the flooding, i.e. the pressure revolved around the tangible effects of the floods – a loss of income from closed premises, and some anxiety surrounding insurance issues, for example, rather than the direct pressure of the floods themselves.

The argument for decoupling is strengthened further when the organizational and institutional effects are examined in the third case. In terms of institutions in particular, nothing occurred in the way of a breakdown of norms and values and so on: A process of institutional maintenance was invoked. However, what is interesting is that one of the main enablers for institutional maintenance were the floods themselves, as events or stimuli, placed in a

historical context. In other words it was the stimulus as a separate entity that contributed to the maintenance of the institutional landscape.

The first two cases of this project mirrored the fusion of the two terms. Yet, the third case indicates a need to distinguish between the two in that it is clear that an event – as a stimulus – can spur pressure that develops quite independently of the event itself. In the first instance, the data of the third case does not support Oliver's model pressure is needed to bring about deinstitutionalization. Whilst pressure was seen, this was largely within the realms of the immediate literal event – bailing out water and trying to save stick, for example. Theoretically, Oliver's model would suggest that no deinstitutionalization was seen because no pressure was seen either. The problem occurs when Oliver's definition and discussion of 'pressure' is scrutinized, as above. The flooding in Cockermouth was a stimulus, or event, but in Oliver's nomenclature the event was also a pressure. Yet the data gathered, perhaps crucially at a micro level, revealed no pressure as defined in more cognitive terms.

The segregation of the event or stimulus and pressure has two implications for theory. First, by segregating the two in definition allows for decoupling on a conceptual basis. This allows for a greater degree of conceptual flexibility in the exploring the catalyst(s) to deinstitutionalization. This third case indicates that events may exist independently of pressure.

Second, and perhaps more importantly, data gathered at the micro level has allowed for a re-evaluation of what pressure as a concept incorporates. Oliver (1992) seems to imply that pressure can and does exist as a system where the demands of the environment exceed those of its coping mechanisms. Yet logically, systems and organizations involve people, perceptions, cognitions and decision making, and when discussing pressure as a component to deinstitutionalization and institutional change per se, it would seem that a more micro level of analysis could reveal how institutions are either maintained or disrupted.

MODEL: IMPACTS OF STIMULI AND PRESSURE ON INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS

8.1 Introduction and overview

FIGURE 44

THE IMPACT OF PRESSURE ON INSTITUTIONS
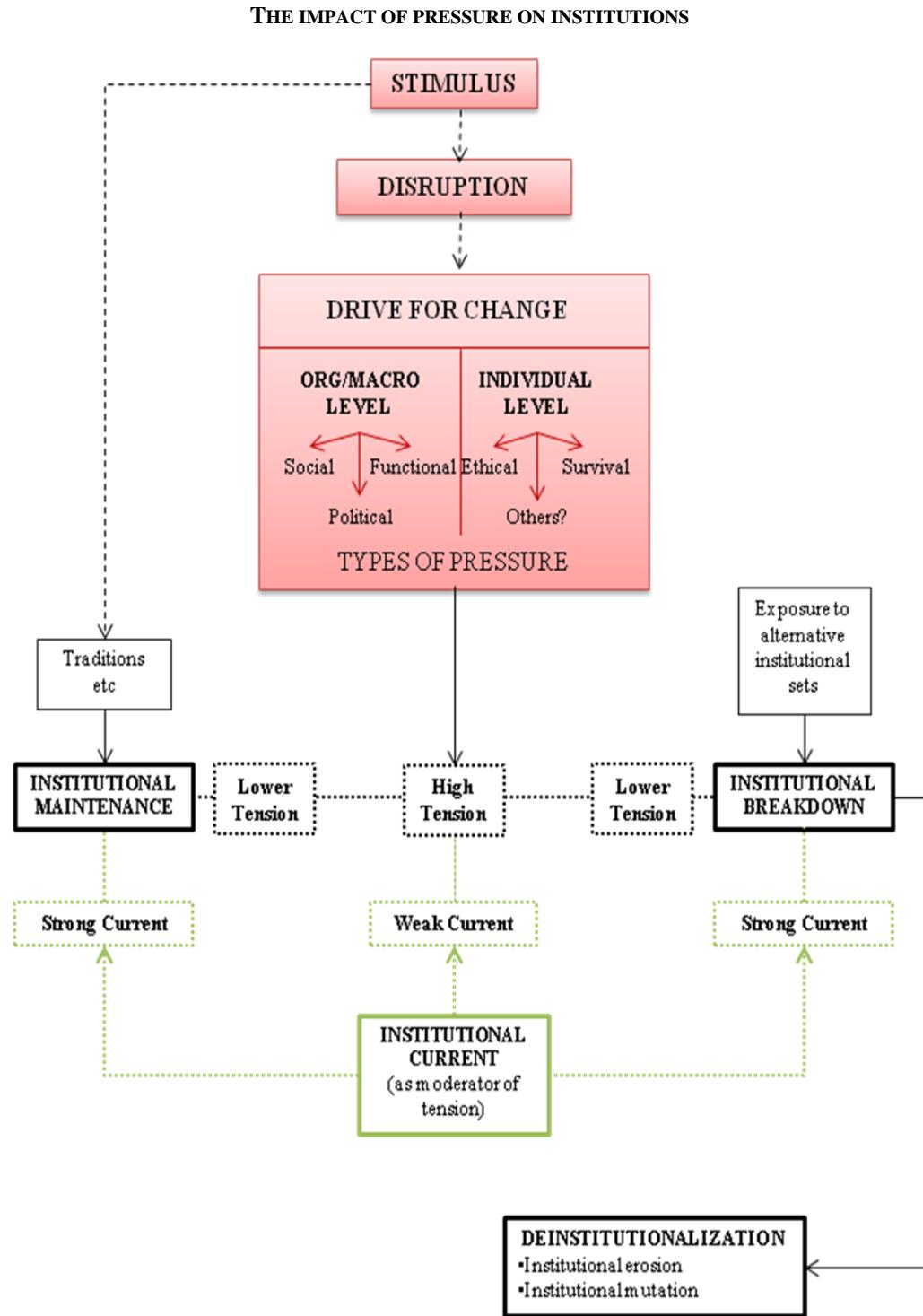
This chapter describes the model – as depicted in *Figure 44* – that was constructed from the dataset of the three cases. The model encapsulates how an existing institutional framework may be impacted by some sort of pressure and/or stimulus. Depending on situational characteristics – as described in the model – a breakdown or maintenance of institutions may be forthcoming, as well as neither of these.

The model is sequential in that it begins at the top: A stimulus causes disruption in the environment, which drives forward a need for change in the organization. Pressure results, which may take various formats, manifested at differing levels – on macro and organizational levels, as well as that of the individual. This pressure places a tension on the institutional environment, where forces that encourage the breakdown and mutation of institutions are pitted against forces which encourage the maintaining of the institutional status quo (prior to the stimulus). Tension is highest when forces are about equal in strength and represent a sort of institutional deadlock. Tension is lowest when either a move towards institutional breakdown or maintenance is seen. Influencing this move is the underpinning mechanism of attitudinal cohesion defined in the institutional current.

The contextual boundaries of the model are discussed in more depth in the next chapter, along with the project's limitations to develop formal grounded theory that can be generalized more widely, rather than the substantive theory that has been produced here. However, it is worth saying here that the model is rather limited to contexts where there has been pressure and/or stimulus in environments that are boundaried in some sort of way, i.e. have a geographical, philosophical, or social basis that identifies the environment as segregated from its immediate surroundings. Furthermore, and although not specifically sampled for, the three cases all revealed environments that were strongly embedded in a sense of community that existed on both behavioural and cognitive bases. Thus, the model is also limited to this type of environment: Where the economic activity is strongly embedded in its social environment and where institutions commonly span both identities. Examples of where this model may be applicable are clusters of enterprises in rural communities, especially those which are stable and mature in their establishment, prior to a change in the wider environment that threatens their continuity.

Sections 8.2, 8.3, and *8.4* describe the role of the stimulus, disruption, and pressure respectively at the 'front end' of the model. The subsequent tension between drivers of

institutional maintenance and deinstitutionalization is describes in *Section 8.5* and the chapter ends with a discussion on the underpinning mechanism – institutional current – in *Section 8.6*.

8.2 Stimulus

At the very front end of the change process is a stimulus, defined as a phenomenon that has (a) changed in some way, and (b) impacts upon the normal working context under consideration, i.e. that of the organization or industry. During the first two cases at least, the concept of *pressure* was very much aligned with Oliver's understanding, i.e. that a conceptual difference between a stimulus and pressure was not noted. The third case, as discussed in the appropriate case chapter, brought to light the need to distinguish between the two constructs, supported by the difference in how the institutional framework of Cockermouth reacted. Thus, the model starts off with a stimulus – identified quite differently conceptually than 'pressure' which may or may not follow.

Examples of stimuli from this project are declining revenues (case one), retreating glaciers (case two), and flooding (case three). Examples from wider contexts though demonstrate the breadth in the conceptual meaning of 'stimulus': A stimulus could mean the liquidation of a supplier, increasing fuel costs, or the destruction of rainforests, and so on – all potentially impacting upon an organization or industry. With the aforementioned limitations of the model in mind, in terms of the extent to which it can be generalised to, a stimulus may also translate into the physical effects of climate change, or the shifting ownership of land from rural famers to corporate organizations. This compares to examples of generated pressure that involve a shortfall in resources to meet the changing demands that a stimulus may create – a liquidation of a supplier (the stimulus) may, for example, mean higher, unaffordable costs, of seeking raw materials from an alternative supplier.

At this point I make no distinction between whether the stimulus is characterized by a 'shock' or crisis, or whether it manifests itself as a much slower process of gradual change and development. I suggest that a conceptual division between stimuli that are manifested more gradually and 'shocks' is largely superficial anyway in light of two points. First, the time span of a jolt, must exist on a spectrum, existing at one end as a sudden event that begins and ends almost immediately – natural disasters such as earthquakes, for example. At the other end of a

time continuum are events that occur with a much more gradual manifestation of change, perhaps over a number of years – changing weather pattern, for example. Clearly much variation exists in-between the two. Thus, stimuli cannot be determined in a binary way, i.e. as a jolt or not a jolt. Second, albeit an unusual case, the evidence from Dharsa suggests that other factors can act as mediating variables in whether a change is *perceived* as a jolt or not. The retreating glacier(s) are a gradual phenomenon but the natural environmental outcome, i.e. reduced icemelt, and the human and organizational impact this had on the community was experienced more sharply. This was because of the annual based living patterns of the community. The pattern of winter 'hibernation' by the village (and organizational shutdown) was dictated by the seasonal snowfall that physically isolates the village for nine months of the year. This presented the gradual change in glacial mass as a more sudden change when the effects, via glacial melt, were experienced only in the spring. The case in this sense also supports – albeit retrospectively, i.e. it was not noted at the time – the notion that the stimulus and pressure must be segregated as concepts.

In the first case of the project, the stimulus for change was largely internal and mainly surrounded the declining economic health of the community. Yet, exogenous influences or contributors to the phenomenon did exist – the lack of a social security system, for example, outside of the community, i.e. at a national level. Clearly stimuli could also exist in the much wider environment, such as the flooding seen in the third case.

There was also some evidence to suggest that in certain instances – for example when ethical pressure came into play (as discussed below) – the driver for change, in the guide of pressure, could even exist as a cognitive entity, reflecting the notion that a micro level of analysis can reveal influencers in the maintenance or disruption of institutional sets. This is not to say that some sort of external stimuli could not have been influential but that predominantly the changing entity normally found at an organizational, industrial, or exogenous level manifests itself purely in a psychological context, i.e. as pressure. An example was found in the ethical pressure reported by many of the community members in the first case when they discussed their motivations of joining Calle 13. Many people reported a growing 'nagging' disquiet to live a better life prior to when they joined. Whilst their external environment undoubtedly played a part in their increasing unhappiness, the specific source was vague. Rather, it seemed that it was the process of thinking and rethinking about bigger questions about their own values and how these fit into their own perceptions of the outside world that became the

driver for change itself. This also suggests that pressure – again considered retrospectively – can sometime exist without a stimulus as such. Just as the events in Cockermouth indicated that a stimulus can exist without pressure, ethical pressure is an example of how pressure can exist without a stimulus.

In addition, some stimuli may be reoccurring and this may be important for how the institutional framework is impacted upon. The third case, for example, indicated that flooding of the village had occurred before as little as four years previously but with a consistent and constant historical pattern of flooding going back hundreds of years. The prior discussion on 'jolts' withstanding, it could be that organizational responses to stimuli that are temporary but reoccurring may be different than those which can be determined to be progressive, or 'one-off shocks'.

With the variation in how stimuli can be presented – that stimuli can seemingly be sourced exogenously and endogenously to the organization or industry, reoccurring or being a one off anomaly, as well as having a substantial individual cognitive basis, I make no distinction within the model here. That is not to say that there is no difference but in the spirit of theory building this may be an avenue for future exploration, as discussed in the next chapter. What was clear though, was the need to distinguish between a stimulus and a pressure.

8.3 Disruption

This change in phenomenon, i.e. the stimulus, will, by default, cause disruption in the organizational (or industrial) landscape. Where a drive for change occurs at the level of the organization or industry, this must be logically preceded by a stimulus. In other words, the pressure for change cannot logically be derived independently. An exception seems to be that which was raised above concerning the occurrence of ethical pressure. This type of pressure, albeit one which has a strong cognitive basis, seems to show the capacity of generating its own momentum as a driver for change. However, this is very tentatively stated owing to the phenomenon occurring only at the start of the creation of Calle 13, recalled retrospectively by a small number of participants of events which over thirty years old. More exploration needs to be carried out into this phenomenon, as suggested in the next chapter.

Fundamentally, the disruption in the model slots in between the stimulus and drive for change: It is the consequence of stimulus and the driver for the onset of pressure. It refers to the disharmony between the existing local conditions that the organization or industry has been operating under and the 'new' conditions that the stimulus has created.

In some ways market or industry conditions are constantly fluid with a wealth of influential factors: new entrants, economic variables, changing social trends and so on. In other words, to some extent the operating environment – comprising of both exogenous variables and the working climate and practices of the organization or industry, are always in a state of disruption. Yet, these are entities that are flexible and for the most part the organization can absorb the variables in the changing macro environment without threat to their existence. The disruption procured from the stimulus in this model threatens the existence of the organization via the severity of the stimulus.

8.4 Pressure

Primarily though, the drive for the need of organizational change is at the crux of the model. The disruption, or disharmony between the conditions under which the organization or industry have existed and the new conditions that the stimulus has procured, places pressure on the organization to respond. Although new pressures were identified here, owing to the small number of cases that this project incorporated, it is expected that other new types of pressure also exist that have yet to be identified.

Oliver's model – discussed at length throughout the project – includes a consideration of pressure as an antecedent at the level of the organization. Certainly social and functional pressure were seen within the cases of this project and supports Oliver's ideas in that respect. Political pressure was not seen but quite feasibly this might have been because the cases were not the 'right' sort to support the concept – it was certainly not the case that data emerged from the project to reject or contradict the idea of political pressure and is included in the model tentatively.

The model makes a contribution in describing the antecedents of institutional pressure – discussed further in the next chapter – especially when the level of analysis is switched from the organization to the individual. New types of pressure were seen. In the project overall

there was pressure felt by individuals on a mass scale as to their personal survival. At the crux, this pressure came about as a result of perceptions and individual cognition that considered the risks involved to their personal survival if their organization did not change in response to the disruption brought about by the stimulus. As such this was termed 'survival pressure'.

Ethical pressure was also brought about as a result of individual cognition. Operating slightly differently to the drive to survive was the pressure that was orientated around the need to pursue individual moral goals, to live a more ethical life. This seemed to be a pressure that almost perpetuated itself within each person, although again, as discussed above, the possibility of this phenomenon being completely absent of influence from any disruption and external stimulus may be slight. In addition, although survival pressure and ethical pressure have been identified from this project, it seems likely that other pressure – operating and only visible at the level of the individual – will also be evident in future cases.

8.5 Tension

The model at this point depicts a tension. The tension arises ultimately because of the preceding chain of events, i.e. the stimulus causes disruption, which in turn can procure pressure. The pressure up until this point may (but not exclusively so) describe the 'practical' more tangible elements of a change process: An increase in taxation for example (as a stimulus) challenges the existing working practices of the organization or industry by demanding changes in the tangible aspects of their working structures, for example the geographical location, or product range, to absorb or cope with the implications of the increased costs associated with taxation.

Alongside the incongruence between the tangible working practices of the organization or industry an institutional dimension exists. The pressure, as described above, feeds into a state of institutional tension where two opposing 'poles' struggle for dominancy. Each pole refers to a state that describes a collection of factors which support its position, either as a state of institutional breakdown or as a state of institutional maintenance.

Institutional breakdown occurs when the demands for change placed on the organization (by the preceding stimuli and disruption and so on) introduce a new system of norms and values,

i.e. institutions, which are deemed more attractive by the organization (or industry). The data sets derived from this project indicated that this exposure to alternative institutional sets was of key importance in encouraging institutional breakdown, although it is very conceivable that other factors will also exist. At its most extreme this can lead to deinstitutionalization, where institutions may mutate (as seen in this project) or may perhaps be rejected in their entirety (as argued by Oliver (1992) and discussed further in the next section).

The second case depicts this the most strongly. Exposure to the norms and values presented by western visitors to nearby Leh made the mutation in the farms' identities and subsequent produce and activities possible. In essence, the exposure to an alternative institutional set reflected by western trekkers motivated the solution for farm survival, and, crucially, legitimized the new practices that became institutionalized and integral to the farms and community in Dharsa. Thus, a mutation was seen in the institutional framework, i.e. mutational deinstitutionalization: The tension between forces of resistance and change was low in that factors that motivated change and deinstitutionalization were stronger than those which resisted the change, i.e. those which encouraged institutional maintenance.

As stated, opposing the challenge of new institutional sets are factors that encourage the rejection of change and the embracing of institutional continuity and stability, i.e. institutional maintenance. Within this project, one of the main factors that encouraged this institutional maintenance was that of the role of traditions although, again, it is very likely that other factors will also exist. This was most clearly seen in the third case, where the stimulus, i.e. the floods, caused a situation again of low institutional tension. This was because in Cockermouth the forces that encouraged institutional maintenance were much stronger that those which encouraged institutional change.

As stated, the two opposing poles – institutional breakdown and institutional maintenance have a dynamic relationship in that each represents a 'force' that either encourages or rejects institutional change, alongside the more tangible and 'practical' aspects of organizational or industry change. The tension that occurs between the two is at its highest when the influence that each pole has on the institutional environment of the organization (or industry) are equal to each other. In other words there is a perfect 'deadlock' in that the two forces are unrelenting in their position, cancelling out each other's influence. This was seen most

evidently in the first case where the forces for institutional change were met with equal ferocity over time with forces that repelled change.

The relationship between the two poles can be plotted on a spectrum that illustrates what happens when the 'deadlock' between the two is upset by variables which may occur. This is to be expected – and was seen strongly in the project overall as indicated above. Even in the first case where tension was high owing to the challenge of new institutional sets not being strong enough to cause deinstitutionalization but simultaneously being strong enough to not be rejected in their entirety, there was some evidence over time of fluctuation between the two forces in terms of strength and dominance. This fluctuation can be explained by the propensity of organizations and their wider environments being non-static dynamic entities: Market conditions, wider economic, social and political factors, as well as factors more endogenous to the organization, such as a change in leadership, may all affect the attractiveness of rejecting or accepting new institutional sets and the maintenance of existing institutions. Thus, when one institutional position, i.e. either breakdown or maintenance, becomes stronger, there is a change in the tension, in that it decreases, yet this may not reflect the permanent direction of the effect stemming from the stimulus and/or pressure.

In the confines of this project, two of the cases indicated that the process of institutional change can span over a long period of time – in Calle 13 the challenge made by institutions surrounding economic activity had been ongoing for several years, for example. Furthermore, Calle 13 provided especially strong evidence to suggest that how an organization responds to pressure, i.e. either in terms of rejecting the demands for change or embracing change, is not necessarily one directional, as suggested above. Over a period of time an organization may err towards institutional maintenance before becoming more open to the idea of change, before moving back again towards maintenance, and so on. The same was seen in Dharsa, albeit to a lesser extent.

Cockermouth however indicated that certainly in terms of the rejection of new institutional sets the process of reaction to pressure can be very swift and very much one-directional with very little evidence of institutional breakdown occurring. Cockermouth also indicated that the initial response to pressure does not necessarily have to manifest itself at a point on the spectrum where there is a 'deadlock' between institutional maintenance and breakdown. In other words, the organization may respond straightaway strongly opposing (or embracing)

any aspect of institutional change. Thus, a state of high tension may never be experienced: The organizational response to the pressure may fall on a different point of the spectrum that illustrates a much lower tension.

It is conceivable that in situations like this, the balance of power in motivating opposition (or embracement) of change is uneven: For example, 'traditions', as mechanisms for opposing change, which are heavily entrenched throughout the organization, actively maintained, and are supported and mirrored by the external community in which the organization lies, yield a powerful influence, as seen in Cockermouth. Alternative institutional sets, alongside more tangible forms of organizational change were very much weaker in comparison and thus it was not surprising that a swift and decisive move towards institutional maintenance was made. Although not seen in the three cases within this project, it is very conceivable that the opposite could happen in other environments where the mechanisms of institutional maintenance are fragile, perhaps being infrequently repeated and suffering from an increased lack of cognitive 'buy-in'.

8.6 Underpinning mechanism – institutional current

Clearly the factors that encourage institutional maintenance and those which encourage institutional change and deinstitutionalization are integral to the tension that the stimulus, disruption and/or pressure elicit. However, a key underpinning mechanism was also revealed by the dataset that incorporated a more cognitive element to the tension, albeit existing on a group basis.

As stated during the project – in case one and subsequent chapters – institutional current is a concept that concerns attitudinal cohesion. In other words, it reflects the amount of synergy and consensus amongst the affected population within the context on their attitude – as a group – towards both the existing institutional set and the proposed, challenging, institutional set(s). Institutional current seems to have an effect on how the tension – elicited from the stimulus, disruption, and/or pressure – plays out, i.e. whether a move towards institutional maintenance or institutional change occurs (procuring weak tension), or whether tension is high because neither forces that encourage institutional change or maintenance are stronger than the other.

It is possible that the same sort of stimulus, or even the same stimulus per se, may affect the institutional climate differently, i.e. change may be accepted, rejected, or neither, because of differing currents. When the current is at its weakest amongst the population – which could extend beyond the organization per se, to reflect DiMaggio and Powell's concept of the field – then this equates to a non-consensus over how the organization should respond to the pressure. In other words, some people may reject the idea of change, whilst others find value in new ways of doing things and so on, more attractive than the current structures. When current is strong, there will be few if any deviators from the popular opinion and attitude towards the existing institutional set – whether it is still attractive or not – and the challenging institutional set. Yet, because this is a human and cognitive based concept, albeit one that is group based, there is great potential for different organizations to respond differently to the same stimulus.

Thus, to understand circumstances of when deinstitutionalization occurs, when institutional maintenance is sought, and when neither occurs, it is not only crucial to understand the 'front end' of the process, i.e. where the stimulus, disruption, and pressure lie, it is also important to understand the underpinning mechanisms of the process. Institutional current seems to be the crux here and evidence from the dataset of the project indicates that it may not just impact upon the direction of institutional reaction to the stimulus, and so on, i.e. whether maintenance, change, or neither is embraced, it may also impact upon other aspects of the process, such as the speed of the reaction.

DISCUSSION

9.1 Introduction

The project has incorporated three case studies that have yielded an overall dataset. From this dataset, a model has emerged. This chapter concludes the project. It starts with a methodological reflection in *Section 9.2*: A discussion of the limitations within the project, starting with methodological considerations and weaknesses. Using grounded theory has had its advantages as well as disadvantages – as an enabling methodology to build theory rather than testing it has been productive, especially in the context of their being very little literature specifically on deinstitutionalization. Yet, the application of the methodology to unusual cases, albeit ones which were sampled theoretically, also yields problems for the generation of formal grounded theory. These points, as well as others, are developed in the first part of *Section 9.2*. The section continues with a discussion on the methodological limitations within each of the specific individual cases and a discussion on the strengths and weaknesses of the choice of methods employed.

The chapter then continues with *Section 9.3* that summarises the contributions made by the model presented in the previous chapter. The majority of these are theoretical in basis, relating most closely to the developed model described in the previous chapter. Two further contributions are discussed at the end of this section that detail two methodologically orientated points to arise from the project: One that relates to the merits of using a micro focused level of analysis, and another which describes a conflict between adhering to grounded theory's principle of emergence and carrying out ethical research.

In *Section 9.4*, I then summarise justifications as to why a new model has been developed rather than building upon Oliver's framework, that addresses the concern of Burawoy (1991) who criticised grounded theory's propensity to create new theory rather than capitalizing on the merits of developing existing theory. I discuss further research in *Section 9.5* and the chapter concludes with some closing remarks on the project as a whole in *Section 9.6*.

9.2 Methodological Reflection

The first case demonstrated a friction between a key principle of grounded theory, i.e. emergence, and conducting ethical research, albeit in an isolated case, and this is discussed at length in *Appendix D*. At the end of the second case, I briefly discussed the mutation of grounded theory along the trajectory of the overall project. This section considers some of the limitations of grounded theory, both generally across the project, and within each case per se. The section finishes with a discussion on the limitations of the specific methods utilized.

9.2.i Methodological considerations and limitations

Earlier chapters incorporated a justification as to why I chose a grounded theory approach. The strengths of the methodology as applied to the specific theoretical context of the project revolved around there being a distinct lack of data and theory surrounding deinstitutionalization. In other words, an inductive approach was more appropriate: Despite the existence of Oliver's (1992) framework and subsequent extensions by Dacin and Dacin (2008), knowledge was still flimsy owing to lack of theory and thus, collectively, was not at a stage where theory could be tested.

Yet, in part, there is an element of post-rationalization. At the time at which I entered the field of the first case, I was unaware of institutional theory: My discovery of the framework came after I had left the field. Thus, more realistically, my justification of using grounded theory in the project as a whole is twofold. First, I made a decision to *continue* with grounded theory after the first case for the remainder of the project because of the value that induction and emergence could offer to developing knowledge in a under-researched theoretical area that was almost void of any empirical work. Second, I made the initial decision to use a grounded theory approach *before* the first case based on interest in social processes and the interaction between humans and their social environments – something which reflects my previous academic background. Grounded theory was appropriate for exploring these, especially in the unusual context of the first case which was far removed culturally from my own experiences: An emic study would allow for unfamiliar processes to emerge naturally, and would encourage data to become more strongly embedded in the field rather than being reflective of my own cultural experiences.

An ethnographic approach could have been chosen, which would have satisfied the emic aims of the study. Two related reasons gave rise to the rejection of this approach: That ethnography was fundamentally a positivist orientated methodology and that the style of presenting data essentially told a narrative that does not generate substantive theory – a generated strength of grounded theory, via induction.

In addition to data being emergent, the application of grounded theory in the context of the first case allowed for the overall *aim* of the study to be quasi-emergent. Prior to the first case, the aim of the project was not honed beyond a vague idea of it being an exploration of social processes in organizations. The more specific theoretical aim of the study – to explore deinstitutionalization and institutional change in organizations – emerged from the data set of the first case that subsequently gave rise to more specific reading that I undertook on institutional theory.

Thus, overall and in light of the arguments presented above, the methodology selected was fit for purpose and gave value added on a number of points surrounding the type of organizations accessed and the extent of knowledge within the extant literature base on deinstitutionalization and its interaction with institutional change as a concept.

Yet, despite me raising a caveat within the methodology chapter early on in the project, the aim of generating formal grounded theory has not been achieved to any great extent. This is not to say that substantive theoretical developments have not resulted but the unusualness of the three cases and the absence of directly relevant theory on deinstitutionalization from the extant literature base hindered the process from developing theory from a substantive basis to a more formal basis, with a high degree of both validity and generalizability. There are also a number of additional weaknesses that fall across the project as a whole, as well as those which relate more specifically within each case.

The limitations of the grounded theory overall have been well documented. Along with the usual criticisms surrounding small sample sizes and the inability to 'scientifically' generalize, other weaknesses have been noted: Excessive conceptualization (Goldthorpe, 2000), for example, and that the approach over-emphasizes the discovery of new theory and thus neglects the value of reconstructing theory (Burawoy, 1991), something that this project may be criticised for, despite the justifications that follow which argue for the logic in constructing new theory.

One of the overall strengths of a constructivist approach to grounded theory is that it stipulates that everyone's perspective within the field (including that of the researcher) must be made explicit in the process of data collection. This encourages strong source triangulation and clarity over the antecedents of the emergent theory (Charmaz, 2006: 184). Yet, although triangulation was thorough throughout the project, not everyone's viewpoint was accessed. This was owing to the large populations but also to the withdrawal of data (in the first case) and was therefore impractical. The sample accessed in Calle 13 was reasonably large but was still not even close to even a majority number of people within the field. This undermines the strengths of constructionist principles by exploring all vantage points within the field, especially in light of the sampling method employed within Calle 13, i.e. snowball sampling.

The above criticism begs the questions as to whether only small organizations can be accessed practically to reap the benefits of utilizing a constructivist style of grounded theory. One way around this would be to use multiple researchers to make access to a much bigger sample possible. This would also have the added benefits of inter-researcher analysis, where multiple researchers can analyze the same data to prevent bias. This principle – a strongly advocated technique by all (epistemologically driven) grounded theory positions – effectively reduces the subjectivity in data analysis: A point of criticism often levied at grounded theorists. Yet, again for reasons of practicality (the administrative requirements for a PhD) this was not possible to administer in this project. Whilst other techniques such as overt and conscious self-questioning and 'making the familiar strange' (Spindler & Spinder, 1982) were implemented, this is still a weakness of the study.

9.2ii Specific case limitations

Case 1

The historical analysis that incorporated the bulk of secondary data and which was largely recorded by the community itself, has clear limitations on the point of validity. Extensive care was undertaken to cross reference all data from varying sources and using differing methods. However, many community members did not wish to participate. Many people only participated on the condition that full anonymity was granted not only for themselves but also in respect to the community as a whole. At times, whilst in the field, it was felt that there was

an overt sense of a veneer of 'public relations positivity' or 'spin'. Although triangulation techniques were extensively employed – notwithstanding the limitations discussed above – as well as proactively seeking convergence of viewpoints from different sources, there is a possibility that some 'dishonest' data were used.

The field of the first case study, as a contextual environment, was extensively distanced from my own experiences. Active sense making started from the moment I entered the field and the principles of the methodology helped to procure objectivity in that the sense making process was systematically grounded in the data of the field. As a first case study this was especially paramount as despite me presenting the constructs and key areas to emerge from the data set as tentative and 'potential' in status, the first case does, even at a cognitive level, inevitably identify a path or initial framework of constructs for the second case study and so on, i.e. for the trajectory of the project.

Yet, a significant limitation revolved around there being so much potential data that were not or could not be accessed, which could have influenced findings. The community, for example, did not keep statistical records on business activity, neither at a central level nor at the business unit level. Whilst adhering strongly to the fundamental principle of Glaser's maxim of 'all data is data' and seeing both quantitative and qualitative data as valid in equal measures, in this research context there were problems of accessibility at times and this skewed the data towards a qualitative perspective.

Two other major limitations from this particular case ensue. The main rationale for enfolding the extant literature base is that it builds internal validity. At this point the ability to generalize trends, constructs, and so on, to a wider population is not so important. The main purpose of this case, as noted before, is to provide an initial, hazy, and imprecise idea of what themes could potentially be linked to deinstitutionalization.

Nevertheless the internal validity of the case – on a standalone basis – is very difficult to build and is a clear limitation. This is owing to the extensive lack of a specific literature base on deinstitutionalization. The context has a good fit with the social movement literature and although the literature surrounding pressure and deinstitutionalization is mainly limited to Oliver's concepts, her model is clearly specific and relevant to the data that emerged from Calle 13.

The problem presents itself most fundamentally when the micro-processes of deinstitutionalization are considered. Here there is no specific literature set to refer to. As a consequence, a much wider literature set was considered where themes and concepts were explored in previous research that was devoid of an explicit institutional framework of any kind.

However, this procured several potential weaknesses in the analysis. First, because a much wider set of literature was accessed, the potential number of relevant theories and empirical research was unworkably greater and these were accessed on a non-systematic basis, where my prior knowledge stemming from my sociological and psychological background perhaps biased their consideration. Second, because non-directly related literature was accessed, this procured a much looser association between constructs from the data set and themes from the extant literature base. Thus, the potential for a greater margin of error through a mismatching of themes is bigger when indirectly related literature is sought rather than research that is specifically carried out into deinstitutionalization.

Case 2

Dharsa consisted of fourteen farms and all community members took part in the study, to varying degrees. Yet much of the data came from four farms, although I carried out extensive data source triangulation. I stayed on only one farm and this again could have potentially caused a further skew in the data, especially in terms of the process of sense making. High altitude made it difficult to access farms which although were only a short distance away took several hours of travel on foot. I was essentially a full-time worker on the farm and so it was difficult to absorb visits to other farms into my farm working schedule that operated on a 7 day a week schedule. Therefore, I tended to take advantage of impromptu visits to neighbouring farms by my adopted family members and often tagged along.

The extensive participant observation in Dharsa was an overall strength of the case. It elicited a deeper sense of meaning than in the other two empirical cases but it also procured difficulties sometimes in recording the data. The days were frequently very long – rising at 4 or 5am to attend to the animals, eating at midnight and not going to bed until 1am. I recorded data when I could but frequently this was at snatched moments. Although I took advantage of the long time periods when I was weeding or doing other mundane jobs where I could think and reflect, sometime it was difficult to write these reflections down.

The other major weakness of the case is that there was a distinct lack of written records and documentation specifically about Dharsa. The region itself is well documented and I had to make a judgement as to the extent of generalization that could be made from regional data. The extant literature base was not helpful either – unsurprisingly nothing has been written about the village in any sphere of research area. However, to severely limit how much I utilized data on the region in general may have been over cautious.

Case 3

The data collection of the third case was structured slightly differently in that two separate visits were made to the field – the latter focusing on triangulation – several months apart. This interrupted the 'flow' of data and distinct differences in many participants' attitudes to the floods were noted.

A more serious limitation of the study was the small sample of participants and enterprises within the third case. Again more participants and enterprises were sought from the second visit. There was no difference in the trends that emerged from the second set compared to the first set in that no organizational or institutional change was seen. Yet a systematic comparison between the two time frames would have been interesting and this was not done.

What was clear from the second visit was a distinct indication that business owners wanted to move on from the flood experiences, as just mentioned. After using the event to their advantage to create a temporary strategy to encourage tourists to return to the village, a conscious move away from wanting to talk about the flood was seen. Questions were responded to politely but, with one or two exceptions, were not forthcoming in the second visit. This also indicated some potential problems with the reliability of the data from the first visit. Cathartic reasons many have influenced people's willingness to talk. Yet at the same time the issue of this strategy to build a temporary 'flood tourism industry' may also potentially have affected the reliability of the data. This was realized and as a result, much of the background and description to the event was gathered from secondary sources to try and lessen the potential of inaccurate data.

9.2iii Method selection strengths and weaknesses

The selection of methods for the empirical cases relied heavily on the concept of bricolage, as defined in the overall methodology chapter.

The use of participant observation was necessary in the second case but it also procured the benefit of forcing a more overt reflection on the impact that different methods could have had on the data collected throughout the project. With this in mind, especially at the end of analyzing the data of each case, I suggest that overtly deductive methods, such as a questionnaire or perhaps structured interviews, could have increased the reliability and validity of the end model.

One of the benefits of using a multiple case study strategy is that – design permitting – it affords clear opportunities to reflect on the methods and techniques used, at 'rest points', i.e. between cases. The project required intense periods of concentration whilst in the field: But even at 'rest points', I failed to reflect on the impact that the methods could have had on the specific data that I collected from each case. Whilst in each field, my energies, as a bricoleur, were focused on finding the most appropriate ways of gathering data with whatever resources I had to hand at the time. My diaries indicate that I did not reflect at all on how the methods I employed may impact upon the project as a whole. I argue that whilst in the field, working within a grounded theory methodology, it is of benefit to strive for as much disconnection with prior cases as possible, in terms of theoretical knowledge gained: This sustains the principle of emergence. However, the opposite may be true of methodological knowledge and this was a flaw of the study.

On reflection I debate whether or not I was as sensitive to the environment of the first case as I could have been. With more overt and purposeful reflection I would have been more consciously aware and mindful of sensitivity issues. This was not a dominating problem within the second or the third case: There is a possibility that the use of a translator in the few interviews that I carried out in second case impacted upon the data negatively in some situations, which partially negated the strategy of participant triangulation to enhance internal validity. However, the relative inconsequence of this lack of methodological reflection was largely as a result of luck than design, i.e. the participant observation was used as the most appropriate method for the specific environment of case two, rather than the result of any reflective practice identifying tactical issues within a chosen method.

A further issue that I identify is one that pivots around 'sense making' and choice of method. More specifically, the impact that differing methods could have on the sense making process. Whilst I acknowledge other forces are likely to have an impact on the speed at which sense is made of the environment, such extent of immersion, for example, and time spent within an environment, I suggest that the type of dominant method applied to gathering data may also have an impact on whether sense making is superficial rather than deep set. I suggest that sense making exists on a spectrum, with its existence at a deep level being the aim of grounded theory. I also suggest that the type of method, or more specifically the extent to which language is used, may also affect whether deep set sense making is achieved.

Sense making in the first case was achieved relatively quickly but, as I noted in the discussion section of the write up of first case, I perceived a 'veneer' was sometimes present: A public relations orientated veil of 'showcase' or 'spin'. This was presented verbally, through the responses to my questions, however impromptu. Asking questions was the quickest way to make sense of an alien environment but, as the first case indicated, the speed can sometimes be to the detriment of deep set understanding.

Thus, the project could have been stronger – via perhaps more appropriate methods – if I had been aware of the interaction between methods selected to gather the data and the idea of deep sense making.

9.3 Contributions

Despite the methodological limitations of the project, several contributions are identified in the process of theory building, as well as two contributions that are more methodologically orientated. A summary of the contributions that the project makes are as follows:

9.3.i Contributions to theory building

- <u>The relationship between deinstitutionalization and the formation of institutions</u>

The first case of this project initiated a study into deinstitutionalization. But as the overall study progressed, Scott's criticisms of how institutional theorists have focused

disproportionately on the ways in which institutions are created and structured, whilst neglecting potential explorations into how they breakdown and disintegrate, come to the forefront (Scott, 2008). Scott bases his arguments on the position of an institutional void being a philosophical impossibility. He argues that by focusing *solely* on the structuration of institutions, institutional theorists seem to have assumed that the creation of institutional sets is the start of a process, and that this process itself is total, i.e. that new institutions fill a void, and the process of the structuring of new institutional sets explain institutional change in its entirety.

I suggest for research into institutional change to be valid, *both* structuration and deinstitutionalization must be studied. However, as the overall project has progressed, it became apparent – perhaps logically - that deinstitutionalization can also not exist as a completely separate entity, segregated from the creation of institutions.

This point encourages a sequential criticism of Oliver's work. Her model is both inspiring and commendable in that it was the first – and subsequently only comprehensive – attempt at building theory in this area. Dacin and Dacin (2008) and other researchers have explicitly added layers of richness to her model with their own empirical work, and Scott – as stated above – continues to call for more work on deinstitutionalization (Scott, 2008). However, the data sets from the cases of this study – albeit only a small number – suggest that in building theory as represented in a complete model that *only* describes deinstitutionalization is misleading and inaccurate, owing to the dynamics between the destruction and creation of institutional sets. The second case, for example, describes how the values of farming broke down within the younger generation largely because of an educational drive to undermine the occupation but also because of the exposure to new, alternative institutional sets stemming from the influx of western goods and visitors to Leh. In other words, the adoption of new values influenced a mutation in established values.

As another example, the first case was complex in that it hinted at several simultaneous phenomena. As a macro observation, it was clear that deinstitutionalization was coupled with institutionalization, i.e. the breakdown of rules, norms and values and so on, were synthesized with the creation, building and adoption of new institutions. Thus, whilst the project took on a guise of being a study into deinstitutionalization, it was clear that the process could not be totally divorced from processes of institutionalization. Methodologically, the separation could

possibly have been achieved. But to exclude processes of institutional creation from deinstitutionalization would in effect mirror the vice versa observations that Scott makes concerning the extant literature base on institutional change per se, i.e. a skew derived from an overemphasis on structuration, which de values the change process in an applied capacity.

The first case indicates (as did subsequent cases) that the concept cannot be separated from institutionalization if the value and robustness of the data is not to be undermined. Thus, whilst the focus in terms of theoretical contribution is made on aspects of deinstitutionalization, the project became one that explored institutional change per se.

As a consequence, I argue that institutional change theory is made stronger and more robust by approaching the phenomena as a duel stranded helix that incorporates both institutionalization and deinstitutionalization as entwined entities, and that the development of a model on the latter must include some consideration for the former.

In summary, this project suggests that deinstitutionalization cannot be separated from the creation of institutions, even in the confines of a single study.

- <u>The existence of survival and ethical pressure.</u>

The crux of this finding is that, in theory, it serves as an extension to Oliver's three types of pressure that she outlines in her 1992 model.

At its most basic level, this finding contributes to understanding the antecedents of how institutions break down. Survival pressure's nearest relation within Oliver's work is that of a functional pressure. Oliver's (1992) framework suggests that functional pressure is to do with the utility of the institutionalized practice: Where questions are raised by the organization as to whether it adequately meets the needs or goals of the organization.

In comparison to functional pressure a different dynamic is seen with that of survival pressure. The former, as Oliver clearly states in her framework pertains to when analyses are made at the levels of the environment and the organization, as outlined below in *Table 12*.

TABLE 12

LEVELS OF ANALYSIS IN OLIVER'S MODEL

Aston University

Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

Source: Oliver (1992: 567)

All the cases exhibited very different relationships with survival pressure. Perhaps most similarly with functional pressure, as defined by Oliver (1992), was the pressure exhibited within the first case. Calle 13 was clearly indicating strong trends of a failure of the community as an organization. On one level, the lack of and ever decreasing utility of the institutional practices of the community could be identified as a functional pressure to reform and to seek implementation of alternatives to better meet the goals of the community.

Yet this is one half of the crux of a problem in determining survival pressure is the same as functional pressure: The goals of the community were Calle 13's raison d'être. In other words, there was an inextricable relationship between the goals of the community and its purpose as an organization – they were one in the same. In addition there was also a lack of differentiation between this relationship and the institutionalized practices of the community and it is this latter dynamic that has implications as to whether the pressure can be determined as functional or not.

In many organizations, goals shift in accordance to myriad of reasons: Opportunity exploitation in new markets, or opportunities procured through a new diversified workforce via a merger, for example. I argue that in most for-profit organizations, a distinction between institutionalized practices and the goals and raison d'être of an enterprise is more marked.

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Thus, to change the practices of the organization because they no longer fulfill the needs of the enterprise, can be done without disruption to the fundamental and tangible core as to why it exists. I argue that it may be because of this distinction that functional pressure may often elicit institutional change without significantly weakening the organization as a whole.

In comparison, functional pressure presents more of a problem for organizations where there is a stronger overlap between institutionalized practices and the goals and the raison d'être of the enterprise. It means that questions raised as to the utility of institutionalized practices also translate into criticisms being levied not only at the goals of the organization but at the very core of the enterprise's existence – its reason for being. Comparatively, this may induce a scenario of increased fragility within the organization.

On one dimension, my arguments presented so far do not add anything further to Oliver's model: Regardless of how or even if a process of deinstitutionalization plays out is irrelevant to Oliver's model with regard to *type* of pressure. Oliver neither distinguishes between the types of pressure (in terms of how they might differently influence deinstitutionalization), nor does she discuss pressure as anything more than a catalyst for institutional breakdown: For her, there are three types of pressure that can elicit institutional breakdown and that is the extent of the front end of the model – the 'antecedents' as the title of her paper states.

Taken in principle and in isolation of its context, the pressure in Calle 13 does seem to suggest that it is functional in typology. At a very primitive level the utility of the institutionalized practices was not meeting the needs of the community in that it was very close to collapse. Yet, a couple of issues undermine the idea that this was a case of functional pressure.

First, in this particular case the *goals* of the organization as a whole were not the same as its *needs*. Although some overlap did exist in the way of spiritual and philosophical drivers as the community's raison d'être, there was an additional issue within the community that was only manifested as a need (rather than a goal): That of monetary survival. In this particular case, with the absence of any welfare state, the pressure on the community was functional but incorporated consequences of potential literal death.

Second, and linked to this issue of consequences, is the idea of the potential death of the community but, more importantly, the disintegration of the spiritual and philosophical based

institutions that gave rise to the community in the first place. In many ways, this could be idiosyncratic to this case: It is unusual in the extreme but there are many parallels that can be drawn with social enterprises and other 'cause based' entrepreneurial ventures.

Thus, the death of the community has two direct implications that suggests functional pressure, using Oliver's approach and definition, is not an adequate description of what is happening in the community: The death of the community through lack of change and adaptation would mean the likely death of the human population in a literal sense, and second, it would also mean, as a physical manifestation, the death of the spiritual and philosophical led beliefs that gave rise to the community in the first place.

The latter proposition is much more weakly supported by the data set of the second case, where the concern was pivoted around human survival, rather than the preservation of the village as an entity. In some ways this was not surprising as although the role of traditions was important in the process of institutional change, mutation and resistance, the village was only boundaried in its geography. Whilst Calle 13 was a physical manifestation of cultural values, purposefully built to allow those values to 'live', which were considerably different to the culture in the physical environments surrounding the town, Dharsa did not reflect this. The core cultural norms of the people within Dharsa were shared by a much wider population – in many respects, for example, Buddhism was the norm. Yet the former proposition can still be seen in Dharsa: That there was a clear and strong awareness of the threat of personal death if change was not forthcoming.

The lack of trend and themes in the third case also support the idea of survival pressure being distinct from functional pressure: Situated in an environment with a welfare state, the consideration of potential consequences of failing to cope with the pressure of the floods only extended to thinking about how their enterprises might fail. In other words if failure to respond adequately to the pressure occurred, even the 'worst case scenario' did not involve threat to human life.

So, the second half of the problem in dismissing the pressure found in the first case as functional relates to the considered consequences of failing to cope with the pressure leading to potential literal death. In failing to adapt systems and processes, norms, values, and rules, and so on, there is the likelihood of consequences that are much more vital to *human* survival at the very least.

A less contentious picture is seen with the emergence of 'ethical pressure'. Seen explicitly and strongly in the first case, with some much more limited evidence in the second and third cases, this type of pressure was again revealed primarily as the result of incorporating a micro analysis of what was occurring. 'Doing the right thing' was a central theme within this pressure and was linked closely to moral obligations and perceptions at an individual level.

Whilst survival pressure can be partially suggested to have some parallels to the functional pressure that Oliver describes, ethical pressure stands on its own as a very distinct construct.

In summary, this project suggests that new and different pressures exist in addition to the functional, social and political pressures that Oliver identifies in her model. This project has identified *survival pressure* **and** *ethical pressure***.**

- <u>Pressure and stimulus as different entities</u>

The emergence of the new types of pressure and a more micro focused analysis – discussed below as a more methodologically orientated contribution – also reveals further implications for Oliver's model at the front end. As an antecedent of deinstitutionalization, the concept of pressure plays a central role in her model. As discussed at length in this project, Oliver starts with defining three types of pressure which she then goes on to give examples of that incorporate an 'event' of some sort: Declining organizational performance, for example, or changes in industry led norms and values. However, the dataset of this project suggests that there is a need to distinguish 'pressure' from a 'stimuli', i.e. the event that occurs as a catalyst for disruption, and this is supported by two primary observations.

First, a micro level of analysis encouraged the emergence of survival and ethical pressures. The first, with its distinguishing characteristic of incorporating psychological distress reflecting the strong possibility of death following the 'event', has a strong cognitive basis. Individual differences were seen, especially across generations, in the responses of community members of Dharsa, i.e. how they perceived the event, how much pressure they felt to change, and how they responded. The 'event' though, i.e. reduced ice flow affecting irrigation, was consistent as a literal phenomenon affected the whole community.

Even stronger support can be seen for the notion that pressure can be separated from an event in the emergence of ethical pressure. As stated before, ethical pressure is a desire or perceived need to 'do the right thing', i.e. to engage in moral behaviour, as defined by the individual.

Strongly cognitive in basis, this may be manifested in different ways in different individuals. In Calle 13 the original members of the community spoke of a growing awareness and need to engage in more sustainable and ethical living practices but none could identify an 'event' as such that encouraged a change in thinking. In Dharsa, no ethical pressure was identified as such but there were some individual differences in the choices made to maintain sustainable living as far as possible, for example, and again, the stimulus, i.e. reduced ice melt, was a consistent event across the community.

Second, phenomena in Cockermouth was perhaps more complex in its implications for Oliver's model. Essentially, there was a clear stimulus that disrupted the immediate stability of the community, i.e. the flooding of the river. However, pressure as a whole did not exist in that community members seemed to be resigned that flooding was inevitable: They were aware of the historical basis of the flooding, in addition to the common perception that the town and wider region had experienced a higher rainfall in the last decade or so.

The absence of pressure in Cockermouth, whilst still incorporating a stimulus, but no deinstitutionalization or institutional change, suggests support for Oliver's model: In essence she argues that pressure leads to deinstitutionalization and in Cockermouth there was an absence of both. In other words, Oliver's model would explain the lack of deinstitutionalization owing to the lack of pressure.

Yet, the event still occurred. Oliver's nomenclature within her model assumes an inter-changeability between 'pressure' and an 'event'. As discussed above, she presented no distinction with the two. So, whilst the overall dataset does suggest a need for separation, in light of Oliver's framework and the meaning that she places on key terms, Cockermouth does not support her model.

A third basis for arguing that future research endeavours into this area to separate the concepts of pressure and stimuli can be found in some of the related literature sets pertaining to the former. Insights from psychological based literature, for example, suggests that models that explore pressure or stress (albeit those which are not specifically related to institutional theory) could be divided into two different types – those which are orientated around stimuli and those which focus on the response. As Stokes and Kite (2001) suggest, those which maintain a focus on the stressor, i.e. an event of some kind, to define pressure neglect the notion of individual reaction and emotion. Oliver's model seems to define pressure in this

way, and as a result, especially in light of her neglecting to consider what more micro levels of analyses may yield, misses the opportunity to reveal some of the deeper constructs and underpinning mechanisms of deinstitutionalization and institutional change as a whole.

By shifting the definition and meaning of pressure on to the reactive processes post-event would also seem to demand a bifurcation between pressure and stimulus (or event). To apply this notion to Oliver's model, this would mean that pressure would be interwoven with organizational and/or institutional change. However, the stimulus, as a catalyst to disruption, still occurs, thus demanding a conceptual spilt.

In summary, this project supports the notion that a separation between a 'stimulus' and 'pressure' is more realistic on both conceptual and applied bases. The project also suggests that to understand deinstitutionalization, a more specific understanding of the roles and interaction of stimuli and pressure is crucial.

- Historical path.

Staying at the front end of Oliver's model in terms of pressure being an antecedent to deinstitutionalization, interesting phenomenon was seen in at least one of the cases – and partially in another – that suggest that a historical 'current' may have an impact on whether pressure is invoked.

In Cockermouth, there was evidence from the dataset to indicate that there was a strong sense of inevitability in the river flooding. Historical data confirmed that the river flooding was a regular event in the community's history and that business owners knew this with many of them having experience previous flooding in their lifetimes, including a minor flood a couple of years previously. This may have influenced two phenomenon: First that no pressure was seen within the community apart from a limited amount of anxiety concerning insurance premiums for the coming year, and second, no institutional change was seen within the business community either.

This was only seen in one case – perhaps because it was the only case where no institutional change was seen – and so cannot be claimed as strong evidence in support of the notion that the history of the event, i.e. whether it has happened before (rather than only the historical longevity of the institutional set) may be important. Nevertheless it was a clear theme to emerge from the dataset of Cockermouth.

In summary, this project suggests that the historical basis, longevity and repeatability of an event, i.e. a stimulus, may affect the impact that it has on the established institutional framework.

- <u>Pressure as a catalyst.</u>

Oliver's model seems to indicate that pressure exists in a purely catalytic form at the start of her model with social, functional, and political pressures as catalysts and then entropic and inertial pressures preceding deinstitutionalization, i.e. once deinstitutionalization has started, pressure ceases. However, the overall dataset from this project seemed to suggest that pressure has much more dynamic capabilities along the process of institutional change and deinstitutionalization. Calle 13's economic decline that was threatening the community's survival for example was ongoing, as was the decrease in icemelt seen in Dharsa. Both of the events in these cases though were of a different type, compared to the stimuli in Cockermouth, i.e. they constituted a *gradual* adverse state that impacted on the lives of community members in a negative way. Yet, the stimulus in Cockermouth was more akin to a jolt or a shock, in that it happened suddenly and with little warning, and to reiterate, there was no significant pressure observed from Cockermouth.

At a superficial level the overall data could suggest that pressure only has dynamic capabilities when the event is a gradual phenomenon and does not constitute a jolt. However, the third case in this context must be discounted, owing to the absence of pressure in its entirety. This is not to say the third case is contradictory to the previous two, only that it becomes irrelevant. As discussed above, the third case strongly demonstrates the need for a conceptual distinction between pressure and a stimulus and so what the third case presents is an *event* as a jolt, rather than a demonstration of pressure acting in a catalytic role.

With the third case, as an example of a stimulus manifested as a shock or a jolt, discounted, the overall dataset stops short of providing an opportunity of relevant comparison between cases which contain gradual events and those of which are orientated around a jolt. Thus, suggestions that the type of event, i.e. gradual or sudden, can affect whether pressure is catalytic or dynamic in a process of deinstitutionalization or institutional change is unfounded. What the dataset can suggest, albeit on the basis of only two cases, is that pressure has dynamic capabilities in contexts where the stimulus has been gradual in manifestation.

In summary, this project supports the notion that pressure does not have a purely catalytic effect on institutional change but that it may exist as a dynamic entity which interacts with various other components along a process of change and/or resistance to change.

- Deinstitutionalization is non-linear and irregular

Oliver's model essentially describes a process that is orderly, with a clear start (pressure) and end (deinstitutionalization). Whilst it should be remembered that her model was theoretical in basis and the first attempt at conceptualizing a process of deinstitutionalization, the overall dataset of this project contradicts her assumptions on both of these points. These points are in addition to the assumption that deinstitutionalization can be easily separated from institutional creation, as discussed above.

First, the data from Calle 13 illustrated to the greatest extent that deinstitutionalization was far from being a linear process. Over time, the partial breakdown of norms occurred and were then reversed, with a further breakdown then occurring and so on, representing a state of 'institutional deadlock' with small fluctuations. Different and multiple factional groups in the community were established that presented competing institutional sets. The second case also presented evidence that deinstitutionalization was not linear. In Dharsa, the dataset revealed a reluctance to change that was juxtaposed to an awareness of *having* to change, and this seemed to cause fluctuations in the direction of institutional change, i.e. whether news norms were embraced or rejected.

Second, Oliver's assumption of deinstitutionalization being a finite process could not be supported in the findings of this project. Institutional mutation seemed to be the norm, with both cases providing numerous instances where this was the norm. Even in the institutional deadlock in Calle 13, there was strong evidence to support this – the Luna kitchen, for example, was originally a communal kitchen shared by the community, existing solely on the values of non-profit collectivism within the community. Gradually, this function has incorporated a charity based element with the kitchen providing tiffin[14] based meals for the

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[14] Common in India, a tiffin in a metal or plastic container with different compartment that is used to transport hot 'pack lunch' type meals.

poorest of people in the outlying villages. It took on another parallel identity again as a profit based model when it started serving day visitors and tourists as a restaurant.

It could be suggested that mutation was only seen in the first case owing to the institutional deadlock observed, i.e. deinstitutionalization as a finite process has not *yet* reached a conclusion in this environment. There are instances where deinstitutionalization have taken decades to breakdown and disappear: A position in the British civil service, for example, that consisted of the duty of standing on Dover cliffs with a telescope watching for Napoleon was not made redundant until 1945 (Townsend, 1970).

The second case though also provides support that mutation, rather that total abandonment, is the norm, in addition to the some of the research discussed throughout this project (put names in here). The farms in Dharsa changed their organizational practices, for example, but the semantics of farming also changed to accommodate the new practices. The norms and values surrounding farming mutated to incorporate the changes in gender roles, for example, as well as new activities such the making of apricot oil.

This is not to say that total deinstitutionalization can not occur. Several attempts to make the Napoleon's watchman's post redundant (especially after Napoleon died), for example, did culminate eventually in its abandonment owing to the total breakdown of the traditions and institutions surrounding the post. Yet, institutional mutation seems to be the norm – already discussed at length in previous chapters in terms of the concept of remnants (Dacin & Dacin, 2008).

Thus it would seem that there is a bifurcation in the manifestation of deinstitutionalization that could be important for the concept's theoretical development. Therefore, it may be prudent to pursue two separate definitions: '*Terminal Deinstitutionalization*' referring to when there is a total abandonment of institutions, and '*Mutational Deinstitutionalization*' referring to when institutions change in some way without losing a part of their originality, so matter how small.

In summary, this project suggests that deinstitutionalization is a non-linear process and irregular in its momentum.

- <u>Institutional current</u>

One of the key findings to emerge from the overall dataset of the project is the concept of institutional current. As defined in the first case study discussion this means:

> *The extent to which there is a group cohesion and consensus between people in their attitude towards (a) the established institution and (b) the acceptance of the challenging institution.*

Institutional current has been discussed in length throughout the three cases and is one of the strongest constructs to have emerged from the overall dataset. The crux of the theme is that it describes the extent of attitudinal cohesion in the population of the field.

A *weak current* was seen in case one. A weak current essential reflects a low level of agreement amongst the population of the organization, industry, or whatever environment is considered to be the institutional host. In this situation there may be a multitude of different opinions as to whether the established institutional set is efficient and meeting the needs of the organization (or industry, and so on), as well as their opinions and perceptions as to whether how welcome new institutional sets are or not. In Calle 13, there was extensive conflict amongst the population as to whether new more capitalist orientated values should be embraced, as well as incongruence in opinion as to how well the traditional and spiritually based established institutions that incorporated a rejection of for-profit principles were meeting the practical needs of the community as a whole. The extent and longevity of this non-agreement within the community equated to a weak current and institutional deadlock, i.e. where established institutions did not breakdown fully, and new institutions were neither rejected or accepted fully either.

A *strong current* however was seen in Dharsa in the second case. Although there was partial diversity in the strategies that each farm employed to survive, everyone in the village agreed that change, modernization, and innovation had to occur for survival. Thus, farming and its surrounding institutions mutated quickly as a result of strong attitudinal agreement on the lack of utility of institutionalized practices and in terms of embracing new practices that met the changing environmental demands. This case demonstrated how a strong institutional current could encourage the breakdown of institutional norms, and institutional change.

However, the third case – also depicting a strong current – illustrates how the construct can influence the opposite reaction to an event, i.e. institutional maintenance. In Cockermouth, no

deinstitutionalization was observed. The business community essentially invoked temporary practical arrangements that had no impact on the institutional environment of the community, even though superficial changes were apparent in an organizational sense. But again, there was a high level of attitudinal cohesion in this strategy: The community took the approach collectively of rejecting the potential new institutions surrounding modernization, whilst simultaneously consciously preserving the norms and values that were inherent in the community before the flood.

In summary, this project supports the concept of 'institutional current' and thus suggests that attitudinal cohesion is crucial in understanding the impact of a stimulus and/or pressure on an established institutional framework.

- <u>Isomorphism</u>

There was evidence to indicate that isomorphism, as discussed in the literature review, may not be a given under certain circumstances. The latter two factors that DiMaggio and Powell (1983) discuss that encourage isomorphism within fields or clusters were not applicable in these cases, i.e. 'professional bodies were not in existence to act as legitimizing bodies, nor were there any coercive pressures. However, there was a deep sense of uncertainty, especially within Dharsa. According to the principles of isomorphism, this should have encouraged the farms to be uniform in the strategies that they incorporated to cope with the effects of the stimulus, i.e. the reduction in ice melt. And yet, although there was a share norm and acceptance of 'change', *how* this change was implemented differed across farms.

As a caveat, it may be that in the process of deinstitutionalization, institutional change across the farms was still very volatile at the time of observation, and that isomorphic forces would eventually overpower an individual farm's strategy of difference. In other words, it may be that the farms observing which one of them has been most successful in dealing with the reduction of ice melt, will eventually copy the strategy of the most successful farm. In this way, diversity becomes a temporary existence before isomorphic pressures kick in.

On the other hand, as discussed, several contributions have been made in the context of different types of pressure being revealed. It could be that these specific types of pressure have an effect on isomorphism, especially in terms of survival pressure where the threat to human survival could manipulate the extent to which copying others occurs, especially when

the 'results' of other strategies are not immediately observable as to whether they have been successful or not. A second possibility revolves around the idea that pressure and/or a stimulus in themselves are enough to have a different effect on isomorphism. Such is the extent of the support for isomorphism as a concept it seems unlikely that it can be challenged in the basis of three case studies. However, as stated throughout the literature review, little work has been carried out into deinstitutionalization and pressure or the effects of stimuli of change and so it could be that isomorphism plays out differently in these contexts. Out of the 144 studies that Heugens and Lander's meta-analysis incorporates for example, as discussed in the literature review, none of these address deinstitutionalization and the role of pressure/stimulus, despite all of the studies showing support for the concept of isomorphism.

In summary, despite there being extensive evidence to the contrary, this project tentatively suggests that isomorphism may not be a given in certain circumstances that revolve around the influence and type of pressure.

9.3.ii Methodological orientated contributions

The project also yielded two methodological orientated contributions with slightly differing emphases: First that which pertained to the conflict between the concept of 'emergence' – as a key principle of grounded theory and the notion of carrying out ethical research and in particular using data for which permission for their use has been withdrawn by participants, and second; that which pertained to utilising a under-used approach to gathering and analysing data on institutions, i.e. applying a micro level analysis.

- Ethical versus methodological conflict

Appendix D discusses this issue in more depth. However, in summary, events in the first case gave rise to a conflict that was both theoretical and applied in basis. Essentially participants withdrew their permission for data to be use on a reasonable large scale. This meant that about a quarter of participants changed their mind about wanting to take part in the study. With most other methodologies, this would not present a problem: Even in the event that data had been analysed, the ethical course of action would be analyse the data again excluding the withdrawn data, and to write up the study with findings that did not include the withdrawn material.

Yet with grounded theory, data is essentially 'used' the moment constructs start to evolve. This inevitably translates into the researcher processing data, albeit at a cognitive level, the moment they are exposed to the material imparted by the participant. The formation of constructs is an essential part of grounded theory through a process of emergence. Forcing data is to be avoided at all costs and the role of the researcher is accepted as an active part of this process. Thus, a participant withdrawing their permission for data to be used translates in to – in a grounded theory context – asking the researcher to 'unlearn' constructs that they have already made at a cognitive level. This is arguably not feasible but to not do so may mean that the researcher is engaging in non-ethical practice, according to the ethical guidelines that are dominant in contemporary management and social science research.

Thus, this project suggests that there may be a conflict between what constitutes ethical management research and the application of grounded theory, in terms of the adherence to the principle of 'emergence'.

- <u>A micro level of analysis may reveal trends that other levels cannot.</u>

Although not a unique contribution, this project has also supports the notion that it is not necessarily only analyses carried out at the levels of the organization and the industry that can yield data that contributes to the building or testing of theory. The level of the organization, as noted in the literature review section, has been touted as the optimal and most useful level for research into institutional theory (Scott, 2008) and this seems to be where the majority of the extant research has chosen to focus its efforts. Furthermore, DiMaggio and Powell's 'field' approach has been long touted as one of the most significant developments in institutional theory, as discussed at length in the literature review, and has been successful in revealing, for example, proposed causes of deviant or disruptive innovation (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

Yet, a micro level has largely been ignored. With deinstitutionalization in particular it seems likely that underpinning mechanisms are afoot, some of which may only be revealed through a focusing on the individual. At first this seems contradictory with institutional theory – the theory is concerned with larger scale, 'macro' frameworks that suggest covert 'rules' as to how organizations and markets must operate in order to gain legitimacy. However, this project reveals that when institutions change and breakdown, the processes are influenced in part by individuals. A few specific supporting research also highlight the benefits of a micro analysis for maintaining institutions (Dacin et al 2010) and it seems logical to suggest the

same principles may apply for institutional change. In addition, some benefit could be gained by also considering some of the extant literature on more individual orientated areas such as leadership, for example, which could also explain some of the aspects of institutional change and maintenance. The data from this project touched on the concept of custodians, for example, as having an influence over institutional maintenance and the issues that arose from power constructs and leadership from the first case – although not analyzed for ethical reasons – indicated that individuals can influence institutional change.

More support for the notion that micro levels of analysis can bring fresh insights into how deinstitutionalization and institutional change can occur are also seen by the emergence of new types of pressure from the overall data set of the project, as discussed above. Oliver's work focuses on pressure as antecedents of deinstitutionalization. She selects two levels of analysis, as the aforementioned *Table 12* illustrates: Organizational and Environmental. The unfurling of survival pressure and ethical pressure during this project though, more than hints that a further level of analysis may be crucial in providing a more complete consideration as to the types of pressure that can be linked to deinstitutionalization and institutional change: One of the key factors which seemed to differentiate survival pressure against functional pressure was that the threat of consequence was considered on a personal level, i.e. failure to cope with the source of pressure could have meant impending literal death for the individual person and thus the type of pressure is one to survive. Ethical pressure clearly incorporates individual cognition in the way of perceptions and personal morals of 'doing the right thing'.

As stated in the methodology chapter of the project, the term 'case study' has been used to signify slightly different fields for each case: The first case constituted an overall community as an economic community with its own brand and marketing and so on, but with multiple SMEs within its geographical and philosophical boundaries; The second case constituted a cluster of small farms that made up a village in their entirety, boundaried specifically by geography. The third case, also consisted of a group of small enterprises within a village – the latter forming the basis of, again, a geographical boundaried environment. In all instances the level of analysis applied to each of the cases was that of the organization. The wider environment though was still a consideration as this, for at least two of the cases, was the context of the source of the pressure.

Yet grounded theory allowed for, even encouraged, the gathering of data at a much more intimate level. It was through life stories and observations of how individual people lived their lives within each community and business that gave rise to the theme of survival pressure. The overall data set quite clearly indicated that concern for personal survival was significant and imperative. By default, this indicates that some level of cognitive processing – either consciously or subconsciously – must have taken place. For the threat of survival to have been determined, it seems impossible to suggest that processes of perception, reasoning, measurement of risk, and so on, would not have occurred. In other words, the existence of survival pressure suggests that analysis at the level of the individual brings about two issues: First, it adds to a more complete consideration of the role of pressure in conjunction with the process of deinstitutionalization and institutional change, and second it suggests that some pressures – very real pressures that have been supported by the data set to have a close connection with deinstitutionalization and institutional and organization change – can only be seen at the level of individual.

In summary, this project suggests that a micro level analysis may reveal dynamics and mechanisms, otherwise not visible, which pertain to the relationship between pressure and its effects on an institutional framework.

9.4 Model development

The development of the theory via the three cases in this project has been in parallel conceptually with Oliver's ideas surrounding the relationship of pressure and deinstitutionalization. There were a number of criticisms of Oliver's 1992 model though which were observed independently from the findings of this project. She fails to define what she means by 'performance', for example, – one of the key measures that was intrinsic when she discussed pressure, in terms of a declining performance. Further examples include when she discusses the interests and vision of the employees perhaps not being in harmony with the existing conditions under which the organization operates under. This essentially ignores a stratification of employees in both formal and informal segmentation systems, which may in turn incorporate issues of power as a moderating factor to deinstitutionalization. Pressure to innovate may also be derived endogenously in the organization, as well as the observations that Oliver makes towards exogenously orientated pressure to innovate. An example can be

seen in the traditional structure of General Electric, whose model was to encourage internal competition and thus both product and process innovation.

However, as the discussion with which this chapter started indicates, the project's dataset itself yields constructs and relationships that challenge Oliver's model rather than solely building on it. Sometimes these new themes add and extend her model but mostly they represent contradictory evidence to how deinstitutionalization manifests and develops.

As *Figure 45* Singapore suggests below, the number and depth of challenges made to Oliver's model suggests that the theoretical basis of her work perhaps needs to be rethought in terms of how well it describes what can happen in practice. Her model – as the first major attempt to theorize deinstitutionalization – can be commended for its ambition but it is impossible to ignore the evidence that this project has yielded that undermines its validity. Unfortunately, the number of contradictory elements between Oliver's model and the evidence yielded from this project suggests the need for a new model rather than any pure extension per se, and this is what has been presented in the last chapter.

FIGURE 45

JUSTIFICATION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW THEORY
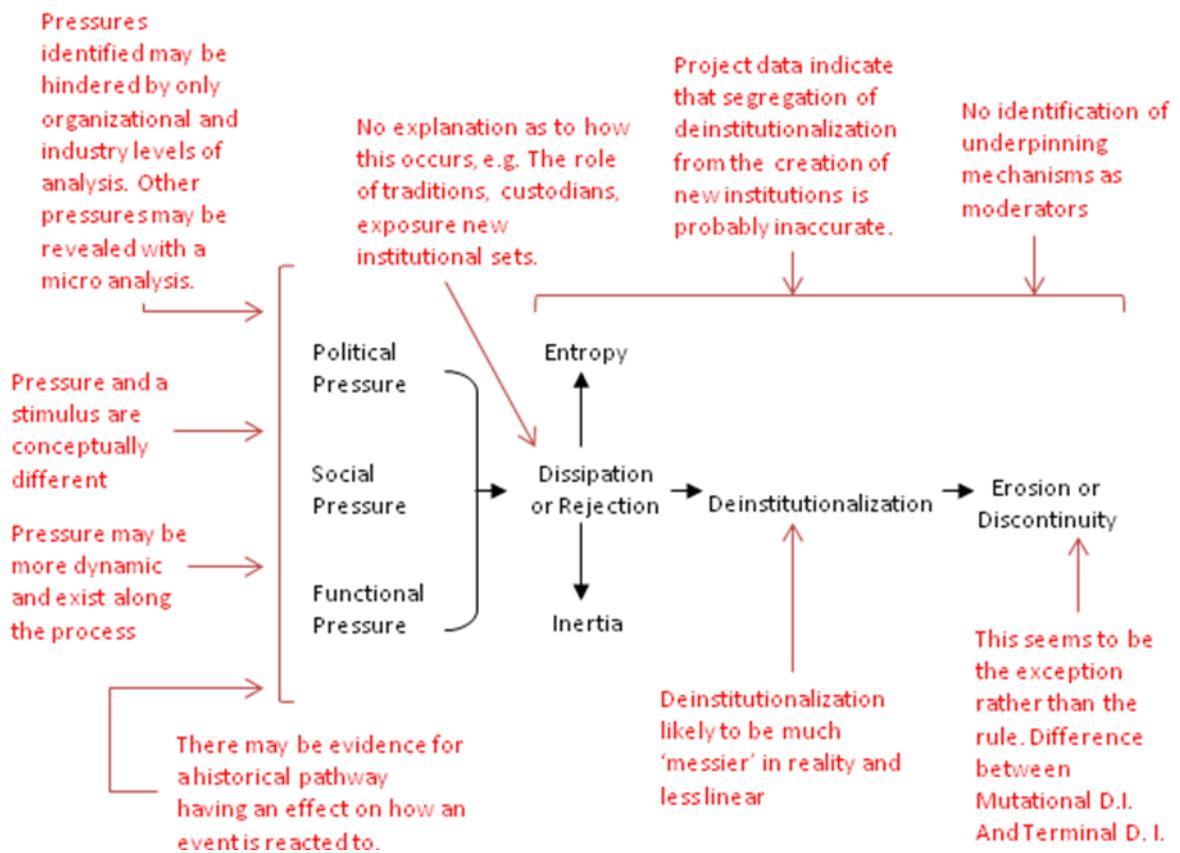
Figure *45*. Oliver's model in black, with the criticisms of her model, based on the outcomes from this project in red.

The methodological limitations of this project, as discussed above, undermine the reliability of this project's model. In particular, the number of cases totalled just three and all – to varying extents – constituted unusual environments. Thus the model presented in the previous chapter was done so on the basis of it being a suggestive model. It is expected and encouraged that in the course of theory building that themes, constructs, and relationships are changed, extended, and modified, according to new data gathered from differing sources and environments.

9.5 Further Research

Following the contributions and overall discussion of this model presented in the previous chapter, several strands of further research can logically be identified.

As an overall approach, this project encourages a more holistic advance towards the exploration of deinstitutionalization as a concept in further research. The dataset indicated an inextricable relationship between deinstitutionalization and the construction of new institutions. Whilst the former concept has undoubtedly been under-researched, the findings from this project suggest that to try to focus solely on deinstitutionalization is not realistic and could potentially lead to not only incomplete theory but also be misleading. Thus, I suggest that future research incorporates both concepts in projects that are aiming to explore deinstitutionalization.

The findings of the project refute Heugens and Lander's notion that research into isomorphism is now saturated. As discussed above, how isomorphism relates to the relationship between deinstitutionalization and pressure/stimulus, has not been investigated. The findings of this project hint that isomorphism may not be a given in institutional change and more work needs to explore this notion.

This project has incorporated a micro level of analysis, which was fundamental to the yielding of several phenomena, including that of institutional current. At first glance it may be argued that a micro level analysis contradicts the wider framework that institutional theory encapsulates. Yet, the origins of many of the supporting or disruptive elements and mechanisms that underpin the breakdown of institutions could exist at a micro level, either instead of or as reactionary forces to pressure. This, the second suggestion for further research is to pursue projects that incorporate levels of analysis that more on individual or small group behaviour.

The findings of the project were supportive of the notion that pressure is in some way a part of the deinstitutionalization process: That the breakdown of institutions is influenced, in part, by different types of pressure. The project identifies survival and ethical pressure – framed differently to Oliver's conceptual presentation of pressure. Yet, feasibly there could be many more differing types that perhaps may influence deinstitutionalization in differing ways – the extent to which cognition plays a part, for example. More work clearly needs to be done in

this area but, in conjunction with the above point of levels of analysis, could be explored as to their manifestation and effects at both macro and micro level.

More research that focuses on the relationship between pressure and deinstitutionalization needs to be done at the 'front' end of the process of institutional breakdown or mutation. Clear conceptual differences were identified between the findings of this project and Oliver's use of the term 'pressure': The meaning of the term is not a given but this point transcends a mere definitional problem. Data suggest that a distinction between a stimulus, i.e. an event, and pressure is forthcoming. Yet, the relevant case from this project that suggests this was also one which procured no deinstitutionalization. It may be prudent for more case studies to investigate the need for a distinction between a stimulus and pressure in situations where there is some form of deinstitutionalization.

Staying at the front end of the deinstitutionalization process, there is much scope to explore the role of pressure on deinstitutionalization in terms of differing variables in stimuli. The latter case study in this project identified a possible bias in the extent to which an event causes deinstitutionalization that depended on its historical basis. Events that have been repeatedly experienced, for example, may have a lesser impact on the institutional set in terms of how much it encourages change. In addition, events that are gradual – compared to those which are shocks or jolts – may have a different impact on deinstitutionalization (something which Dacin and Dacin (2008) suggested in their study of the Aggie Bonfire), as well as having a different relationship to the underpinning mechanisms of deinstitutionalization, such as institutional current and group dynamics. Thus, more exploration needs to be carried out in these areas too. And again, still within the realm of pressure there is also scope to explore the phenomenon on how it interacts along the process of deinstitutionalization, rather than in the primarily catalytic capacity that Oliver suggests.

Institutional current was defined as one of the major contributions to emerge from this project. It is a new concept that underpins institutional change as a moderating factor. As such, much more work needs to be carried out to explore the terms reliability and validity: Its relationship not just to deinstitutionalization and institutional change but the components that have emerged as salient within the process. Examples include: The relationship between institutional current and disruptive power players and power structures; the circumstances under which a current becomes strong or weak following an influx of new people, for

example, to an institutional environment; the relationship between supporting pillars and institutional current.

Overall, as stated, the model is new, and it is based only on three cases that were in many ways diverse to each other. Thus, replication of key findings must be carried out via further cases. Initially this could include more environments which contain a cluster of enterprises that are relatively boundaried within a wider community. Further research could manipulate the viable of the enterprises being boundaried, perhaps exploring concepts of deinstitutionalization and institutional change in non-boundaried environments, to either support or refute the extent to which the model is reflective of only boundaried environments. Perhaps in connection with the concept of boundaried environments is the sense of community that all cases strongly elicited. Further work could look at whether the community is an important point basis of the embedment, robustness and longevity of institutions and how they relate further to economic activity.

Again, as the model is new, the scope for repetition to increase the reliability of the model is huge. Expected extensions also include exploring further cases across differing cultures, perhaps focusing in on differing industries, comparing outcomes between cases that are exposed to endogenous based stimuli and their exogenous based counterparts. Further research many also choose to test specific parts of the model such as how exposure to new institutional sets impact on the deinstitutionalization process.

One of the key findings that this project revealed is the need to distinguish between 'Terminal Deinstitutionalization' and 'Mutational Deinstitutionalization' as quite different entities. Further research needs to establish a differentiation between the two and to clarify which of the phenomena they are pursuing research into. Examples of Terminal Deinstitutionalization from the extant literature are rarer than the examples concerning Mutational Deinstitutionalization but the difference in the outcomes between the two phenomena suggest that the process may also manifest itself differently, with differing components and influences engaged in the breakdown of institutions.

A final recommendation for further research concerns the methodological approach taken in this project. Whilst grounded theory has been well justified in its selection in light of the dearth of theoretical and empirical bases of deinstitutionalization, there is no reason why other methods driven by other methodologies should not be utilized. In many ways, methods that

involve gathering data from a large number of organizations, such as longitudinal data, may have a lot to offer. Studies that use large scale populations may present opportunities to address some of the biases in grounded theory, as well as serve as a useful basis when the model becomes more mature in its development and the theory moves from being built to being tested. Thus, it is urged further projects that utilize alternative methodologies can explore aspects of deinstitutionalization and institutional change to aid the development of the theory and its reliability and validity.

9.6 Closing remarks

As discussed previously, the project has both methodological and theoretical failings. Perhaps the most prominent of these has been the failure to produce a model that can be considered to be formal grounded theory. The ability to generalize widely beyond the scope of the characteristics of the three case studies is limited. Nevertheless the project has produced some valid contributions which, especially in the context of there being very little directly relevant extant literature to enfold to improve the validity of the model, is positive. It is hoped that via further research, new additional constructs may develop the theory further, as well as active 'testing' of the emergent findings from this project in new and differing environments, using perhaps alternative methodologies.

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EPISTEMOLOGICAL, ONTOLOGICAL, AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Philosophical development of the project

My choice of methodology – grounded theory – drove the development of the project as a whole, i.e. my choice of methodology was the project's starting point. Clearly this is contrary to the supposed, theoretical, 'textbook' order of epistemological (and ontological) position overtly leading into the choice of methodology (and subsequently influencing the specific methods to collect data), as depicted in the introductory chapter in the main body.

My experiences could be reflective of my position as a novice researcher: When I 'discovered' grounded theory I was excited by its possibilities, especially in light of my interest generally in the social world, particularly in cultures which were radically different to my own, and their interaction with organizations and local economies. Grounded theory seemed a natural partner to these environments. The idea of formulating hypotheses, and testing them using, for example, large scale surveys seemed at best inappropriate, when the emic/etic debate is considered.

Thus, my choice of methodology combined with the type of socially embedded field that I was and am interested in, was my starting point. I argue that, at least for my status as a novice researcher, this may be more realistic than the methodological flow *starting* consciously with an epistemological position.

Crotty (1998) supports this, although he places more emphasis on the applied situation or 'field' of the potential research, rather than methodological choice. He suggests that the drivers of social research tend to be orientated around a 'real life problem' that has been identified as being worthy of investigation. For Crotty, it is the problem that often consciously drives the choice of methodology, or at least has some sort of influence on the methods selected to gather data.

To be clear, I am not stating that epistemology and ontology has no place in the process of selecting a methodology. But I am suggesting that whilst they theoretically drive the choice of methodology they do so on a very abstract basis, where they represent a series of implicit assumptions embedded in belief systems specific to each individual.

I argue that the suppositions that we have surrounding how we 'know knowledge', and our relationship to reality, for example, are subconsciously formulated. I suggest that it is likely that a specific methodology is either attractive or unattractive for us because of the assumptions we individually and subconsciously construct on what it is 'to be' and knowledge construction.

Clearly a seamless fit between epistemological and ontological positioning and choice of methodology is essential. However, this fit for the grounded theorist is potentially confounded by the methodology's flexibility, as discussed later in this chapter. Potentially, the compatibility between methodology and epistemology cannot be decided in reference to the usual agreed upon logical 'rules' that usually govern the relationship.

I agree with Charmaz (2006) when she states that,

> "...*Researchers can draw on the flexibility of grounded theory without transforming it into rigid prescriptions concerning data collection, analysis, theoretical leanings, and epistemological positions...*" (178)

She latter goes on to explicitly state that grounded theory need not be tied to one particular epistemology.

Evidence supporting her argument can be found by looking at the variation in the development and application of the approach. Eisenhardt (1989) for example, tends to use a positivist influenced version, whilst Charmaz herself is a constructivist.

Thus, I argue that whilst there is a need to have a logical compatibility between methodology and epistemology, with grounded theory the fit needs only to be justified at an individual level. In other words, I see the flexibility of grounded theory eliciting many different pairings that should only be consistent within each individual researcher, rather than adhering to some sort of external template dictating what is a 'correct' pairing.

Sequential to my argument, I pay attention to describing the fit between the version of grounded theory that I use in this project and my epistemological position that is embedded in my belief systems. I suggest that my methodology is appropriate for my belief systems concerning knowledge construction and my understanding of 'being'. Yet, I make no attempt to define this relationship as universally 'correct' or 'best', in line with Charmaz's observations concerning the epistemological flexibility within grounded theory.

Epistemological assumptions

The research carried out for this thesis is embedded in a constructivist epistemology. I postulate several assumptions that identify my 'natural' position as such, comparing these to other epistemological approaches, such as positivism.

- First, I do not concur with the idea of an 'objective truth'. The existence of 'objective truths' is the domain of positivism and objectivism. They suggest that 'meanings' of objects, situations, and so on – and sequentially 'meaningful reality' – exist independently of any human consciousness.

  'Meanings' of objects are not ascribed but are merely waiting to be discovered according to positivists and objectivists, and this is a position that I reject.

- Second, and related to my first assumption, I also reject the idea that there is a divide between the observed and the observer, i.e. the researcher. Again, the assumption of there being a division between the two lies in the domain of positivism.

These two assumptions could be thought of as fundamental in identifying one's own epistemology. Yet the lines that mark the parameters of positivism, constructionism, and so on, are sometimes blurred, with debate on philosophical assumption sometimes arising from within each epistemology as well as between them.

An example relating to my two assumptions on knowledge construction and 'being' can be found within positivism, via the Heisenberg principle, which, to add strength to the argument, is disciplinarily embedded in physics – possibly one of the most positivist of all disciplines. Thus, far from criticism being leveraged at positivists from the tongue in cheek "*...soft underbelly of the social sciences...*[where] *soft data are weak, unstable, impressible, squashy, and sensual...*" (Gherardis and Turner, 1987: 49) that suggests a non-positivist stance, the criticism comes from within one of positivist's own claimed disciplines.

The Heisenberg principle illustrates that it is not currently possible to accurately determine neither the position nor the momentum of an electron. It suggests that different observers offer differing 'estimates', rather than the observation of one objective 'truth'.

The concept of an 'estimate' is not within the domain of positivism, owing to its assumption that objective truths exist. In addition, 'uncertainty' becomes a possibility when 'estimates' are in evidence and, in this context, uncertainty is also at odds with the principles of positivism: Uncertainty can only exist conceptually for positivists – only in the context of there being 'objective truths' waiting to be discovered. The approach cannot allow for the differing interpretations of physical (or otherwise) phenomena – thus procuring uncertainty – as it contradicts the idea of 'objective truths'.

Perhaps positivists might argue that the 'objective truth' of the momentum and position of a subatomic particle is in the process of being discovered. But this does not take away from the idea that different people conclude different things from observing the same phenomena.

In other words, the observer plays an active and not a passive role in the construction of reality, i.e. the momentum and position of an electron.

A second part to the Heisenberg principle further emphasizes this paradox for positivists: Heisenberg (1927) identified that the act of observing a particle is enough to change it in itself: A sort of 'hard' science Hawthorne effect. This again challenges the fundamental positivist assumption that the subject (the observer) and the object (the observed) are separate entities (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The discussion that I make raises the danger of playing off differing epistemological positions against each other: Some principles and arguments span more than one position and, as we have seen with the Heisenberg principle, sometimes even *within* domains with seemingly clear and strong epistemological assumptions, incongruence arises.

- My third epistemological assumption emphasizes:

  My rejection of the idea of there being objective truths should not automatically imply that physical, tangible objects do not play a role in the construction of meaning.

  Brentano's concept of 'intentionality' illustrates my position succinctly (Brentano, 1874/1995). He uses this term to describe how researchers 'reach out to and into' objects and defines this process as one which intrinsically links the object and subject together.

- Fourth, and relating to my third assumption, at the other end of the epistemological and ontological spectrum:

  I reject the idea of the world not existing without consciousness. My position on this reflects Merleau-Ponty's, although I am not a philosophical phenomenologist: I argue that a physical world exists outside of the experiences of human beings but it is only when there is interaction between the world and humans that meaning is procured (Merleau-Ponty, 1962).

  This is not to say that meaning is constructed without regard of the object. I reject a subjectivist epistemology, which argues that the object holds no value or influence in the process of meaning. Rather than seeing meaning being superimposed on the object by the subject, I see the direction of the process of the construction of meaning as being two-way.

Constructivism constitutes much more than a middle ground or compromise between objectivism and subjectivism. Brentano's concept of intentionality forms the basis of the existential principle of the world and humans being radically interdependent on each other. In itself, my championing of Brentano's ideas simultaneously rejects the core fundamentals of both objectivism and subjectivism.

This assumption is seen to be core to social construction. This phenomenon, by principle, strongly adheres to the idea that objects are made and not found. The process by which they are 'made' though involves socially and conventionally embedded institutions that exist before we stumble upon the objects themselves. For example, a new type of frog might be newly discovered but the institutions that give it definition as a frog were socially constructed long before its particular discovery.

When we share these collective schemata, we gain an understanding of the social and convention sense that they postulate. This is highly related to the concept of 'culture', which, as the source of human thought and behaviour, again intrinsically links the subject and the object in the pursuance of knowledge. It also has an additional relevance for when we consider how meaning is procured.

Epistemology and ontology

The relationship between the epistemology of constructivism and ontology is characterised by the juxtaposition of both realist and relativist perspectives.

Thus, as a fifth assumption, I argue:

- Realist and relativist ontological positions are not directly opposite to each other nor are they in conflict.

To use the principles of social constructionism, both can logically co-exist within my epistemological position.

First, there is compatibility between realism and constructivism. As I previously state, a physical world exists, albeit one that is devoid of meaning without human interaction. Thus, whilst meaning and reality are socially constructed, the physical world is still real.

Within social constructionism, 'reality' also exists on a more tangible basis and multiple examples can be identified. For instance, the rules, team strips, and features of a soccer game that distinguish it from a game of golf (as well as the game itself) are all products of social construction. Simultaneously there are also 'real', tangible and objective features. The referee still blows his whistle to signify the end of the game. The spectator and players know it is the end of the game by understanding culturally entrenched symbols: The meaning of the whistle blowing; characteristics of the referee that determine his identity and thus his role in the game; the length of a game, and so on. But there still exists a reality of a noise, identified by natural, i.e. aural, capabilities, for example. Therefore, constructivism as well as social constructionism is realist in this respect.

But I posit that reality is also relativist. Taking the social and conventional 'rules' that people are required to immerse themselves in to make sense of objects, undoubtedly has parallels with a collective schema: A sort of social or group consensus of reality, that may strongly relate to 'culture' as a concept.

However, different people inhabit different paradigms of reality. Even seemingly basic activities and objects found in the majority of cultures may have differing meanings. A bowl, for example, in most western cultures is used to eat out of. Other cultures would use a bowl to drink. The bowl per se as a physical object exists. It is 'real' even though in a literal sense, it is without meaning. Yet, whilst its meaning is socially and conventionally entrenched, these institutions are also *relative* to the particular group of people or social structure.

The relationship between Grounded Theory and epistemology and ontology

Seminal texts of Glaser and Strauss

The origins of the methodology lie in four seminal texts by Strauss and Glaser: Awareness of Dying (1965); The Discovery of Grounded Theory (1967), Time for Dying (1968) and Status Passage (1971). Even the title of the text that emphasises grounded theory as its subject

material hints at positivism: That grounded theory can be *discovered* suggests a positivist and objectivist approach to the acquisition of data and the notion of reality. It suggests that knowledge is divorced from consciousness, that the subject is separate to the object, of which the latter forms the basis of a reality waiting to be 'discovered'.

Although positivism is entrenched within these initial writings by Strauss and Glaser, even in the early stages there are hints of epistemological confusion, albeit mainly stemming from Strauss, whose background was much more qualitative than that of Glaser.

On reflecting, for example, how the approach developed originally in the context of the study '*Awareness of Dying*' (Glaser and Strauss, 1965), Strauss states, "*...grounded theory methodology...evolved out of...the complexity of* **interaction** *and* **interactional** *forms that we were studying...*" (Strauss, 1993).

To most adoptees of grounded theory in its various forms, these are uncomfortable notions. Clearly, when research methods are chosen there must be a clear argument if not latent compatibility with epistemological and ontological positions. The researcher must show how the knowledge that is procured from a study via the use of specific methods to collect the data.

Several points relating to the wider academic landscape at the time which they were originally writing in may give the philosophical confusion of their work some context.

During the 1960s surveys were very popular, having the capability to amass large scale, quantitative and statistically stringent data. Positivism was in vogue: 'Scientific' principles were embraced in the social sciences, which were given high status verified by terms such as 'falsification' (Popper, 2002).

Yet, alternative methodologies and approaches existed that also enjoyed some status. The Chicago School in the 1930s started to develop the symbolic interactionism of Mead (1932) and pragmatism in general. Ethnography was also gaining popularity, and gave a new twist to positivist principles with social scientists translating and applying them into a body of mostly urban sociological research.

The longevity in the development of this approach – it being established at least thirty years prior to the social sciences' love affair with positivism – suggests a potentially powerful alternative to an objectivist position.

But qualitative orientated research in the 1960s, although surviving, was still strongly criticised by positivists for its lack of 'scientific method'. As a result, some qualitative researchers began to try to incorporate concepts such as 'validity' and 'reliability' into their methods in response to criticisms, for example Becker (1958), Bruyn (1966), and Dean and Whyte (1958).

Strauss' and Glaser's approach was attractive at the time because they offered a set of procedures for analysing the huge quantity of data typically procured from qualitatively

orientated studies, and a systematic and structured way of producing theory from the data. The procedures that they offered encouraged transparency in how qualitative data could be analyzed, which also hinted at possibilities of replication and reliability: Traditionally strictly the domain of positivist orientated research.

Inevitably, Strauss and Glaser adding a positivist flavour to their qualitative research helped to pre-empt and stem the criticisms from positivists. The intricacies of their initial grounded theory were highly structured but crucially they generated the principle that the produced theory was *grounded* in the data that had been gathered. This implies again that the subject (the researcher) and the object (the data) are separate to each other: That the data represents phenomena objectively but is also an objective reality per se. Ergo, the emergent theory can be described as valid by means of the data set alone.

There is the possibility that Glaser and Strauss incorporated *some* positivist elements to their texts to proactively distort its 'true' epistemology. If their decision was a conscious one, the development of their initial approach would have been strategic: It would have enabled a closer fit to the dominant positivist climate of the day.

Further illumination is cast on the epistemological confusion within the seminal texts by exploring Glaser's and Strauss' backgrounds and their relationship to each other.

Glaser came from a quantitative background and trained in positivist orientated methods. Conversely Strauss hailed from the Chicago School and favoured qualitative methods in particular, although the ethnographic orientated manifestations of his research gives some epistemological overlap between the him and Glaser.

Yet despite his initial positivism, in Mirrors and Masks (1959), Strauss acknowledges his constructivist leanings when he discusses classification: "...*classifications are not in objects...*", i.e. rejecting an objectivist position, "...*an object gets classified from some perspective...*", i.e. that meaning is not inherent in an object and that meaning is dependent largely on the observer.

The positivist slant on grounded theory that became the 'truth' of its orientation could quite possibly have been derived more from Glaser's influence: Contrary to Strauss, Glaser first trained in English literature and then quantitative sociology, under the influence of Lazersfeld and Merton (Locke, 2001).

Post partnership

As discussed, two issues seem to revolve around Glaser and Strauss' seminal texts: When they were writing together, there is evidence of epistemological confusion in the development of their grounded theory. Potentially this could be explained in their differing backgrounds and hypothesized philosophical bias.

So, this logically suggests that when the two researchers ceased to work together a bifurcation should have occurred. And this did happen: Each developed their own version of the theory in an applied sense. Yet, epistemologically they *both* seemed to move towards a constructivist position.

This may support the aforementioned idea that Glaser and Strauss may have been consciously aware of the initial epistemological confusion within their seminal texts and did this for strategic reasons to gain acceptance within the research community. Whatever the reason, later texts, separately authored, suggest a closer adherence to constructivist principles by *both* authors as previously stated.

Strauss for example, during his 1970s' collaboration with Schatzman, postulates that interviewing is only partly beneficial to gathering information surrounding a research theme. They argue that the incorporation of observing and listening adds to the experience of the researcher whilst in the field and procures an increased fullness and clarity in subject area and field. They posit that this 'additional' data is not 'soft': They allude to the researcher's experience, what they see and what they experience becomes a part of how the analysis is shaped.

Despite Glaser later disputing Strauss' work in terms of whether it even constituted grounded theory, Glaser agreed with Strauss on the concept of the role of the researcher in research, where he also stipulated that observation is an important role in the research process. The striving for objectivity though lay in the constant comparisons between data (and extant literature), which results in abstraction. Abstraction, Glaser argued, was central to lifting the data from their specific environment(s) to higher conceptual levels, where theory could emerge (Glaser, 2001).

Contemporary development

On the basis of the seminal texts, the selection of grounded theory would not be a logical choice for a constructivist perspective, owing to the inclusion of strong positivist threads within the original methodological approach.

In addition, orthodox grounded theory suggests that the functionality of the approach's emphasis is on the analysis of data rather than the designation of any specific methods of data collection per se, despite both Strauss' and Glaser's comments on what type of specific methods are suitable for enabling an understanding of the research context.

With the wide range of data collection methods employed by researchers who claim to be taking a grounded theory approach, as Crotty (1998) argues, it is more accurately described as a methodology. Grounded theory may or may not lead to the adoption of any or all of participant observation, interviewing, observation, document reviews, and so on.

At this point, it makes sense to discuss more contemporary uses of grounded theory as part of our discussion as to the methodology's developmental trajectory and fragmentation. An attempt to embody the approach's applications, post Strauss and Glaser's seminal texts, brings its own issues.

These problems surround the idea that grounded theory seems to be increasingly popular in its application. Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, and Vetter (2000) report, for example, that about two thirds of published papers of qualitative research claim to be using grounded theory.

The key word here is *claim*, as the meaning of what grounded theory constitutes has diversified to such an extent that radically opposing views and applications now exist.

Comparisons between researchers who claim to use grounded theory as their methodology reveal differences in the use of coding mechanisms, the role of the researcher and assumptions about what data is seen as pertinent, for example. Overall, this has led to ambiguity: LaRossa discusses grounded theory as 'opaque and confusing' (2005: 838) and numerous others have also commented on its ambiguity (Charmaz, 2006, Goulding, 2002).

Perhaps more worryingly for the reputation of grounded theory are the continually differing epistemological positions evident in contemporary grounded theory research. Whilst a change towards a more constructivist epistemological climate is in evidence, some researchers – for example Eisenhardt – still favour a more positive overtone to the utilization of grounded theory (Carroll & Swatman; Pratt, 2010).

The irony here is that whilst the seminal texts were epistemologically confused, Strauss and Glaser when writing separately eventually gained epistemological consistency, strengthening the plausibility of the approach and its status in the process. Yet, contemporary research has revelled in increasing fragmentation and the debate still continues with what grounded theory actually constitutes.

The simultaneous debate surrounding what grounded theory is and how (and if) the approach can be unified in a singular definition continues. These debates are encapsulated in whole papers devoted to explaining how to 'do' the methodology as well as the occasional attempt to clarify what grounded theory is not – a good indication that grounded theorists are confused over the methodology's identity. For example Eisenhardt (1989) describes her procedure as a grounded theory 'roadmap', and Suddaby (2006) attempts to quash some of the myths surrounding grounded theory.

I take the position that to a certain extent, the diversification in the meaning of grounded theory is of little importance. With the change in epistemological climate, the methodology no longer has to justify itself under a veil of positivism. As Bryant and Charmaz (2007) argue:

> "*...we must distinguish between what is key to the method, and what needs to be discarded or reformulated if the method is to shake off its reputation for being positivist, philosophically naive, and a refuge for the methodologically indecisive...*" (2007: 49)

Yet, I challenge Bryant and Charmaz's comments as unfounded in several ways, all of which surround the view of what 'good' research constitutes.

First, within the context of any of these diverse thoughts on what makes a piece of 'good' research, to use or not use any of the variants of grounded theory is not a good indicator of what does contribute towards making good research, i.e. one specific methodology or epistemological paradigm is fundamentally no more valid than another. This is a valid claim especially in light of the diversity in the current epistemological climate.

Whilst the argument that the positivist streak within the original four texts of Strauss and Glaser was exaggerated and emphasised to the point of presenting a distorted level of centrality is accepted, the need for the methodology to "*shake off its reputation for being positivist*" (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007:49) is disputed. I argue that one of the marks of good research is whether there is a good fit between method, methodology and epistemological and ontological positions.

We have already established that there was some level of ambiguity within Strauss and Glaser's epistemological positions in their seminal texts, with elements of both positivist and constructivist paradigms. Some have used this as a basis to describe their work as epistemologically naive (Emerson 1983, Katz, 1983) and certainly there is more epistemological and methodological continuity in the latter works of the Strauss and Glaser individually, as I have previously mentioned.

However, I argue that the proposed fit should be demonstrated on an individual basis, i.e. within each individual piece of research. I posit that the responsibility of showing epistemological/methodological 'fit' lies with each individual researcher. Doing this will also render criticisms of philosophical naivety impotent.

Byrant and Charmaz further imply that grounded theory has also become an umbrella term for researchers to hide under when their methodology is either confused or so diversified that they struggle to articulate a definition. Again, I argue that the responsibility lies with the individual researcher rather than as researchers collectively to demonstrate that their research methodology is appropriate for their chosen study.

Thus, I suggest that if there is a need for grounded theory to "*shake off its reputation*", it should only be for the aim of striving towards better research. I argue that this is best achieved on an individual basis and through key principles such as transparency in method description and the role of the researcher, ethics, and a rational, seamless transition between epistemological position, methodology and methods utilized, as discussed by Pratt (2009).

I also argue that the diversification in 'grounded theory' should be welcomed. To "*...distinguish between what is key to the method, and what needs to be discarded or reformulated...*" (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007: 49) suggests the need for grounded theory to become standardized to reach a point of utility: It implies that if an author were to write that

they used grounded theory, that it would invoke some sort of latent precise understanding of the methodology and would require very little if any further explanation.

I suggest that this stems methodological creativity and innovation in the development of the approach. I posit that grounded theory is in a unique position to leverage creativity in its development because of its very ambiguity. There is little in the way of path dependency in its development.

The fragmentation of meaning unburdens the researcher of following methodologically specific 'rules' as to what makes grounded theory grounded theory. Instead the fragmentation refocuses their understanding of what constitutes 'good' methodology towards more fundamental principles of what makes good research, i.e. epistemological fit, philosophical logic, transparency, ethical conduct and so on. I suggest that methodological innovation should be embraced and that it should be the trajectory of grounded theory to welcome and exploit its fragmentation instead of seeking to employ a rather reductionist strategy to procure commonality and cohesion.

In summary, in this section of the methodology chapter so far I have included a historical discussion on the development of grounded theory to shed light on why the use of grounded theory does not indicate one specific epistemological position as a given. The fragmentation of the approach, whilst successfully utilized in many fields of application, with varying principles, suggests that the methodology represents an umbrella term. Sequentially I suggest that the construction of an applied grounded methodology and its tactics for collecting data needs to be made with an awareness of the historical context of its development and the various relationships that the methodology has had and continues to have with epistemological positions.

TOWN CHARTER OF CALLE 13 AND COMMUNITY MEMBER 'BEHAVIOURAL GUIDANCE'

- Calle 13's Charter: Given by K.R. in February 1968 (Document Review)

1. (Calle 13) belongs to nobody in particular. Auroville belongs to humanity as a whole. But to live in Auroville one must be s willing servitor of the Divine Consciousness.

2. (Calle 13) will be the place of an unending education, of constant progress, and a youth that never ages.

3. (Calle 13) wants to be the bridge between the past and the future. Taking advantage of all the discoveries from without and from within, Auroville will boldly spring towards the future realizations.

4. (Calle 13) will be the site of material and spiritual researches for a living embodiment of an actual Human Unity.

- Community member guidance on how '…To be a true member of (Calle 13)' (K.R. Document Review), describing the 'inner progress' of town members)

1. The first thing needed is the inner discovery, to find out what one truly is behind social, moral, cultural, racial and hereditary appearances. At the centre is a being, free and vast and knowing, who awaits out discovery and who should become the active centre of our being and out life in [Calle 13].

2. One lives in [Calle 13] to be free from moral and social conventions; but this freedom must not be a new enslavement to the ego, to its desires and ambitions. The fulfilment [sic] of one's desires bars the way to the inner discovery which can only be achieved in the peace and transparency of perfect disinterestedness.

3. The [member of Calle 13] should lose all the sense of personal possession. For our passage in the material world, what is indispensible to our life and action is put at our disposal according to the place we must occupy. The more we are in the conscious contact with our inner being, the more will the exact means be given to us.

4. Work, even manual work, is something indispensible for the inner discovery. If we do not work, if we do not put our consciousness into matter, matter will never develop. To allow the consciousness to organize a little matter by means of our body is very good. To create order around us helps to create order within us. We should organize our lives not according to outer artificial rules, but according to an organized inner consciousness, for if we let life go on without subjecting it to the control of the higher consciousness, it becomes dispersed and inexpressive. It is a waste of time in the sense that no conscious use is made of matter.

5. The whole earth must prepare itself for the advent of the new species, and [Calle 13] wants to work consciously to hasten this advent.

6. Little by little it will be revealed what this new species must be, and, meanwhile, the best course is to consecrate ourselves entirely to the Divine.

EXAMPLE OF AN INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Date:

Interviewee (Pseudonym):

Capacity: Case 1   Case 2   General

Taped?   Yes   No   In part

Topics discussed:

Documents obtained:

My post-interview reflections (and/or memo reference):

Points to triangulate:

Introduction and ethics

Thank you for agreeing to talk to me. So you already know that I am a researcher interested in how [Calle 13] was formed, how it has developed and how it has changed over the years .Yes? I am also interested in what it is like now and your experience of being here and what you can tell me will really help me to understand [Calle 13]. I am talking to as many people as I can throughout my stay, from as many parts of the community as I can.

I think that you have already been told this but just to reiterate, please be aware that we can stop at any point, we can take as long or as short amount of time to talk to me as you want. What you say and your participation will be confidential. I will give you a pseudonym when I write this up, so no one will know it is you and also if there is any information that could identify you, for example from the job that you do or perhaps the specific part of the community that you live in, that will also not be included in the write up.

If you change your mind afterwards after participating, just let me know as soon as you can. You can find me at the [Uppsala] Guesthouse. You can just leave a message there for me if I am not there. Also, if you have any questions that you want to ask that you forget to ask me during this or you have any concerns, it is no problem if you want to come and find me to chat.

Just one other thing, I'll be scribbling away and taking notes when you talk. Just do your best to ignore me. It is just to help me remember afterwards.

If you have any questions that you have during our chat today/tonight, just ask. Okay? Shall we make a start?

Starter question:

So, can you tell me a little bit about when you first came here?

CONFLICT BETWEEN 'EMERGENCE' AND ETHICAL RESEARCH

This appendix discusses an ethical issue that arose from the field of the first case study.

The interplay between the various sets of ethical guidelines and grounded theory principles, as indicated by my experiences of the field pertaining to the first case, is more problematic here, when compared to projects embedded in other methodologies. Reflecting on my experiences from within this first case, I identify the interaction between methodology and ethics as a 'tension', as *Figure 46* overleaf summarizes.

This appendix starts by detailing the conceptual background of this tension. I then discuss the incident from the first case that gave rise to the problem. The next section outlines what happened after the incident and then I proceed to discuss why it may have happened: I reflect on my own role and the design of the case study before applying more emphasis to the participants as a group as a more likely cause.

I posit that it is important to examine the tension that arose between methodology and ethical practice for two different potential consequences that were spawned from my experiences in the first case. First, and as I discuss in the penultimate section of the chapter, there are implications for the conclusions drawn from the first case and for the process of gathering data from subsequent cases within the overall project.

Fundamentally, the aim of the latter part of this appendix is to explore the extent of the incident's idiosyncrasy: If the characteristics of the tension can theoretically occur in subsequent cases, i.e. they can be generalized as a wider problem external to this specific case, this will influence my approach to further cases within this overall project. Whilst I emphasize the implications for *this* project in this penultimate section, I also discuss, as a second potential consequence, wider implications for the conceptual advancement of grounded theory as a methodology. Further external consequences lay in the implications to the development of ethical frameworks for research practice.

In some parts of this appendix, I convey an intended vagueness: I posit that a specific discussion would cause ethical problems in itself.

Conceptual background

Figure 46 presents a pictorial overview of the issue, its conceptual background in terms of the interplay between methodology and ethics, and the specific situation which arose within first case.

The crux of the issue is that ethical practice demands the total non-use of withdrawn data (indicated on the left hand side of *Figure 46*) but the methodological dynamics (indicated on the right hand side of *Figure 46*) question whether this is fundamentally possible.

<div align="center">

FIGURE 46

ETHICS, GROUNDED THEORY, AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF DATA

</div>
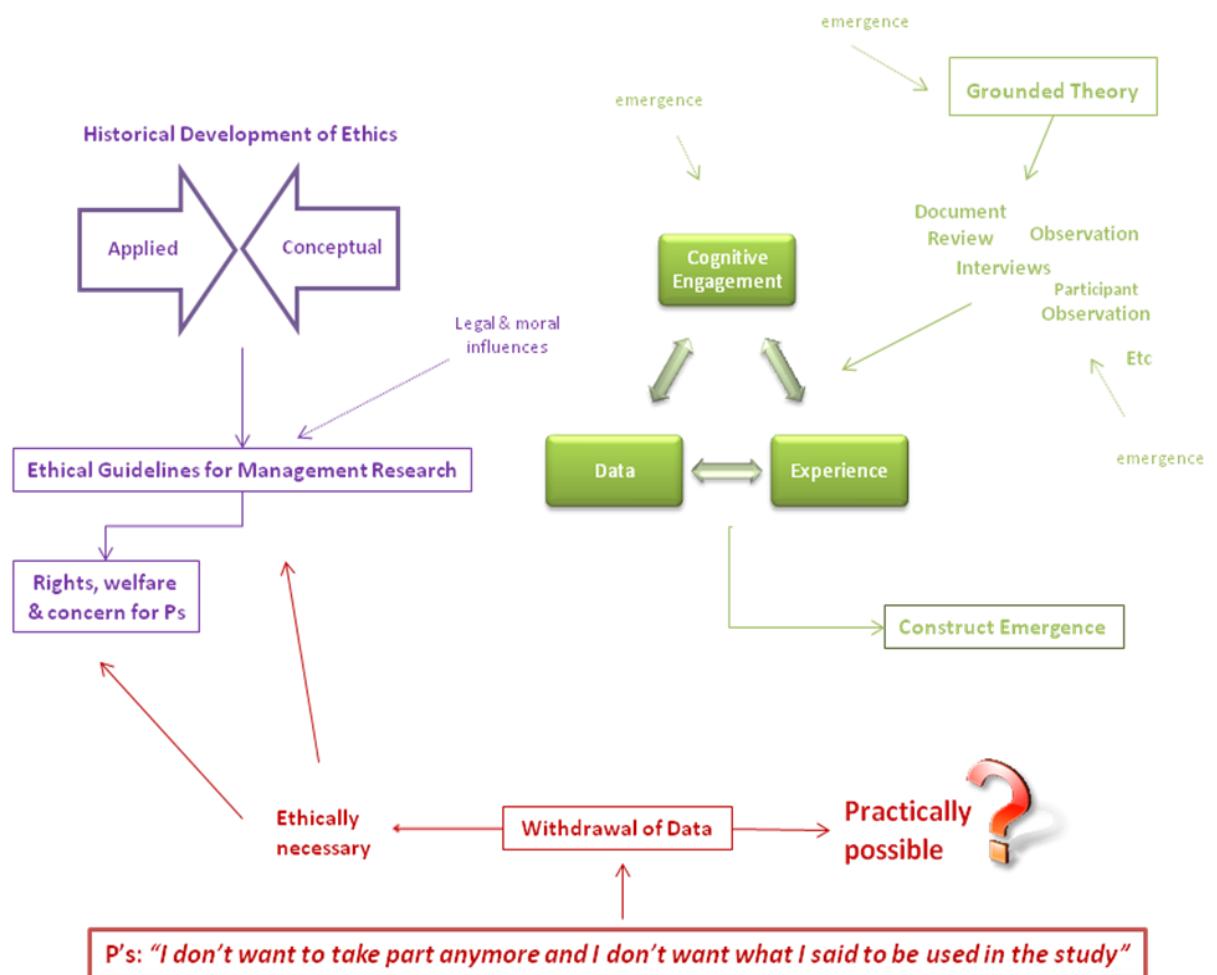
A dominant view of the remit of grounded theory is that it is a methodology that predominantly comprises of a system or systems for analyzing data. It does not make prescribed claims as to the type of method(s) that should be used to collect data.

However, it does stress that the process of data collection and its analysis is carried out on a cyclical basis: each step informs the other. This is just one example of several principles that are common to the differing interpretations and applications of grounded theory as a process, which consolidates the fragmentation within the methodology.

A plethora of methods, as indicated on the right hand side of *Figure 46*, can be used to collect data from within a grounded theory framework. Within epistemologically driven constraints, the researcher is free to choose from methods appropriate to the specific field under exploration. These can range from interviews to observation, participant observation, and so on. Data are mainly qualitative in nature: grounded theory is frequently described as a qualitative methodology although, as I have already discussed in the overall methodology chapter of this project, that some grounded theorists include quantitative data into the mix; stipulating that there should be no distinction in the status between the two types.

The commonality in the philosophical stance behind the process of data collection again indicates another principle that spans the diversity in how grounded theory is interpreted and applied. The concept of emergence is crucial. As the right hand side of *Figure 46* suggests, emergence influences multiple stages of grounded theory driven studies. Data should not be forced. Thus interviews, for example, are not structured – the informant dictates what he or she wants to discuss and for how long. The researcher is able to give prompts or ask for clarification but takes care not to steer the interview in a direction that stems from the trajectory latently dictated by the participant. This is regardless of the methods favoured by the researcher

The same principle is applicable to other methods. Observations may be passive or fully participatory but grounded theorists place a strong value on 'immersion' and experiential knowledge development. Observations are carried out without schedules and prescribed timings. They revolve around note-taking that is driven by the field, i.e. events, behaviours and actions.

Of paramount importance is the concept of theory building: methods are instigated with the purpose of collecting data that does not test theory but which, through a process of emergence, seeks to formulate a posteriori knowledge: As indicated in *Figure 46*, the dynamics between the data, the researcher's experience, and their cognitive engagement with the field, produce emergent constructs.

Conceptual and applied ethics

The slow historical evolvement of ethics has been punctuated with many accelerated developments occurring as a result of specific incidents. For example, the medically orientated experimentation carried out in the Second World War and up until the 1970s invigorated the debate of ethics within science and medicine in particular. Several further high profile medical research projects, such as the Tuskegee Syphilis study (see for example Jones, 1981), adds to the debate as to what constitutes ethical practice.

Ethics on a theoretical basis have been discussed since the times of Socrates and Aristotle. Yet it was the visible and tangible outcomes of ethically questionable activity that have shifted the focus of debate on to ethics within an applied arena. As a result several attempts have been made in formalizing ethical conduct, via various codes and guidelines.

The first of these was the Nuremburg Code, ratified in 1949, and the more recent Declaration of Helsinki, most recently updated in 2008 as a sixth revision. Both concern the 'medical experimentation' of human participants – they form the basis, for example, of the Code of Federal Regulations issued by the United States Department of Health and Health Services, for funded research.

They have also been the basis for many ethical protocols and frameworks which concern the use of human participants in wider social research (Michelfelder, 2001; Reidenberg, 2000). This is especially true concerning principles such as *informed consent* and the stipulation that the research should be considered beneficial for society.

Of most relevance for the discussion that I raise in this chapter is the example found specifically within the Nuremberg Code that states:

> *"...During the course of the experiement the human subject should be at LIBERTY to bring the experiment to an end if he has reached the physical or mental state where continuation of the experiment seems to him to be impossible..."* (Nuremberg Code: 182).

Additionally the Declaration of Helsinki stipulates that the sole duty of the investigator is to the participant.

Various human rights statutes provide addition verification. More recently the EU has, again, restated these basic principles in its focus on ethics at the interplay between medicine and technology – identified as a major concern by the USA and the EU, and one of the substantive areas of interest to management research. This disquiet has been manifested in the formation of several working committees in this area, such as the European Group on Ethics in Science and New Technologies, inaugurated in 2000 (Dench, Iphofen & Huws, 2004).

The utilized ethical guidelines are varied and numerous across a range of professional based frameworks and these are in no way exhaustive but nevertheless do signify that professional groups, for example the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology, are taking the

stance of policing research much more closely. This is also reflected in the global trend of increased activity of Institutional Review Boards within universities and research councils.

Several academic areas in particular seem to have engaged more extensively with developing ethical frameworks for practice. These include several areas with a strong relevance to management research. For example, those pertaining to psychological and sociological disciplines have historically embedded sets of ethical guidelines, culminating in several very similar frameworks that have become standard across the profession(s) as appropriate. Examples include the American Psychological Association (APA) (having implemented their guidelines in 1973), and the British Sociological Association (BSA) who currently work to their latest version, implemented in 2002.

At this point I impose a caveat to my depiction of how ethics have developed historically. Whilst meta-ethics can be used with some reasonable justification when discussing conceptual ethics, the meaning as to what constitutes ethical activity in an applied arena is extensively fragmented, on the bases of organization context, academic area, and geography.

Specific applied ethics context

Whilst I acknowledge this fragmentation within applied ethics, I focus my discussion here on the interplay between ethics and the mechanics of grounded theory – the raison d'être of this chapter. I choose to focus on the guidelines that are promoted by publication outlets as a contextual framework for debating the issues that were raised from the first case. Specifically I have chosen to focus on the ethical guidelines offered by the Academy of Management (2003). This is for several reasons.

First, bar linguistic or structural variations, there is a strong degree of similarity between these and other prominent guidelines used by other organizations. Conceptually they are comparable to those issued by the European Social Research Council (ESRC, [2010]) and other professional bodies, i.e. the content is not anomalistic.

Thus, I posit that whilst the contextual focus is on one theoretical framework, i.e. that of the Academy of Management, there is a strong possibility of generalizing the issues raised more widely.

Second, the Academy of Management has been selected for its identity as a professional body of high standing, specific to the field of management. It is the largest scholarly management association, having 18558 members from 103 countries[15], and it has longevity as an institution, being established in 1936 (AOM, [2010]). It broadly incorporates many diverse fields of management, including research that draws on substantive areas. Simultaneously it maintains an exclusive focus on management research.

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[15] Correct on 3rd December 2010.

Third, the body has a portfolio of four journals and one associated journal and these cover both theoretical and empirical research. The journals are: Academy of Management Journal; Academy of Management Review; Academy of Management Learning and Education; Academy of Management Perspectives; Organization Methods (associated journal). The first two journals have impact factors of 5.02 and 4.37 respectively, as reported by the latest statistics by Science Gateway (2007) and the same source indicates these two journals to hold the top two positions respectively in reference to overall ranking of management journal publications. Furthermore these two journals have longevity in their impact, having been in the top four journals since 1981, when the rankings were first initiated.

Fourth, it has an explicitly stated Code of Conduct.

The issue raised here is one that relates to a specific part of the ethical framework stipulated as good practice. The Academy of Management's Code of Ethical Conduct (2003) states,

> "...*It is the duty of Academy members to preserve and protect the privacy, dignity, well-being and freedom of research participants.*" The guidelines also make reference to researchers giving "...*explicit opportunities to refuse to participate and to terminate participation at any time...*" (Academy of Management, 2003: 795).

Incident

The issue of there being a potential incongruence between collecting and using data ethically and staying true to the principles of grounded theory arose during data collection within the first case, whilst I was staying within the community.

Calle 13 has many individually built guesthouses: I stayed in one of these that had been long established, although the community is small enough that everyone seems to know each other, the buildings and settlements. The guesthouse was relatively central and was easy to walk to or reach by bicycle from most parts of the town.

Most of the time I used snowball sampling to select people to take part in the study but at other times participants were chosen more methodically – on a theoretical basis – to aid the triangulation of data and emergent trends. Regardless of sampling method, I unilaterally told all participants of the study's purpose. This was to promote transparency and formed part of my strategy to ensure ethical practice both in this particular case and in the project overall.

Issues surrounding confidentiality and anonymity were discussed and I gained informed consent, for example. Participants were agreeing to take part in the study on a literal basis, i.e. they agreed to talk and so on, but they also implicitly agreed that their data could be used.

It was impractical to have ethical guidelines written down as copies for people to take away but I formulated a check list as an aide memoire that reflected the appropriate main points, as stipulated by most ethical guidelines for management based research.

My aide memoire included informing participants that they could change their mind at any time about participating, and that if they did so after they had taken part their data would not be used and would be destroyed. Other points potentially relevant for this discussion include my informing the participants that they could take part on an anonymous basis and if their data was used then they would be given a pseudonym.

A caveat to gaining participants' informed consent was that they were free to change their mind about their taking part both in terms of them taking part during interviews, for example, but also if they changed their minds afterwards and did not want me to use the data that they had 'given'. After the interviews, I told participants where I was staying. Even if they did not remember, it would have been easy for people to find out, owing to the close knit nature of the community. I told each participant that if I was not there at the guesthouse then they could leave a message for me. This was to give ample chance for participants to withdraw their data if necessary but also to give already interviewed participants opportunities to initiate further conversation if they felt appropriate. In addition, I felt that potential participants could make contact if already interviewed participants told their friends that they could take part. In total I carried out 156 interviews, which were predominantly unstructured in style.

Forty-five people changed their mind as to their participation in the study. No one changed their minds during or just after their participation: All of the people who withdrew their data did so after waiting until the next day or for a few days after their interview. Most people came alone but some came in pairs.

Discussion

Actions after the withdrawal

One or two of the participants stopped me to request their withdrawal when they saw me within the town. But in all other circumstances this process involved the participants coming to my guesthouse.

If I was there, I made no effort to try to convince participants to change their minds about withdrawing. I typically offered a response that amounted to a smile and, "Not a problem, don't worry. Thank you for talking to me anyway". In some cases, as appropriate, I reassured participants that their data would not be used and they would not be identified either in the community or within a wider audience.

Participants who came to see me directly to withdraw their data were reassured that their data would not be used and their participation would not be identified to anyone. I did not engage in any persuasion to encourage participants to reconsider. A few participants came back to ask questions that mostly concerned what I was going to do with their data and anonymity issues. One person changed her mind and said that she was happy to participate.

Some people just left written messages for me at my guesthouse to indicate that they had changed their mind concerning their participation in the study, i.e. some people wanted me to not incorporate what they had talked about in my study. At this point I thought about contacting the people to reassure them that I would not use their data and that they would not be identified in any way. However, I concluded that my re-contact could potentially cause problems for the participant through association, so I decided that it was more ethical to not pursue contact at all.

In the first few instances of people changing their minds about taking part, I destroyed the data by shredding my notes. However, I became concerned that these could potentially be found by community members. I decided after this first few times that it was better to wait until I was outside the community some days later to destroy the appropriate data.

As the data mounted, and without the provisions of a secure location to keep it, I made three trips to the nearest large town where I could dispose of the shredded paper more securely. Notes that were destroyed constituted notes on dialogue, their position within diagrams that I had drawn to depict relationships and networks within the community, and any other notes that were witness to their participation.

My motivation for destroying the data was not embedded in any specific set of ethical guidelines. I had a strong awareness of the need for researchers to gain informed consent from participants. I also carried with me extant knowledge surrounding the right of people to withdraw their participation during a study or afterwards and that the researcher's obligations are to the welfare of the participant(s). I assumed, whilst in the field of the first case, that this included the right of participants to withdraw the data from use. In addition, I had also explicitly stated to participants before they took part that they had this right. Thus, my motivations for destroying data were entrenched in moral and a general ethical awareness, rather than pertaining to a specific legal position or set of ethical guidelines.

Why did this happen?

The reasons as to why this happened can only be speculated, owing to the data's literal destruction. But I identify three explanations – some more likely than others. As noted in the introduction of this chapter, I argue for the relevance of this discussion as it could identify the potential impact upon subsequent cases or whether the issue that I raise is idiosyncratic to this first case.

I deem the first two potential explanations that I present below to be less likely in their plausibility. Nevertheless I argue for their inclusion on the basis of avoiding subjectivity, especially in the absence of evidence and in the presence of speculation.

My role as researcher

My role as researcher must be also considered in several ways, as a potential explanatory factor in why participants also chose to withdraw their permission for their data to be used. First, there is the theoretical possibility that I did not adequately communicate the functions of the research, what their data would be used for, or the boundaries of anonymity and confidentiality. Perhaps I did not answer questions adequately or my conclusions that I had gained a good rapport were unfounded and that I was perceived as untrustworthy. Or there is the possibility that the rapport that I gained with participants was almost too good: giving the participants a sense of ease of withdrawing their participation – clearly the most ethical of field climate but simultaneously one that does not maximize the amount of data that can be used if withdrawal is the outcome.

Objectively as it is possible, I feel that I did nothing in my role of researcher to 'cause' the withdrawal of data. The purpose of gathering data within the first case was ostensibly a 'practice' run for carrying out grounded theory; a methodology that I had not used before. I thought it likely that I would make mistakes to the point of the data being unusable. It was, thus, not my intention to use data at all from this first case. However, although mistakes were made, these were carried out at the stages of analysis but were not errors that could have compromised the quality of the raw data at the point during or prior to collection.

The design of the case study

In terms of the design of the case study, participants (after the initial few) were all selected via the same snowball sampling method, to elicit trust. Some theoretical sampling took place later towards the end for triangulation purposes. Albeit on the basis of untested presumptions, I do not think that the sampling method could have logically influenced people withdrawing their data.

In addition, all participants were exposed to the same process of gaining informed consent and other ethical considerations.

Group identity

As *Figure 47* indicates, I identify three different groups of people within this study: People who took part in the study but who then later withdrew their permission for their data to be used; people who took part and did not withdraw their data; the community as a whole, which includes people who did not take part *and* those which did at some point.

FIGURE 47

PARTICIPANTS IN CASE STUDY ONE
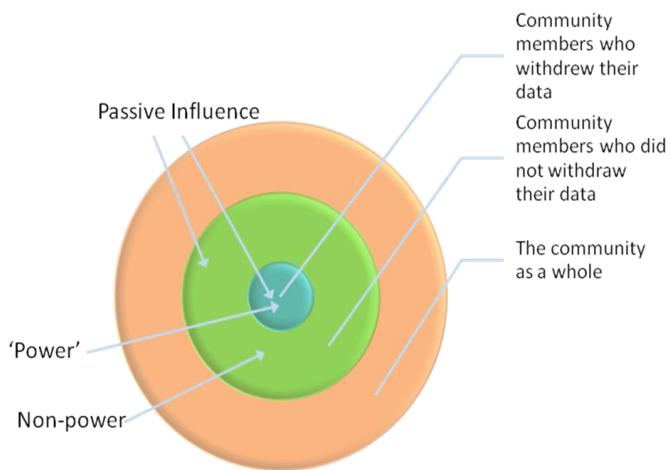
How the groups came into being are, in most cases, straightforward. Community members, for example, are clearly distinguished from visitors and people from outlying villages. Members are required to go through a complex 'vetting' and probationary period before they are allowed full resident status, for example. Rules abound but less tangible factors also exist to strengthen the boundaries of the town as distinctive, such as culturally orientated factors.

Of more interest here is the split within the group of people who took part in the study: A division occurred when some of these decided to withdraw their data, as *Figure 47* indicates. As noted before in this section, the crux here is exploring why. The first plausible explanation could revolve around there being something about the participants that identifies them as a biased group on a characteristic beyond that of merely the withdrawal of data.

Although I did not keep records detailing every socio-demographic variable of participants, I feel confident in arguing that the group of participants who withdrew their data was not recognizably distinguishable on any socio-demographic factor. People varied in gender, age, occupation, nationality and so on.

Yet the concept of 'group identity' seems to be pertinent, especially when the wider context of the participant groups is considered, i.e. that of the community in general. First, although the group which withdrew their data, did not share similar socio-demographic characteristics, they were distinguishable as a group on the basis of the constructs that revolved around 'power' that emerged from completed interviews. In other words, the group of people who withdrew their data all discussed issues that pertained to power relations and structures, where as the other participants neither withdrew their data nor discussed this topic area.

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The common fear or anxiety would have strengthened the group's identity as separate but I argue that it seems likely that the driver in the formation of the group is solely on the basis of the topic choice of individual participants. If the subject matter was the sole motivation of participants withdrawing their data, then the implications for subsequent cases are minimal.

Borrowing from some of the ideas within social identity theory and more specifically principles relating to ingroup/outgroup activity (see for example, Sheriff, 1966; Tajfel, 1970), *Figure 48* proposes the basis for an alternative explanation.

FIGURE 48

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY
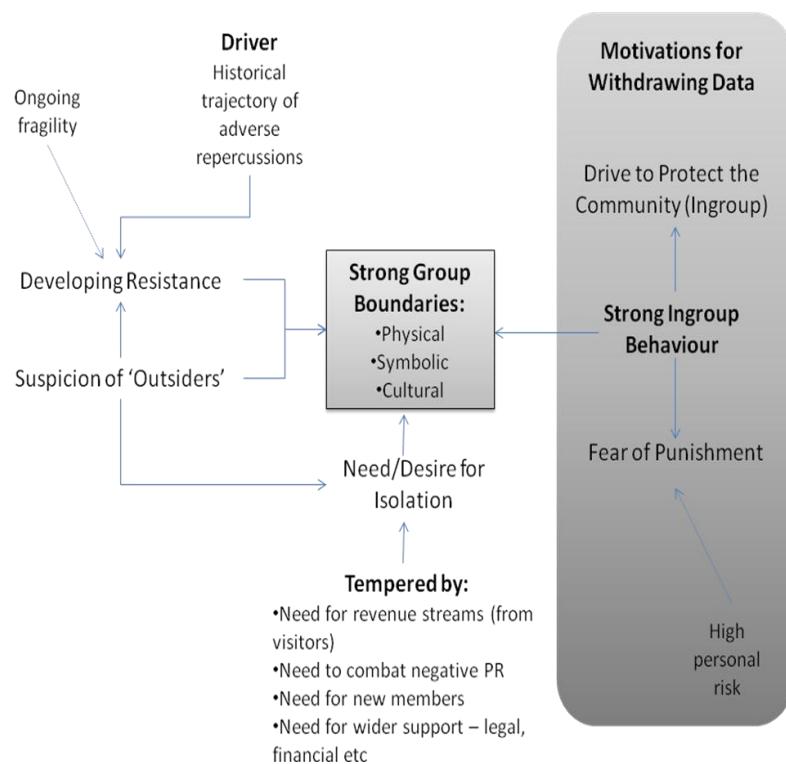
Central to *Figure 48* is the identification of the community having strong boundaries that seem to transcend most, if not all, dimensions. Theoretically, the community is open to all who are willing to follow a limited number of principles. But several pseudo barriers are juxtaposed alongside this superficial openness: Skin colour, language, physical build, and style of dress help to establish human based elements of difference between the community and the external world.

Dwellings and public buildings – creative and experimental in design – as well as manicured gardens, also distinguish the township in a structural sense. Physical symbols and signs of the community as a separate and individual entity also exist: The Matrimandir, for example – a distinctive large marble and gold building for meditation – and its gardens. Geographically the township is isolated, with the main access to the community being a road that extends for about a mile into the community. The town is not visible from the main road, being shielded by trees, that again contributes to its separateness. These examples exist as physical, symbolic and culturally entrenched factors that enhance the strength of the boundaries that distinguish Calle 13 as a separate community on many dimensions.

I posit these boundaries have been consciously created and perpetuated by several interrelated principles from within the community. There is a deep suspicion of 'outsiders', an expressed desire for isolation, and evidence that resistance to 'outside' influences should be championed, especially in the context of the community's self-awareness of its fragility.

Examples from the data set corroborate these ideas. For instance, at the point of my orientation when I was experiencing the community firsthand from a visitor's perspective, at The Visitors' Centre, which was informative but not friendly. I did not ask any questions at that point but overheard one visitor asking politely if everyone lived together. The response was "we're not a commune or cult" and was said with some hostility. Later on, one community member said that she sometimes felt that she was "…in a zoo". And this perception was echoed consistently throughout my stay. The updated, more visitor friendly website, says, "…[it] is not a tourist place, despite being referred to in travel and tourist literature, and does not devote as much time and energy to welcoming tourists…".

Positioned towards the bottom of *Figure 48* are my reflections gained via my experiences of the field on how the need and desire to isolate the community is tempered by several motivations that are intrinsic to the survival of the community. Thus whilst there is a strong psychological need and drive for an isolated community, this is modified by the need for economic support, via revenue streams that revolve around visitors to the community.

A second factor which tempers the drive for isolation derives from visitors being a willing and easily accessed audience to combat the negative PR that surrounds the community, whether actual or just perceived by the community. Thus, a Visitor's Centre tells the story of the town's development, its vision and goals for the future. It seeks to remove some of the mystery of the community whilst maintaining an extensive level of privacy.

Third, the need to attract potential new members to the community cannot be done without some access to the town. In addition, as a final issue that tempers the drive for isolation, is the need to maintain wider support from third parties involved in the financial and legal status of the community. Its tax status, for example, can only be maintained with some level of transparency and access granted to government financial regulators, albeit on a fairly infrequent basis.

Towards the top of *Figure 48* is the overall driver which I posit motivates the community's suspicion of 'outsiders', its striving for isolation, and its desire to build resistance to 'outside' influences.

I argue that there is a trajectory of adverse repercussions of external interaction, and that the data suggests that this is historically embedded. Right at the start of the community's establishment, for example, Debra, reflecting on the time of the community's initiation recalls,

> *"…I would cycle…through the gully…where the children would tease me by throwing stones and calling 'vellakari' meaning white woman…"*

Whereas Debra's experience seems inconsequential and is motivated by 'difference', the consistency of the experience and those similar to Debra's suggest a greater impact. More recent examples along this historical trajectory also exist, where adverse repercussions were seen from when journalists were invited into the community. The situation was more recent and revolved around alleged criminal activity involving some of the children that were living in the community at the time. It is important to note that no charges – criminal or civil – were brought to any member of the community. The allegations were made by one person who had left the community prior to contacting the popular media about the supposed incidents that had occurred several years previously. Several interviews were conducted by the popular media, including at least one televised interview. Journalists were also dispatched to the community.

When the experiences of the community with the 'outside world' are examined, it is easy to understand the lack of trust implicit within much of the population of the community.

Up to this point my discussion on *Figure 48* has involved the wider contextual factors that I feel are pertinent in giving a possible explanation as to why some people withdrew their data. The material depicted in the right hand side of *Figure 48*, more closely responds to this question.

I argue that the strong boundaries of the community's identity – as influenced and related to the above discussion as illustrated by the rest of *Figure 48* – ultimately produces strong ingroup/outgroup behavior. I identify the community as the ingroup and the external environment as the outgroup. Using social identity theory principles, two explanations as to why some members of the community withdrew their data emerge, which could exist in combination.

First, there could have been a fear amongst the group which withdrew their data of 'punishment' from the rest of the community. The perceived 'risk' of disclosing information is higher for the participant group which withdrew their data, in comparison to other informants who did not, based on the common factor amongst the former group which discussed more sensitive topics.

Questions and doubts as to the anonymity of their identities would likely arise. This means that when reflecting on the sensitivity of the data that they have disclosed, they would consider their continued presence in the study, i.e. via the use of their data, to be of a high risk on a personal basis. Ultimately there would be a tension for participants who had discussed sensitive material, between the benefits and the risks to themselves by staying in the study. Their participation in the study would mean little personal gain, beyond possible altruistic elements: They were not paid for their time, for example. The risks, however, are greater, especially when considered within the theoretical realms of anonymity not being upheld.

Second, and still assuming the importance of the specific sensitive data discussed by the group that withdrew their data, is issue of the protection of the community itself. The identity of the subgroup as distinctive and substantial is only privy to me: The members of the group will not be aware of how big the group is. In addition, the time period of which the group has been established for is short and its importance is inconsequential for the group itself. Thus, the strength of influence of the group on the behaviour for its individual members is weak, especially when compared to the longevity of the group norms and expected behaviour of the community as a whole group. Thus, the influence of the latter is almost certainly likely to be pertinent.

An explanation as to why people withdrew their data thus lays in the loyalty that individuals may feel towards the protection of the community (as their strongest ingroup) as a whole, from 'interference' from sources external to the community, i.e. me (as an outgroup).

Some caveats

The explanations presented as to why the data was withdrawn are not without flaws. Two limitations seem pertinent. First, I have assumed that the topic area discussed by the group of participants which withdrew their data is the strongest defining common characteristic of the group. But that is not to say that it can be considered unequivocally as the underpinning factor as to why some people chose to withdraw their data.

Second, the distinction between the two groups was not completely 'clean' on the issue of topic discussed. Whilst no people withdrew their data who had not been discussing topics related to power, there were three people who remained in the study, i.e. did not withdraw their data, who *had* been discussing power.

Although three people out of 45 is not statistically significant to render the argument defunct, it is enough to question the legitimacy of the cause *purely* lying in the realm of subject matter as the underpinning mechanism of data withdrawal.

Implications

The implications that arise from my experiences in this first case can be grouped into two different types:

- Those which concern the first case, i.e. where the issue was raised, and which may have further implications for subsequent cases, within this project.

- Those which impact upon wider frameworks, i.e. the theoretical development of grounded theory as a methodology and that of ethical guidelines for research using grounded theory.

<u>Impacts on the first case and the implications for subsequent cases</u>

The phenomenon of mass withdrawal of data had implications for the research process within the specific context of this first case. The crux of the problem was a tension between ethics and the process of grounded theory and its underpinning fundamentals.

First, the reasons as to why participants withdrew their data in the first case may impact upon the judgment made as to the relevance for the subsequent cases within this project. This rationale relates to the supposed idiosyncrasy of the first case. As discussed in the prior section as to why the situation occurred, two reasons are identified. If it is likely that participants withdrew their data in order to protect the community, I would posit that the unique history of the township lends itself to the argument that this instance is particular to this first case and a repeated scenario would be unlikely.

However, if the drivers for the withdrawal of data are more selfish in hat participants wished to protect themselves from retribution, I suggest that this is more likely to occur in other cases where power, and possibly other relevant 'sensitive' themes, are pertinent factors. This would have specific implications for the administering of ethics in particular where anonymity is emphasized to the participant.

The problem with identifying idiosyncrasy is that the drivers behind participants withdrawing their data are purely speculative.

As discussed in prior sections, one of the most fundamental principles of grounded theory is the issue of *emergence*: Data cannot be forced. The specific methods that I used within the field of this first case paid homage to this as did the specifics of grounded theory relating to the analyzing of data. Constructs were allowed to emerge naturally alongside the process of

gathering the data in a cyclical relationship. I am also aiming to apply these principles to the subsequent cases in this project, albeit with some acknowledgement of the constraints in doing so with respect to inevitable a posteriori knowledge.

The problem arose specifically in relation to the ethical issues surrounding when data is withdrawn. The point is tangible as seen in numerous ethical guidelines, as for example those stipulated by the Academy of Management.

The withdrawal of data is perhaps more a straightforward scenario in studies where grounded theory has not been utilized, and certainly within more positivist approaches towards research. Destroying the data may produce a tangible ethical solution that fits well but I posit that this is superficial and certainly does not sit well with epistemological paradigms that assume that there is an interaction between the subject and object. It also draws attention to the ambiguity of the term 'use of data'.

The system of collecting data within a grounded theory approach means that exposure to the data immediately ignites a process of analysis, albeit one that is initially carried out at a cognitive, intrapersonal level. Adopting a Glaserian paradigm – "all data is data" [sic] (Glaser, 1998: 8) – the situation is even more critical, as (relevant) knowledge structuration is argued to occur upon immediate entry to the field.

My data collection experience was perhaps extreme in that the cultural environment in this first case was so different from that of my own. It was fairly evident on reflection that I engaged in a process of 'sense making' straightaway on arrival in the community – evidenced by my diary – and thus the process of knowledge structuration was engaged on an automatic and immediate basis. Tangible data records to indicate when this process started cannot always be relied on: ostensibly this began with my first diary entry. Yet, 'sense making', at a cognitive level, occurred at a much earlier point.

Exposure to the data that was to be later withdrawn meant that cognitively the construct of 'power' began to take form even though there was no input from any tangible component of an analytic procedure – coding, for example. More fundamentally the construct did not lose its form as a result of a lack of subsequent embedment in other data sources, i.e. triangulation.

The construct was held (falsely) evident, even to the extent that it was incorporated, quite incorrectly, into an initial write-up: Its inclusion being based on other inconclusive data. It was not until another professional quite rightly questioned whether I had enough data to support my claims, that I understood how I had allowed myself to falsely perceive more evidence than I actually tangibly had, unwittingly manipulated by my own cognitive recollections and subconscious awareness of the withdrawn data.

My experience in this first case posits that there are two parallel forms of analysis that are cyclical within the process of data collection itself occurring within grounded theory. The

overt, conscious analysis, invariably involving some sort of coding system is clear. But this is also (initially) inevitably preceded by intangible cognitive processes. I argue that they both contribute to how constructs are able to emerge.

Clearly to identify a construct on the basis of cognitive reasoning alone without any reference to tangible data would be nonsensical. Owing to the scope for perceptual bias in grounded theory, good research is highly triangulated, especially when the genre of data involves personal perceptions, for example researcher diary keeping. Eisenhardt (1989) also suggests using more than one researcher to try and hone objectivity. For future cases, this is not appropriate, owing to the non-collaborative restrictions placed on the project. Yet, I acknowledge the benefits for subsequent projects.

Yet exposure to data at a cognitive level cannot be reversed. This is the crux of the issue raised. The extent to how far data can be 'unused' depends on the definition of 'use' and the philosophical position on how knowledge is procured.

A positivist epistemological position suggests that the dilemma is easily solved: The objective and detached role that the researcher plays in the collection of data dictates that when a participant withdraws their permission for their data to be used, the data is simply destroyed and thus not included in any statistical analysis. It assumes that the 'use' of data only begins when some sort of statistical manipulation is carried out. The data is assumed to not contribute to the conclusions of the study because its tangibility enables a 'clean' removal from which ever environment that it is contextualized in – the literal environment at the point of collection or its existence in a spreadsheet, for example.

Hypothetically, even if statistical tests had already been carried out, i.e. the data had already been 'used', if a participant requested the withdrawal of his data, the researcher simply recalculates without the specific withdrawn data, effectively making the scenario of 'unusing' data ethically and practically possible. Grounded theory, embedded in a very different epistemological position, does not have this luxury. Attempting to 'unuse' data within grounded theory's parent epistemological dimension is impossible: it inevitably contributes to some extent of construct formulation.

Thus, in these respects, there are clear implications for the development of the methodology in this project. More specifically, if the withdrawal of data were to occur again, the same issues still arise as to how data can be 'unused' which have already been processed cognitively. As already demonstrated, 'forgetting' data is not achievable and thus, I posit that prior to starting subsequent cases I should focus on trying to elicit a climate which minimizes the issue occurring again. I suggest that I should centre on relaying to participants the parameters of when they are able to withdrawn their data.

This may be a remedy for the issue raised but it is also one that ignores a new set of ethical issues that it raises: Does the researcher have the right to curtail the timing of withdrawal of

data? The solution offered is clearly practically driven and it does at least initiate better transparency in the research process to participants. However, I acknowledge that my suggested action for subsequent cases is not without its criticism.

Impacts on wider frameworks

Of less immediate importance to this project, my experiences nevertheless raise important theoretical questions as to the development of grounded theory and ethical frameworks relevant for management research.

Referring to some of the components of the process as to how ethics within management research are policed, as first raised in the previous sections of this chapter, I identify several implications.

First, the role of IRBs may be questioned. It would seem that, superficially at least, some of the responsibility for producing ethical research lies with formal governance systems, i.e. those represented by IRBs.

Some have argued that moving the onus away from the researcher also represents a shift in the balance of power (Boden, Epstein & Latimer, 2009), especially as the role of IRBs is largely that of interpreter. Some have also questioned whether IRBs are ethical per se (Hammersley, 2009; Swauger, 2009).

Regardless of the debated inadequacies of IRBs, written guidelines still play a pivotal role in the ethical consideration within the research process. There is some slight linguistic and stylistic variation between guidelines but certainly conceptually there are extensively common themes in a global text.

Whilst some qualitative orientated research put before some IRBs seems to be considered differently (Broussine, 2008), projects that propose the use of grounded theory, may come under additional scrutiny but may also require IRBs to consider ethical considerations more specifically in light of the researcher's chosen methodology. In summary, grounded theory has ethical issues specific to its methodology and IRBs must understand this, preferably incorporating people experienced in the application of grounded theory themselves.

A second implication that is more orientated towards the development of grounded theory is that which discusses how the methodology can move forward and unite by acknowledging the ethical versus practical tension in the concept of 'emergence'

Currently the issue presents itself as grounded theory's 'dirty secret'. A paradox quickly ensued after my own experiences in the first case: The tension between staying 'true to method' and ethics was vivid. Thus I was surprised at the lack of published research that relayed similar experiences, which I sought after I had concluded the case. Reflecting extensively and specifically on my role in the first case and the context of the field itself, I

acknowledge that there is strong idiosyncrasy and, as a novice user of the methodology, I may have made mistakes a more seasoned grounded theorist would not have made.

Despite my reflection, I still suggest that the *potential* for this issue to occur again exists and thus both theorists and practitioners of approach must reconcile how ethical use of data can be maintained whilst still adhering to the pivotal assumption of the methodology, i.e. emergence.

The final implication that I raise concerns the lack of specific incorporation by ethical frameworks of issues surrounding the withdrawal of data by participants, i.e. guidelines that ostensibly revolve around the withdrawal of consent.

As the second section of this chapter discusses, the Academy of Management – as a respected professional management research body and as an example of ethical frameworks in place – highlights this problem. It states that the researcher must give participants "…*explicit opportunities to refuse to participate and to terminate participation at any time…*"

My experiences in this first case elevate several points for discussion. I levy the assumption that to *"…terminate participation at any time…"* refers to the participant's literal taking part in the study. Yet, it is unclear as to whether this also extends to their data collected. *"…at any time…"* gives credence to the idea that participants could change their minds about taking part in the study towards the end of it or after it has finished. Yet, the guidelines make no indication as to whether this withdrawal also incorporates the right to withdraw the data already imparted.

This elicits several other questions – none of which the guidelines in their current state can adequately answer: Who owns the data collected? And if ownership is transferred in the process of the research process, at what point does this occur?

My experiences with grounded theory have been the catalyst for these questions, yet their significance is not methodologically specific. Other questions though are raised that pertain more exclusively to grounded theory, especially regarding the use of data. Acknowledging that the use of data can have differing meanings across differing methodologies is important: The current guidelines 'one size fits all' approach does not incorporate the nuances of grounded theory. This is especially important if we take into account the increasing trend in utilizing grounded theory as a methodology by management scholars.

As we demonstrated in the second section of this appendix, the development of ethics within research has been historical, organic and complex, with its philosophical contextual development juxtaposed and sometimes meshed with specific disciplinary advancements. I argue that the field of management research must reconcile its ethical obligations by more broadly and overtly considering the nuances of alternative methodologies and methods as they are enfolded into its research practices. Whilst I acknowledge that ethical guidelines pertaining to publications are only one constituent of a policing process, I nevertheless posit that it is a valid and often utilized reference point.

LAKE DISTRICT

The Lake District is positioned nearest the north west coast of England. It was formed as a result of historical glacial change, spans 885 square miles, and includes lakes and the Cumbrian Mountain range. It is an area that is specified beyond its cartographic context and geography: It has a distinct identity now as a tourist destination.

The 1991 census indicates 42 239 people living in 22 930 dwellings in the area. Tourism is the primary revenue stream for the region with 8.3 million 'day visitors' during 2008 (Cumbria Tourism, 2008), generating £1171 million in tourist expenditure in the same year (Cumbria STEAM survey). In terms of employment the tourism sector employs 11 575 full-time equivalent people within the national park.

Tourism has been long established: In 1810 Wordsworth published a 'Guide to the Lakes' which motivated a greater number of tourists to the area. Initially, these were wealthier patrons but people with lesser financial means also started to arrive, owing to the socio-economic changes at the time and the building of a railway to Windemere in 1847. The 1960s saw improvements to transport infrastructures and increased car ownership and as a result visitor numbers increased again. Economically, this was especially important for the region with the depletion of mining and, more recently, farming in the area, which had been the primary sources of income for the area.

The Lake District website [2010] states that tourists now visit for the peace and quiet of the area, outdoor pursuits and attractions such as lake cruising. In addition, several historical and cultural focal points draw visitors, including roman forts and stone circles, and in particular, Wordsworth Museum, Dove Cottage, and Beatrix Potter's house. Generally, the area has 6000 archeological sites and monuments, 1740 listed buildings and 21 conservation area including whole villages and towns.