

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Institutional logics and competitive advantage. The case of football academies in England

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Award date:
2020

Awarding institution:
Coventry University

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Institutional logics and competitive advantage. The case of football academies in England

By

Chrysostomos Karteros

*A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the University's
requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy*

February 2020



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Certificate of Ethical Approval

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Project Title:

Institutional Logics and Competitive Advantage. The Case of Professional
Football Academies in England

This is to certify that the above named applicant has completed the Coventry University Ethical Approval process and their project has been confirmed and approved as Medium Risk

Date of approval:

22 July 2019

Project Reference Number:

P93323

Acknowledgements

This is exactly the page I thought I will never need to write. What was started because of my frustration for the situation in the academy of the football club I support, developed to a proposal about a research for best practice strategies for football academies and finally led to a PhD on institutional logics. Hence, here I do not need to justify my contribution to knowledge, but to express my heartfelt thanks to people who contributed to this journey.

First and foremost, I am deeply grateful to my Director of Studies Benoit Senaux. Without his support I would have withdrawn after the first year of the program. He insisted that there is value in my idea and encouraged me to continue. He introduced to the institutional theory literature and thanks to his guidance I rediscovered my interest in research. His comments enriched the content and improved the quality of my work. In terms of institutional logics, in our interaction he combined the status of professional logic with the root metaphor of family logic. He helped me fulfil the requirements of an academic research, but he was also present when I faced difficulties unrelated to the research.

There are no words to express my gratitude for my family. Over these years they have always been by my side. They supported me in every possible way and their warm and unconditional support inspired me to overcome all the difficulties. In terms of institutional logics, they fully complied to all the elements of family logic and I will be eternally grateful to them.

I am wholeheartedly grateful to my partner Antigone Pana. She unconditionally offered her kindest self and she was the reason to believe that things could get better in the toughest times and to try even harder during the highs of the program. Also, her degree in medical science was a great relief in every stressful moment of the PhD when anxiety made feel something is wrong with my health.

ABSTRACT

This thesis highlights the significance of institutional logics and specific elements of logics for competitive parity, competitive advantage and positioning. It states that specific elements of institutional logics enhance isomorphism within organisational fields, but also contribute to competitive parity, while others enhance heterogeneity within organisational fields and facilitate differentiation and competitive advantage. Organisational commitments to these elements locate organisations in field level positions with distinct strategic characteristics. The thesis employs the field of professional football academies as the context within which multiple institutional logics are in play. Through a historical analysis of the evolution of the organisational field, six institutional logics are identified, and their content is described. Subsequently, through a thematic analysis of first-hand and secondary data regarding five football academies with distinct characteristics, logics and elements of logics which have a significance for competitive parity, competitive advantage and positioning within the field are specified. It is suggested that organisations commit to specific elements of institutional logics in their attempt to gain competitive parity and competitive advantage. The thesis also highlights the significance of commitments to institutional logics for positioning within a field. The thesis makes unique contributions to the institutional theory as well as to the resource-based theory. It highlights the significance of commitments to logics for strategic positioning within a field. It indicates the significance of logics for a more inclusive definition of competitive advantage. It identifies the significance of specific elements of institutional logics, for competitive parity and competitive advantage. The thesis provides an unprecedented conceptualisation of the interrelationship amongst institutional theory and the resource-based view.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Over the years, institutional theory has been criticised for its lack of focus on the practical value of institutional logics. Johansen and Waldorff (2017) ask what the unique properties of institutional logics are and question their explanatory power. Suddaby (2010: 17) comments that institutionalists have focused on the effects of institutions on organisations, rather than on the institutions themselves. Zilber (2013: 81) observes that empirical studies of institutional logics do not shed light on the micro-foundations of logics, while Friedland (2013: 36) advocates that logics must have some measure of practical specificity. This thesis' objective is to contribute to the literature of the materiality of institutions and define the practical significance of institutional logics from a very specific perspective. That is, the significance that institutional logics have for competitive parity and, competitive advantage and positioning of organisations. Oliver (1997) was the first to introduce the combination of institutional accounts with the resource-based view. Since then, institutional theory has become perhaps the leading theory for understanding organisations (Greenwood *et al.* 2008), and the "institutional logics perspective" (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012) is considered an analytical framework which specifies the organisational processes through which institutional logics are enacted (Friedland 2012: 583). However, as stated by Jones, Boxenbaum & Anthony (2013), institutional logics are recognised as containing both ideational and material components, and materiality has been conceptualised as organisational structures and practices, extant research has been hesitant to address materiality.

The thesis aims to contribute to filling this gap and extend the concept of materiality by infusing elements of institutional logics with qualities of material resources. Its main objectives are to define the significance of institutional logics in relevance to competitive parity and competitive advantage and positioning within the field. It does so within the institutional context of professional football academies in England.

The choice of the specific context is not arbitrary. In 2012 the Premier League, the Football League and the Football Association decided the reformation of the football academies field and introduced the “Elite Player Performance Plan” (EPPP), a long-term strategy with the aim of developing more and better home-grown players (Premier League 2012). This reformation forced clubs to introduce changes in the operation of their academies and redefine their academies’ strategy. Within this new context, football academies are struggling to find their competitive edge, as the below quote, from Brentford’s FC official announcement to restructure its academy illustrates.

A cornerstone of that evaluation process was that the Club must strive to find ways to do things differently to our rivals, in order to compete and progress as a Championship football club. We cannot outspend the vast majority of our competitors, therefore, we will never shy away from taking the kind of decision that can give us a competitive edge (Brentford F.C. 2016).

However, while football academies have similar aims, namely to develop players for the first team and if possible make a profit through transfers of academy players (Relvas *et al.*, 2010), the process and strategy to achieve these aims differ between academies.

This differentiation allows for multiple approaches to what a competitive advantage of a football academy might be. The aim of this research is not to provide a definition of competitive advantage of football academies, since as Jay (2013:138) suggests, outcomes of actions may be perceived as successes when viewed through the lens of a certain logic, but as failures through the lens of a different logic. It is neither to identify why football academies choose a specific strategy and how they implement it. The main aim of the current thesis is to identify the value of specific components of institutional logics for competitive parity and competitive advantage of professional football academies within their respective organisational field and institutional context. That is, the thesis focuses on the organisational field of professional football academies specifically and not the organisational field of professional football clubs in general.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983:148) define organisational field as “those organisations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognised area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organisations that produce similar services or products” and most institutional scholars use this definition (Zietsma *et al.* 2017: 392). Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012: 61) build on the above definition and interpret organisational fields as areas of organisational life in which participants take each other into account as they perform interrelated categories of symbols and practices. According to this definition, the symbolic aspects of institutions designate meaning to practices, while practices materialise this meaning.

This thesis acknowledges that football academies are integral parts of football clubs. However, there are clear differences between the first team and the football academy of a club, which allow football academies to be considered members of a distinct organisational field. Football academies produce services or products that are essentially different to those of the first team. More specifically, players of football academies are mainly underaged children and not professionals and academies main aim is to develop these children so that they play professional football, not just to win matches as is mainly the case for the first team. Because of these differences, the academy exploits different resources, aims at different consumers for its services, and has a different regulatory framework than the first team. Therefore, the same institutions may designate different meaning to the same practices of the first team and the academy. From this perspective, the conceptualisation of a specific academies’ organisational field different from a broader football clubs’ organisational field is justified.

Within this field, specific institutions are at play, derived from societal-level logics, from the logics of neighbouring fields, and from the endogenous action of the individuals who populate them (Thornton *et al.* 2012). These institutions and institutional logics need to be defined. However, Zilber (2013: 78) comments that institutional theory is a socially constructed truth and there are neither institutional

logics out there in the world, nor any institutional work, rather these are analytical tools that allow scholars to conceptualise and analyse organisational phenomena.

While there is no agreement about what institutions are (Hindriks and Guala 2015: 360), it is not possible to proceed to a practical or theoretical analysis of institutions without having an adequate conception of what an institution is (Hodgson 2006: 1). Hampel, Lawrence and Tracey (2017) provide a broad description of institutions as shaping every facet of human existence, providing meaning and motivation to our actions, and holding together the material and symbolic structures that trigger and shape those actions. They also suggest that organisational practices, logics, values, and rules, are all organisational level institutions.

In this thesis, the institutions under investigation are the institutional logics and their components, as those emerge at the field level of football academies and gain specificity at the organisational level of each individual football academy. More specifically, the thesis aims to define the components of institutional logics which contribute to competitive parity and competitive advantage and their significance for positioning. Therefore, the research question this thesis seeks to address is:

What is the significance of institutional logics in terms of competitive parity, competitive advantage and positioning?

It focuses on the organisational field of professional football academies in England and uses a sample of five football academies of the same organisational field, but with clear differences regarding their position in it. As the research question showcases, the study builds around two well-established bodies of academic literature: the “neo-institutional theory” and its latest elaboration the “institutional logics perspective”, and the “resource-based view”.

Neo-institutional theory has been criticised, mainly because of its inability to account for agency of organisational actors and explain change (Kraatz and Zajac 1996). The introduction of the institutional logics perspective in the seminal work of Friedland and Alford (1991), which was further elaborated with the work of Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) and Thornton and Ocasio (2008), replied to the critics since it incorporates theoretical mechanisms that explain the partial autonomy of actors from the social structure.

The resource-based view theory offers an analysis of the characteristics of resources that contribute to competitive advantage. Oliver (1997) was the first to combine insights from neo-institutional theory and resource-based view to explain the strategic behaviour of organisations and suggested that organisations need both institutional and resource capital for competitive advantage. The strategic perspective of institutional logics had already started in 1991 when Oliver presented a typology of strategic responses to institutional pressures and suggested ten institutional factors that predict the occurrence of the responses. This thesis takes a step further by considering “institutional logics” not only as pressures on organisations but also as resources that enable action (Durand *et al.* 2013). It combines the institutional logics perspective with the resource-based view. It focuses on the organisational “constellation of logics” (Goodrick and Reay 2011), and evaluates the capacity of elements of the constellation to contribute to competitive parity, competitive advantage and positioning.

Therefore, the institutions under examination are the institutional logics and their elements. The five football academies are just the sample which facilitate the study of institutional logics within a specific organisational field. The author acknowledges that football academies are part of football clubs. However, they are also members of a distinct institutional context. Therefore, the author explicitly chooses to study the institutional logics of football academies within this specific institutional context and to identify the value and strategic importance of these logics in relevance to competitive parity and competitive advantage.

To conclude, while football academies are parts of football clubs with specific characteristics, which influence academies' commitments to logics, the focus of this study is not to understand the reasons of these commitments. The starting point of the analysis is after these commitments have been made and seeks to explain the strategic importance of these commitments. The analysis focuses on the level of the football academy and not on the broader environment of a football club and seeks to understand the strategic importance of institutional logics at this level. The choice of this specific starting point is not arbitrary. The objective of an institutional inquiry impacts on the researcher's decision about the starting point of the research. For example, Smets, Greenwood and Lounsbury (2015) comment that studies that attend to research sites after the institutional work has commenced are likely to miss the origins of change. This thesis though, aims exactly at studying institutional logics after the institutional work has commenced, and the football academies have created their constellation of logics. Besides, as suggested by Smets and Jarzabkowski (2013: 1279), constellations of logics are constructed within organisations rather than given. That is, the meaning of the institutional logics is open to interpretation. Therefore, the study of the value of institutional logics and their components in terms of competitive parity and competitive advantage should start after the organisational commitments to logics have been made.

The second chapter reviews the relevant literature. More specifically, it focuses on the evolution of the institutional theory and its critical contributions in explaining organisational actions. It provides a general overview of the main points of the resource-based theory and analyses the literature focusing on the combination of the institutional theory with the strategic literature. The literature review chapter concludes with a presentation of a theoretical framework. The third chapter presents the methodology and methods of the analysis. It articulates the main philosophical assumptions of the research and explains why these assumptions are relevant to the specific research setting and how they contribute in answering the research question. It also presents the type of data and the data collection methods. It describes how the specific data inform the analysis, what

the methods for collecting them were and why these methods were chosen. The fourth and fifth chapters include the data analysis. The fourth chapter is a historical analysis of the evolution of the organisational field. This analysis sets the institutional context for the next part of the analysis. The fifth chapter analyses five case studies with distinct characteristics. The case studies refer to professional football academies from different tiers of professional football and different way of operation. The analysis focuses on the constellation of institutional logics of each academy and evaluates the capacity of the constellation to contribute to competitive parity and competitive advantage. The sixth chapter discusses the findings of the study. It explains the strategic significance of specific elements of institutional logics for creating competitive parity and competitive advantage. It also justifies the capacity of commitments to specific elements of logics to locate organisations in advantageous field level positions. The seventh chapter presents the conclusion of the thesis and its contribution to knowledge. Finally, the eighth chapter identifies and discusses limitations of the current research and suggests possible directions for future research.

Chapter 2. Literature review

This chapter offers a general overview of the neo-institutional theory and its main building blocks. The end of this section concludes with the main critics of the theory. Furthermore, it provides an extensive presentation of the “institutional logics perspective” which is one of the two core theoretical frameworks employed in this thesis to analyse the organisational behaviour of football academies. A review of the literature on institutional pluralism is then provided, followed by a summary of the key literature which is focused on institutional logics in the sports setting. Special attention is given to the conceptualisation of institutional logics as strategic resources. Based on the findings of data analysis, the literature review also includes a summary of the theoretical concepts of legitimacy, status, and reputation. Subsequently, the thesis provides a presentation of the main insights of the resource-based theory and the integration of resource-based theory and institutional theory, as presented by Oliver (1997). The final sections of the literature are devoted to Oliver’s framework of strategic responses (1991) as well as to alternative frameworks that have been proposed in the literature and on the integration of the “resource-based view” with the “neo-institutional theory” and its central insights. The literature review concludes with a theoretical model which combines the “institutional logics perspective” and Oliver’s framework of strategic responses, to identify the significance of components of institutional logics in relevance to competitive parity and competitive advantage within the organisational field of football academies.

2.1. Neo-institutional theory and the precursors to the institutional logics perspective

Greenwood *et al.* (2008) comment that institutional theory is perhaps the leading theory for understanding organisations. Kraatz and Block (2008) emphasise that the main argument of the neo-institutional theory is twofold. First, a significant part of governance takes place outside the boundaries of individual organisations, and that cultural or cognitive mechanisms do this work. Study of institutions and institutionalisation started with the work of Selznick (1957). Scott (1987) characterises the institutionalisation of Selznick as one of the most

influential versions of the institutional theory. For Selznick, organisations adapt to characteristics and commitments of participants, as well as to the demands of the external environment. Under this perspective, institutionalisation is described as an infusion of value, "In what is perhaps its most significant meaning, 'to institutionalise' is to infuse with value beyond the technical requirements of the task at hand" (Selznick, 1957: 17). Berger and Luckmann (1966) in their work about the social construction of reality suggest that institutionalisation occurs whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualised actions and that the typification of habitualised actions constitute institutions (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 72). While there is not a single definition of institutions, institutional scholars, in their attempt to define them, focus on their symbolic and material aspects which shape human existence and actions. Friedland and Alford (1991: 243) define them as "supraorganisational patterns of human activity by which individuals and organisations produce and reproduce their material subsistence and organise time and space and symbolic systems, way of ordering reality, and thereby rendering experience of time and space meaningful". Similarly, Greenwood et. al. (2008: 4) describe institutions as "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". Scott (2014: 56), in his extensive work on institutions and organisations, defines institutions as "comprise regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life". On the other hand, Kraatz and Block (2008) adopt a broader and more practical description of institutions as the "rules of the game" that direct and circumscribe organisational behaviour. Hampel, Lawrence and Tracey's (2017) definition of institutions is the definition this thesis employs, since it encompasses all the main features of institutions.

"shape every facet of human existence, providing meaning and motivation to our actions, and holding together the material and symbolic structures that trigger and shape those actions; at the same

time, however, institutions are ongoing human accomplishments, constructed and maintained by people's behaviour, thoughts and feelings, often in ways that are unreflexive and unintended, but just as often in ways that reflect people's institutional awareness, their desires to affect institutional arrangements, and the skills and resources they marshal to achieve those desires"

As it was discussed in the introductory section, logics in this thesis are considered institutions and they are conceptualised as strategic resources. From this perspective, the thesis builds on the Ingram and Silverman's (2002: 20) comment that institutions "directly determine what arrows a firm has in its quiver as it struggles to formulate and implement strategy". This thesis seeks to identify the strategic importance of these "arrows" in relevance to competitive parity and competitive advantage.

2.1.1. The foundations of the neo-institutional theory

Contrary to Selznick who focuses at the level of organisations, Meyer and Rowan (1977) take a macro-perspective and highlight the role of culture and cognition in the institutional analysis (Thornton and Ocasio 2008). The main argument of Meyer and Rowan (1977) is that the formal structures of organisations reflect the myths of their institutional environments instead of the demands of their work activities. For these authors:

Formal structures of organizations are manifestations of powerful institutional rules which function as highly rationalized myths that are binding on particular organizations....the myths generating formal organizational structure are rationalized and impersonal prescriptions that identify various social purposes as technical ones and specify in a rule like way the appropriate means to pursue these technical purposes rationality and are highly institutionalized and thus in some measure beyond the discretion of any individual participant or organization. They must, therefore, be taken for

granted as legitimate, apart from evaluations of their impact on work outcomes (Meyer and Rowan 1977: 344).

Therefore, the formal structure of organisations reflects the structure of their social and cultural environment. Meyer and Rowan (1977) suggest that this organisational isomorphism with external environment promote success and survival of organisations. However, they also acknowledge that institutional demands might be at odds with efficiency demands and propose that organisations can manage this conflict by decoupling external parts of organisations from their internal activities. What is essential in their observation is that they recognise that organisations might face conflicts when they try to fulfil institutional demands and they can resolve these conflicts not by conforming, but by responding strategically through decoupling. The work of Meyer and Rowan set the foundations and offered the key-building blocks of neo-institutional theory. Greenwood *et al.* (2008) in their overview of the early neo-institutional theory identify its five essential elements.

- 1) Organizations are influenced by their institutional and network contexts. The institutional context consists of rationalised myths of appropriate conduct.
- 2) Institutional pressures affect all organizations but especially those with unclear technologies and/or difficult to evaluate outputs. Organizations especially sensitive to institutional contexts are institutionalised organisations.
- 3) Organizations become isomorphic with their institutional context in order to secure social approval (legitimacy), which provides survival benefits
- 4) Because conformity to institutional pressures may be contrary to the dictates of the efficiency, conformity may be ceremonial, whereby symbolic structures are decoupled from an organisation's technical core
- 5) Institutionalized practices are typically taken-for-granted widely accepted and resistant to change. Greenwood *et al.* (2008: 6).

From the above summary, some of the key-theoretical constructs are identified, which affected the further evolution of the theory which resulted in the latest elaboration of the institutional logics perspective.

- 1) The critical role of the environment in organisational governance.
- 2) The differentiated effects of the same environmental pressures on individual organisations.
- 3) The importance of isomorphism in becoming a legitimate organisation.
- 4) The explicit recognition that organisations have the discretion not to fully conform to societal pressures when these conflict with technical demands.

Boxenbaum and Johnson (2008) in their review of the institutional theory, characterise isomorphism and decoupling as the two central theoretical concepts of the theory. Isomorphism plays an essential role in organisation theory as an alternative to efficiency-based explanations, while, decoupling explains the organisational change. In contrast to Meyer and Rowan (1977) who focus on isomorphism that stems from societal level influences, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) extend the institutional theory, by focusing on pressures from the organisational field level to the organisations. They introduce their work by asking why there is such startling homogeneity in organisational forms and process and suggest that this homogeneity stems from the emergence and structuration of organisational fields and homogenization of its member organisations once the field is established (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). They define "organisational field as those organisations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognised area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organisations that produce similar services or products" and suggest that the benefit of this approach is that it directs attention to the totality of relevant actors of a field (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). However, they highlight that fields do not exist a priori and must be defined on the basis of empirical investigation. Previous work of DiMaggio (1982) clarified how can a field be institutionally defined. He suggested that:

The process of institutional definition, or "structuration," consists of four parts: an increase in the extent of interaction among organisations in the field; the emergence of sharply defined inter-organisational structures of domination and patterns of coalition; an

increase in the information load with which organisations in a field must contend; and the development of a mutual awareness among participants in a set of organisations that they are involved in a common enterprise.

Based on DiMaggio and Powell's variation of institutional theory, organisations of the same field fight not only for resources but also for political power and institutional legitimacy. As a result of the fight for institutional legitimacy organisations of the same field become homogenous and the concept that best captures homogeneity is isomorphism, a constraining process that force organisations of the same organisational field to resemble each other. The authors suggest three different mechanisms through which isomorphic change occurs, "coercive isomorphism that stems from political influence and the problem of legitimacy; mimetic isomorphism resulting from standard responses to uncertainty; and normative isomorphism, associated with professionalisation" (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Coercive pressures are direct and explicit and can be formal or informal. They are exerted on organisations from other organisations upon which they are dependent and by cultural expectations of society. Organisations conform to coercive pressures in order to gain legitimacy. Mimetic pressures are exerted on organisations which face uncertainty over organisational means and goals. In uncertain environments, organisations tend to mimic organisation which is perceived as more successful or legitimate, so much of the homogeneity of organisational structure stems from the limited number of successful organisational models, that serve as templates. Organisations conform to mimetic pressures in order to reduce uncertainty. Finally, normative pressures stem from professionalisation and mainly from two aspects of professionalisation. The formal education and training programs that develop universal norms among professionals and the development of professional networks that allow the flow of information and personnel among organisations. For DiMaggio and Powell (1983) organisations conform to coercive, mimetic and normative pressures, because isomorphic organisations

enjoy increased legitimacy, access to resources, and easier transactions with the other organisation.

Even in the absence of evidence that conformity will increase efficiency, organisations of the same field adopt the same organisational structure. The central proposition of DiMaggio and Powell's theory is that the more structured a field, the more isomorphic organisational forms and practices become (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). This variation of institutional theory, which interpreted organisational structure not as the result of rational choice, but the result of conformity to isomorphic pressures and focused on legitimacy instead of efficiency, labelled the "new" institutional theory. Together, "old" and "new" institutionalism are the precursors of the "institutional logics perspective" and have contributed critical theoretical constructions to the new theory.

The idea that external forces either from the broader cultural environment (Meyer and Rowan 1977) or the organisational field (Dimaggio and Powell, 1983) influence organisational arrangements, the identification of legitimacy as a key resource for organisational survival, the organisational field as the level of analysis of institutional pressures and conformity and decoupling as responses to field level pressures, are all key contributions to the institutional logics perspective.

2.2. Critique of the neo-institutional theory

In one of the most cited critiques of neo-institutional theory, Google Scholar indicates that the article has been referenced in 920 articles, Kraatz and Zajac (1996) test seven of its main propositions. They analyse longitudinal data for private liberal arts schools in strong institutional and technical environments and surprisingly find little support for neo-institutional predictions. More specifically, they conclude that many liberal arts colleges introduced changes which did not fulfil institutional demands. Changes in technical demands, which did not serve the scope of legitimacy, were strong predictors of the changes observed. Schools belonging to the same field became less, rather than more, homogeneous over

time. Under conditions of uncertainty schools generally did not mimic successful or more legitimate schools. Changes which were considered illegitimate had no negative and often had positive performance consequences for enrollment and survival (Kraatz and Zajac, 1996).

The authors suggest that legitimacy is not the only way to organisational survival and that organisations have the discretion to choose to comply with technical, rather than institutional demands. Indeed, one of the most problematic issues of the neo-institutional theory is that it does not have an explanation for organisational interest and agency (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012, Greenwood and Hinings 1996). Neo-institutional theory perspective lacks attention to political processes and non-institutional factors that may influence organisational responses (Oliver 1992). Friedland and Alford (1991: 243) in their explicit and influential critique of neo-institutional theory wrote:

While institutionalists have studied the fact of organisational homogeneity and the mechanisms by which isomorphism is accomplished, they have not begun to study why the institutional arenas are patterned in the way they are or the conditions under new institutional forms develop. In short, they do not have the theoretical tools by which to understand the institutional content whose diffusion they do analyse, or the conditions, under which particular forms are institutionalised or deinstitutionalised.

Neo-institutional theory, at least, in its early variations assumed that the institutional environment imposes requirements in organisations, which in their turn are constrained in replying to these pressures. Institutional environments were seen as uniform, and there was an explicit assumption of top-down effect, from the environment to the organisations, which, in their seek of legitimacy are gradually becoming isomorphic (Scott 2008). Friedland and Alford (1991), with their seminal work about the theory of institutions at the societal level, offer a compelling interpretation of institutions which was able to explain the

development of new institutional forms, the change of existing, forms and also allowed for organisational interest and agency. Their work set the foundations for what is labelled as the “institutional logics perspective”.

2.3. The Institutional Logics Perspective

The institutional logics perspective has been described as a meta-theoretical framework, employed in the analysis of the relationship among institutions, individuals, and organisations in social systems. It supports researchers interested in analysing how the social location in an interinstitutional system, influence individuals and organisations in their interpretations of the reality (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012). Before, proceeding to an overview of the institutional logics perspective, it should be highlighted that the institutional theory is a socially constructed truth and there are no institutional logics that we are trying to capture and explain and that these are analytical perspectives which help scholars to analyse certain phenomena (Zilber 2013: 78). This observation is crucial, since it explains, to a certain degree, the difficulty in defining what are institutions and institutional logics and what is their importance for organisations. In general, institutions have been described as “systems of established and prevalent social rules that structure social interactions” which can be observed through manifest behaviour (Hodgson 2006).Hampel, Lawrence and Tracey (2017), write about institutions that

“shape every facet of human existence, providing meaning and motivation to our actions, and holding together the material and symbolic structures that trigger and shape those actions; at the same time, however, institutions are ongoing human accomplishments, constructed and maintained by people’s behaviour, thoughts and feelings, often in ways that are unreflexive and unintended, but just as often in ways that reflect people’s institutional awareness, their desires to affect institutional arrangements, and the skills and resources they marshal to achieve those desires”

The same authors provide a distinction among field level institutions like practices, roles, organisational forms and standards and organisational level institutions like logics values and rules. As it was discussed in the introduction section, the thesis focuses on the organisational level institution of institutional logics. Thornton and Ocasio (1999) define logics as “the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality”. This definition covers a great scope of social and organisational phenomena, however does not provide specificity to institutional logics and does not explain what the unique properties of logics are (Johansen and Waldorff 2017). As the definition implies, logics contain an ideational and a material dimension, the material though has remained invisible and implicit (Jones, Boxenbaum and Anthony 2013: 51). The thesis focuses at the material dimension of logics and aims to shed light on the practical value of logics, and so to address Friedland’s comment (2013: 36) that logics must have some measure of practical specificity. It does so by employing the institutional logics perspective which as Zilber (2016: 138) states “highlights the integration of structure and agency, the material and the symbolic. It further underscores historical contingencies, past and present of institutional dynamics, and the need to examine the integration of diverse social levels”.

Johansen and Waldorff (2017) characterise the institutional logics perspective as the dominant perspective of the **third wave of institutional theory**, which bridge the old and new institutionalism and facilitates institutional scholars to study logics as coexisting in practical organizational life, even when, they are contradictory, whereby the friction between them creates agency and potentially change. The following section provides a sharp overview of the evolution of the institutional logics perspective.

2.3.1. The foundations

This line of inquiry started with the seminal work of Friedman and Alford (1991) and is now recognised as a core perspective in sociology and organisation theory

(Greenwood *et al.* 2008). The institutional logics perspective was introduced in institutional theory, by Friedman and Alford (1991) in their attempt to overcome the lack of attention of institutional theory to agency and explain the organisational change. They conceptualise the capitalist Western society as constituted of five main institutions namely, capitalist market, bureaucratic state, democracy, nuclear family and Christian religion. These institutions shape individual preferences and organisational interests as well as the repertoire of behaviours by which these preferences and interests can be fulfilled. Institutions were described by the same authors as material and symbolic and defined as “supra-organisational patterns of human activity by which individuals and organisations produce and reproduce their material subsistence and organise time and space. They are also symbolic systems, ways of ordering reality and thereby rendering the experience of time and space meaningful” (Friedland and Alford 1991: 243).

Each of the main institutional orders has a central logic, which is defined as a set of material practices and symbolic constructions, which constitutes its organising principles and which is available to organisations and individuals to elaborate (Friedland and Alford 1991). From the above definition of logics, it becomes apparent how the authors incorporated agency in institutional theory. Since each institutional order with its respective logics may have different practices and symbolic constructions and consequently different sources of legitimacy, individuals and organisations have the freedom to choose among logics and change in non-isomorphic ways.

Friedland and Alford (1991) conceptualise institutions as interdependent and yet contradictory, and precisely this contradictory relationship of institutions set the bases of individual and organisational autonomy. When institutions are in conflict people may attempt to defend the symbols and practices of their chosen institution. Therefore, under certain conditions, individuals and organisations may try to manipulate the social order and use different logics, to their advantage. However, the very institutions and their respective logics that allows for the

agency and organisational discretion, also set the limits of rationality and individuality, by defining means and ends (Friedland and Alford 1991). The above ideas, all stemming from the seminal work of Friedland and Alford (1991) set the foundations of the institutional logics perspective as this was developed mainly through the work of Thornton (Thornton Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012, Thornton and Ocasio 2008, Thornton 2004).

In the following section, the thesis presents the elaboration of Friedland's and Alford's interinstitutional system, as this was depicted by Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) as well as the way that the framework can be employed in empirical research. The chapter will conclude with the main contributions of the institutional logics perspective to institutional theory

2.3.2. The interinstitutional system

Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury's (2012) institutional logics perspective was built around a new definition of logics and organisational fields. Thornton and Ocasio (1999) define logics as "the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality". This definition incorporates structural, normative, and symbolic dimensions of institutions (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012). Furthermore, they define organisational fields as areas of organisational life in which participants take each other into account as they perform interrelated categories of symbols and practices. According to this definition, the symbolic aspects of institutions designate meaning to practices, while practices materialise this meaning. The above definition of logics has been cited and employed by studies (Johansen and Waldorff 2017) empirical and theoretical, which have focused on various organisational fields, from multinational accounting firms (Greenwood and Suddaby 2006), to individual actors of the English health care system (Currie and Spyridonidis 2016). The scope of the studies which build on the definition of institutional logics, as well as the extensive list of different institutional fields under investigation, are indicative

of the theoretical richness which the institutional logics perspective provides to institutional scholars. However, this multiplicity is may also an indicator of a lack of specificity of what can be considered an institutional logic and what is the importance of logics to organisations. For example, on the one hand Besharov and Smith in their theoretical study (2014: 364) characterise the presence of multiple institutional logics as a puzzle and suggest a framework, which categorizes organizations in terms of logic compatibility and logic centrality and helps explain the varied implications of logic multiplicity for internal conflict. On the other hand, Durand, Szostak, Jourdan and Thornton (2013), in their empirical study of French industrial design industry, claim that institutional logics are resources that organisations use to leverage their strategic choices. Ocasio and Radoynovska (2016) go a step further and suggest that strategic choices of organisations are shaped by available logics and greater pluralism leads not to complexity but to increased heterogeneity.

Despite the multiple approaches to logics, Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) in their seminal work represent the interinstitutional system in a two-dimensional system of the ideal types of institutional orders and their respective building blocks. On the X-axis, they put the institutional orders. Compared to Friedland's and Alford's (1991) conceptualization of the Western capitalist society as constituted of five societal orders namely, market, state, family, democracy and religion, Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury's (2012) conceptualization has seven societal orders namely, family, community, religion, state, market, profession and corporation. Each of these institutional orders represents a governance system, which through its building blocks provides organisational actors with the symbols and material practices for organising their activity. On the Y-axis, they put the building blocks of institutional orders, which form individual and organisational interests and they specify the available repertoire of behaviours that satisfy those interests. Table 1 depicts the seven institutional orders and their respective building blocks.

Y-Axis:	X-Axis: Institutional Orders						
Categories	Family 1	Community 2	Religion 3	State 4	Market 5	Profession 6	Corporation 7
Root Metaphor 1	Family as firm	Common boundary	Temple as bank	State as redistribution mechanism	Transaction	Profession as relational network	Corporation as hierarchy
Sources of Legitimacy 2	Unconditional loyalty	Unity of will Belief in trust & reciprocity	Importance of faith & sacredness in economy & society	Democratic participation	Share price	Personal expertise	Market position of firm
Sources of Authority 3	Patriarchal domination	Commitment to community values & ideology	Priesthood charisma	Bureaucratic domination	Shareholder activism	Professional association	Board of directors Top management
Sources of Identity 4	Family reputation	Emotional connection Ego-satisfaction & reputation	Association with deities	Social & economic class	Faceless	Association with quality of craft Personal reputation	Bureaucratic roles
Basis of Norms 5	Membership in household	Group membership	Membership in congregation	Citizenship in nation	Self-interest	Membership in guild & association	Employment in firm
Basis of Attention 6	Status in household	Personal investment in group	Relation to supernatural	Status of interest group	Status in market	Status in profession	Status in hierarchy
Basis of Strategy 7	Increase family honor	Increase status & honor of members & practices	Increase religious symbolism of natural events	Increase community good	Increase efficiency profit	Increase personal reputation	Increase size & diversification of firm
Informal Control Mechanisms 8	Family politics	Visibility of actions	Worship of calling	Backroom politics	Industry analysts	Celebrity professionals	Organization culture
Economic System 9	Family capitalism	Cooperative capitalism	Occidental capitalism	Welfare capitalism	Market capitalism	Personal capitalism	Managerial capitalism

Table 1. Institutional orders and their respective building blocks

Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012: 73)

The two-dimensional representation of the interinstitutional system constitutes a theoretical tool, which allows institutionalists to analyse institutional fields, organisations and individuals in novel ways. Goodrick and Reay (2011) inspired by the concept of ideal type logics, they analyse 9 characteristics (Y-axis) of 4 logics (X-axis) and study how these are reflected in the professional work of U.S. pharmacists. Their study concludes with the innovative suggestion that organisational action is guided not by a single logic, but simultaneously by what they describe as “constellation of logics”. By adopting a similar approach Waldorff, Reay and Goodrick (2013) build on the concept of the constellation of logics to show how both the arrangement and relationship among logics impacted on the design and accomplishment of two similar primary health care initiatives in 2 different countries. However, a crucial remark about the interinstitutional orders and their elemental categories, is that they are not a predetermined representation of the interinstitutional system, the contents of the X and Y-axis depends on the particular research context, while the selection of the elemental categories which are employed in the analysis depends on the research question (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury. 2012). From this perspective, what is missing

from the above-mentioned studies is a description regarding the relevance of the broad interinstitutional orders to field-specific logics. Johansen and Waldorff (2017) comment that most scholars do not expressively work with relating logics to orders or vice versa but take outset in the defined institutional orders and in a sense conflate them with logics. McPherson and Sauder's study (2013) of institutional complexity though, is an excellent example of identification of the enactment of logics on the ground. Their ethnographic study of a drug court first identifies and describes four distinct institutional logics and then analyse them as field-level manifestations of the interinstitutional orders. Furthermore, their comment that available logics closely resemble tools that can be creatively employed by actors to achieve individual and organizational goals address calls for a rapprochement of the institutional and the strategy literature (Durand 2012). Similarly, Fuenfschilling and Truffer (2014) in order to reconstruct the content of past and current field logics in urban water management sectors use the method of ideal types. As they clarify their ideal types are not describing the actual situation in the water sector, but they are an analytical construct to pinpoint and interpret all possible occurrences. Therefore, they avoid conflating logics with orders. Moreover, Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) showcase how the two-dimensional model can be employed in empirical analysis, using as an indicative case, that of J.C. Penney, a retailer, and a deeply religious individual. As a retailer, J.C. Penney was troubled by the practice of pricing the same products more to some customers than others, based on their social status. He recognised, that big chain stores could offer a fair price to everyone, based on the economy of scale, but these stores were impersonal and lacking legitimacy in the eyes of local customers. The solution he came up with, was to develop a new management philosophy. On the one hand, he offered a fair price to all customers, and on the other, he encouraged his employees to participate in community activities. Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) comment on the case that J.C. Penney interpreted symbols and practices of retailing by shifting the institutional logic of family, to those of religion blended with corporation values. Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) depict this change in the two-dimensional model as it is shown in table 1. The above example highlights that

individuals and organisations enjoy discretion when they decide on what institutional logics and elemental categories to focus on. It is this discretion that allows the institutional logic perspective to interpret institutional change and heterogeneity in organisational fields. As the example illustrates, the influence of logics is exerted not just on the field level, but even on an organizational level and the importance of each logic can change over time. Moreover, this case study showcases that the institutional orders and their respective elemental categories themselves, can be conceptualized as resources that can be used strategically. This argument will be analysed in more detail in a specific chapter of the literature review. In summary, five core principles of the institutional logic perspectives have been identified in the literature and are presented in the last section of this chapter.

From a different perspective, there are studies which instead of adopting a top-down approach, that is from institutional orders to field level, to organisations, they shed light on the microprocesses and individuals' actions inside organisations, and their impact on field level logics. Currie and Spyridonidis (2016), in their empirical study of two hospitals in the English National Health System, examine how interdependent actors in a professionalized context interpret the co-occurrence of a professional logic and a policy-driven logic. In their analysis, they comment that the ideal types of institutional logics may not prove helpful in the field. Instead, they suggest that institutional actors are active participants in (re)interpreting multiple logics in ways that are guided by, and shape, their social position. Gray Purdy and Ansari (2015: 117) offer an alternative to top-down models of meaning making within institutional fields in which frames are primarily treated as the means for translating institutional logics from the societal to the field level. More specifically, their theoretical framework does not assume that organisational actors must conform on given externally available institutional logics but allow for collective meanings to emerge from social interactions. The authors though, highlight that their framework complements the pull-down approach framework of Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012), since it allows for a more comprehensive understanding of

change and stability within organisational fields. In the following chapter, issues that have been raised in this section, are discussed in more detail.

2.3.4. The core principles of the institutional logics perspective

The embedded agency, the conceptualisation of society as an interinstitutional system, the composition of institutions with both material and cultural properties, the operation of institutions at multiple levels, and the idea that institutions are historically contingent, are the five core assumptions of the institutional logics perspective (Thornton and Ocasio 2008). The embedded agency suggests that individual and organisational interests are embedded within prevailing institutional logics. The means and ends of individuals to satisfy their interests are defined by these logics (Thornton and Ocasio 2008). The conceptualisation of the society as an interinstitutional system of logics is the main theoretical innovation. The contradictions among institutional orders allow for agency and heterogeneity to be theorised. Since institutions have both material and symbolic aspects, and each institutional order has its distinct practices, structures, and meanings, the institutional logic perspective can explain heterogeneity (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012). The assumption of the institutional logics perspective that organisational actors are nested in higher order levels allows for analysing organisational change by focusing the research lens to individual, organisation, field or societal level (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012, Thornton and Ocasio 2008).

However, the final assumption of the institutional logics perspective that institutions are historically contingent indicates that even if all societal orders are in play at any given time, their relevant importance changes over time. Indeed, practices, as well as meanings that are valid during a period, may become invalid at a later point. For example, the introduction of the market logic and some of its practices in the field of public services is a relatively recent phenomenon.

2.4. Multiple logics and organisational fields

The conceptualisation of society as an interinstitutional system and the institutional logics perspective (Friedland and Alford 1991, Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012) allows for the analysis of organisational fields as constituted by multiple logics. Contrary to the early neo-institutional theory of DiMaggio and Powell (1988), where the focus was on a dominant field level logic and conformity, recent organisational research based on the institutional logics perspective assumes that multiple logics are in play at any given time in organisational fields. Research scope includes studies on relationships among field level logics (Besharov and Smith 2014), how organisations incorporate multiple logics in their function (Battilana and Dorado 2010), how logics shift (Thornton 2004), how logics shape individuals' action (McPherson and Sauder 2013), how organisations "respond" to multiple logics (Pache and Santos 2013) how individuals interpret field level logics (Powell and Colyvas 2008) and how logics can be used as strategic resources (Durand *et al.* 2013), just to mention a few contemporary studies about institutional logics.

From an organisation theory standpoint, the most critical assumption of the institutional logic perspective is that each of the main societal orders has its main logics and cultural and practical prescriptions about organisational means and ends. Different institutional orders offer different archetypal organisational arrangements (Greenwood, Hinnigs and Whetten 2014: 1215). Logics provide the guidelines for organisational action, set the boundaries of organisational fields, while organisations respond variously to field level logics (Greenwood *et al.* 2011). Under the institutional logics perspective assumptions, a set of logics shape organisational structure, action and beliefs (Bertels and Lawrence 2016: 338).

Besharov and Smith (2014) suggest that organisations incorporate societal level institutional logics in multiple ways, they embody multiple logics, that despite that logics shape cognition and action, individuals still have some discretion in the interpretation and enactment of logics and therefore logics influence and are

influenced from organisational practices. Finally, that the prevalence of logics within organisations and their relationship are historically contingent. Therefore, organisations as members of specific organisational fields operate in environments which are constituted of multiple institutional logics. The multiplicity of logics in an organisational field means that individual organisations:

“participate in multiple discourses, address multiple institutional categories and possess identities that are conferred on them by different parts of their environment...In this sense the pluralistic organisation is seen as possessing many institutionally-given identities, embodying multiple logics in the way it is set up, being legitimised by multiple mythologies, and simultaneously containing different taken-for-granted values and beliefs that reflect the larger institutional environment and the contradictions therein” (Gammelsæter 2010: 572).

2.4.1. Multiplicity of logics

The multiplicity of logics in organisational fields has some clear implications for organisations that need to fulfil requirements from multiple logics concurrently. The relationship among multiple logics defines the acuteness of these implications (Besharov and Smith 2014, Raynard 2016). Multiple logics within fields have been identified as competitive as well as cooperative. More specifically, Goodrick and Reay (2011) in their study about how professional work reflects institutional logics, summarise the possible types of the relationship among logics. Based on their review, there could be one dominant logic in a field that guides behaviour and secondary, or subsidiary logics that do not influence organisational action. When this is the case, secondary logics are challengers to the dominant logic and shift in logics is the result of these challenges. The second type of relationship among logics is when there is an extended period of competition among logics. When this is the case, “battle” among logics stops when one of the competing logics becomes dominant. The third type of relationship is when competition among logics in a field, never resolves, but

different logics are associated with different organisational actors, geographical communities, or types of organisations.

However, the “volume” of institutional complexity varies across different fields. The nature and intensity of institutional complexity within a field depend upon the structural characteristics of the field itself (Greenwood *et al.* 2011). More specifically, the authors suggest that the fragmentation, formal structuring rationalisation, and centralisation of the field, influence the relationship among institutional plurality and institutional complexity.

Fragmentation refers to the number of uncoordinated logics that are manifested in a field; formal structuring refers to whether institutional demands are formally organized and centralisation refers to hierarchy of logics in the field. While the relationship among institutional pluralism, that is multiple logics within a field, and organisational field characteristics mediate institutional complexity, the relationship among institutional complexity and organisational responses are mediated by organisational characteristics (Greenwood *et al.* 2011). The suggested relationship is depicted in Figure 1. Greenwood *et al.* (2011) support that form, and intensity of institutional complexity are not the same for all organisations of the same field. Organisational characteristics, namely structure, ownership, governance identity and field position, all influence the experience of organisational complexity. For example, central organisations of a field may be more exposed to the complexity of multiple logics compared to peripheral organisations, or high-status organisation may be targeted from stakeholders because of their high visibility or, in contrast, may be insulated from institutional pressures because of their high status. A different volume of complexity results in differentiated organisational responses (Greenwood *et al.* 2011: 319), a point that confirms one of the main arguments of institutional logics perspective, that

heterogeneity of organisational fields stems from contradictions among institutional orders.

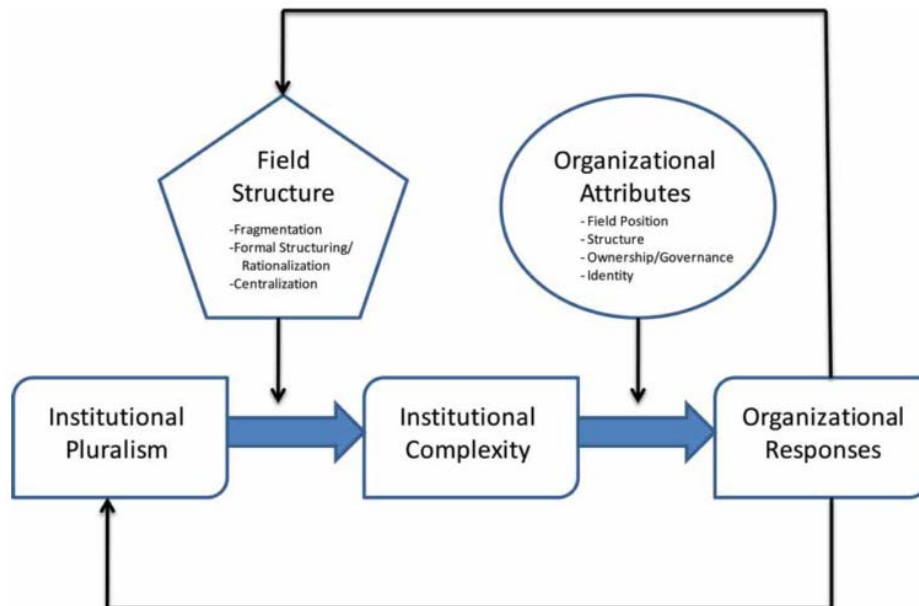


Figure 1. Organisational characteristics and complexity

(Greenwood *et al.* 2011: 324)

2.4.2. Organisational fields and institutional multiplicity

The multiplicity of logics and the ways that organisations enact them have implications for the isomorphism or heterogeneity of organisational fields. Quirke (2013) suggests that organisational fields are patchy, with diversity interspersed with clusters of homogeneity, and that subfields of the same field may be organised according to different principles. That means that if organisations do not violate the guiding principles of the logics that are in play in any given field, they have the discretion to decide which logics to embody in their operations. Organisations that are highly isomorphic, as well as organisations that explicitly reject some of the main logics, can be members of the same field (Quirke 2013).

Hoffman (1999: 352) in his attempt to capture the dynamics of organisational fields describes them not as formed around common technologies or common

industries but as formed around issues, so members of a field are often armed with opposing perspectives than common rhetorics. Therefore, he concludes that in order to analyse fields, organisational researchers should focus on institutions at the centre as well as on competing institutions that lie with the individual populations.

The importance of organisational position within a field, concerning its impact on organisational change has been highlighted in several studies. Leblebici, Salancik and Copay (1991) in their study of institutional change and transformation of the United States radio industry, find that change in organisational practices that resulted in broader changes at the field level, was initiated by fringe players, in their attempt to realise value from transactions. Greenwood *et al.* (2011) describe peripheral organisations as less exposed to institutional pressures, so with a greater ability to exercise discretion compared to central organisations. On the other hand, Greenwood and Suddaby (2006) in their study of the very largest accounting firms, known as the “Big Five”, find that field position of these companies made them aware of alternative logics, which, combined with their abundance of resources, allowed them to avoid coercive pressures and initiate a change.

The above highlight that field position is a crucial factor, which influences both the organisational awareness of new logics and the organisational exposure to logics, and it consequently shapes the form and intensity of institutional complexity. Raynard (2016:328) describe the organisation’s capacity to strategically position itself within a field or the interstices of multiple fields as a significant factor.

The explicit assumption of the above studies is that even when there is a dominant logic within a field, other logics are also present, and due to the historical contingency of institutions and agency of organisational actors, the institutional pluralism influence organisational fields and organisations. Institutional pluralism has been described in the literature in terms of institutional

complexity, or in terms of a constellation of logics. The following paragraphs provide a review of these two different situations of organisational fields.

2.4.3. Institutional pluralism and complexity

Kraatz and Block (2008: 2) describe what they labelled as institutional pluralism. Based on their definition:

“Institutional pluralism is the situation faced by an organisation that operates within multiple institutional spheres. If institutions are broadly understood as “the rules of the game” that direct and circumscribe organisational behaviour, then the organisation confronting institutional pluralism plays in two or more games at the same time. Such an organisation is subject to multiple regulatory regimes, embedded within multiple normative orders, and/or constituted by more than one cultural logic. It is a participant in multiple discourses and/or a member of more than one institutional category. It thus possesses multiple, institutionally- derived identities which are conferred upon it by different segments of its pluralistic environment”.

Multiple institutional orders that penetrate organisational fields have implications for organisational fields’ arrangements and organisational functioning. Ocasio and Radoynovska (2016) suggest that institutional pluralism is not an exceptional case. It exists in all fields, but it varies as to the degree of power of each logic and the number of logics that are available at any given time. For these authors multiplicity of logics refers just to the number of available field level logics, not to the compatibility among them. Incompatibility of logics that means incompatibility of the “rules of the game” that each logic dictates, results in institutional complexity. The incompatibility of logics, may cause organisational struggle, since different logics impose conflicting demands upon organisations, or may be the source of differentiation among organisations, when organisational actors treat the sets of alternative values, ideas beliefs, and practices as “resources” for

innovative creation of new social combinations (Bertels and Lawrence 2016). However, organisational struggles due to incompatibility do not remain unresolved, but may result to change and new institutional arrangements at the field level. Seo and Creed (2002) interpret change as the outcome of institutional contradictions and “praxis” as it is shown in Figure 2

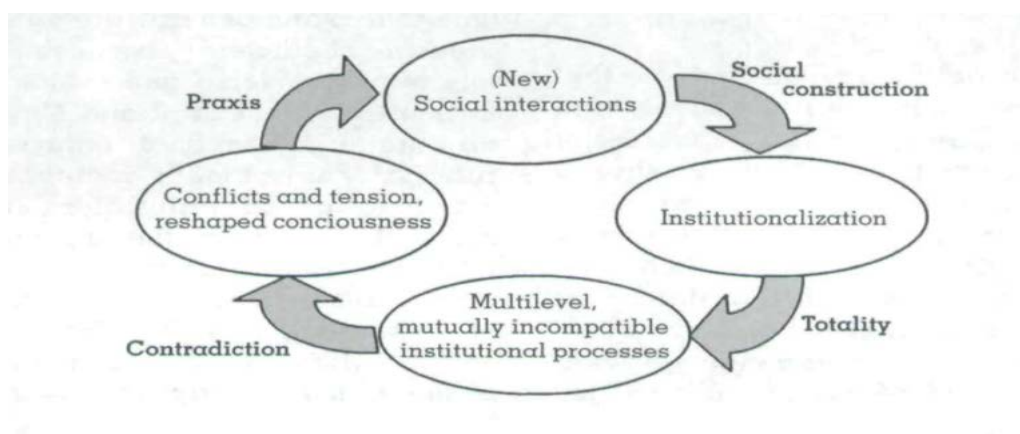


Figure 2. Seo's and Creed model of change

(Seo and Creed, 2002: 225)

Before analysing reasons of change, they proposed four sources of institutional contradictions: legitimacy that undermines functional efficiency, adaptation that undermines adaptability, intra-institutional conformity that creates interinstitutional incompatibilities, and isomorphism that conflicts with divergent interests. In contrast to one of the main premises of neo-institutional theory, that legitimacy facilitates access to resources and organisational survival, they highlighted that institutional rules might conflict with technical rules since efficiency requires diverse and customised solutions. Furthermore, they accept that conformity to institutional pressures that leads to isomorphism is an adaptive move that supports survival. On the other hand though, they highlight that when organisational practices and structures become institutionalized, organisations may resist questioning existing organisational arrangements, either because individuals within organisations feel threatened by further change or because they deny going against taken-for-granted assumptions about organisational functioning. Therefore, adaptation undermines further adaptability to institutional

pressures, and eventually contradictions accumulate over time. Additionally, by accepting the assumptions of institutional logics perspective that institutions operate at multiple levels they highlighted the possibility that intra-organizational conformity to institutional logics of a particular order may lead to incompatibilities with arrangements that are stemming from different institutional orders. Finally, they identify isomorphism as a source of institutional contradiction. They explain that current organisational arrangements reflect the ideas and assumptions of the most powerful organisational actors. However, less powerful organisational actors, whose divergent interests are not satisfied by current institutional arrangements, may become change agents in their attempt to enact structures and practices accordant to their logics.

Just the presence of multiple institutional logics in fields is not enough to explain the institutional and organisational change though. Even in situations in which logics are incompatible, it is the level of institutional complexity among external demands and internal organisational actors that defines if a change will eventually happen. Raaijmakers *et al.* (2015) distinguish between three distinct types of organisational complexity regarding coercive institutional pressures on organisations, low, moderate and high, and their implications for organisational change. In low complexity situations, decision-makers have the support of external constituents, so they are not constrained by conflicting demands, and do not face the threat of withdrawal of resources, or loss of their legitimacy. In low complexity situations, decision makers conform to coercive pressures and adopt the new practices. In moderate complexity, support for new practices is not total. Therefore, important constituents and internal actors may negotiate about the adoption of a new practice, which will eventually happen. Finally, in high complexity situations, decision makers delay compliance with coercive pressures, until complexity is resolved and there is no threat of legitimacy loss.

Raynard (2016), presents a much more thorough analysis of complexity. Her typology of complexity identifies three factors that contribute to the experience of complexity, namely, the extent to which the prescriptive demands of logics are

incompatible, whether there is a settled or widely accepted prioritisation of logics within the field, and the degree to which the jurisdictions of the logics overlap.

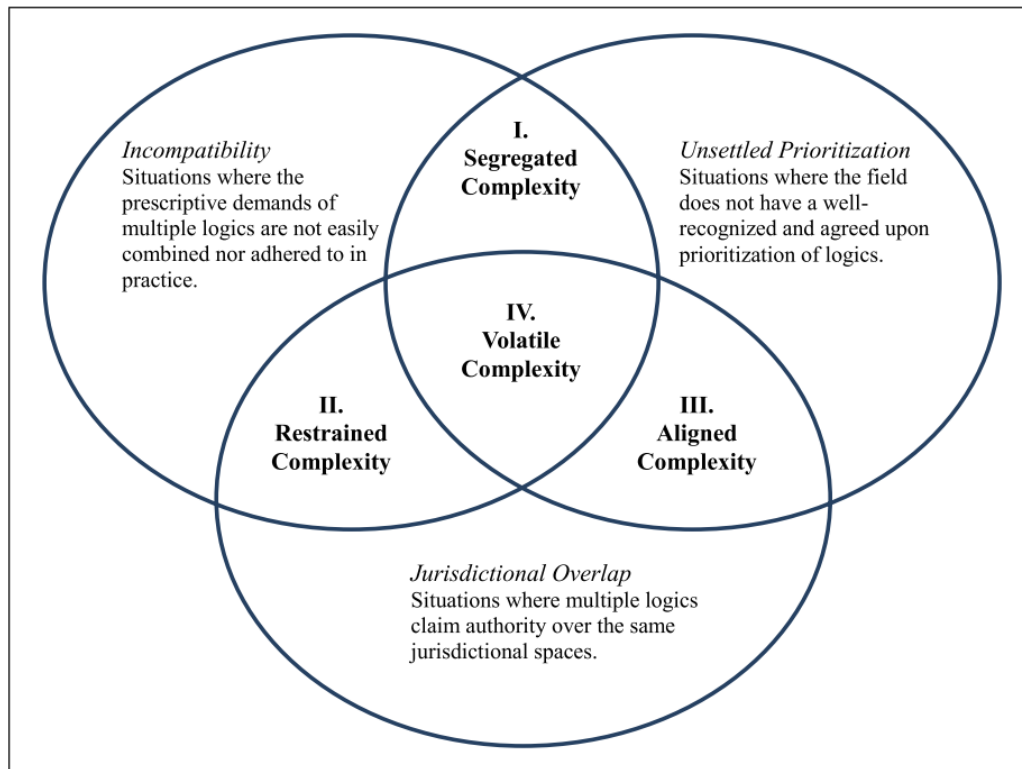


Figure 3. Types of institutional complexity

(Raynard, 2016: 315).

She conceptualises four different configurations of complexity, segregated, restrained, aligned and volatile, with distinct implications for organisations, as it is shown in Figure 3. In segregated complexity, each field level logic refers to a specific set of organisational actors and the capacity to protect its prescriptions, from the influence of other logics. This segregation of logics at the field level means that organisations do not face significant challenges to navigate among logics. In the case of restrained complexity, different logics target the same audiences, but there is a clear hierarchy regarding the importance of each logic. Due to the settled prioritisation of logics, organisations do not face difficulties in accommodating field level logics. In aligned complexity, logics target the same

audiences, and there is not settled prioritisation at the field level. However, prescriptions of different logics are similar. Since there is no “fight” for dominance among logics at the field level; organisations need to find ways to facilitate collaboration among advocates of different logics. Finally, in volatile complexity, different logics target the same set of organisational actors, there is no clear hierarchy among logics, and their prescriptions are different. Volatile complexity is the most challenging for organisations, but at the same time, allows for greater organisational discretion since there is no prioritisation and jurisdictional boundaries of logics.

From a different perspective, Besharov and Smith (2014) categorise the multiplicity of logics within the organisation, based on two dimensions. The compatibility of multiple logics, which refers to the extent that logics prescribe consistent organisational actions. In line with Pache and Santos (2010), they suggest that incompatibility among logics is greater when it refers to organisational goals than means (Besharov and Smith 2014). Centralization of multiple logics refers to the extent that logics manifest themselves in features that are central to the organisational functioning, so it is higher when multiple logics manifest themselves in core organisational functions and lower when a single logic guides organisational action, while other logics only influence peripheral organisational operations. Besharov and Smith (2014), take a step further and identified four different types of organisations based on the different types of logics multiplicity and their implications for internal conflict. More specifically, they distinguish among contested, aligned, estranged and dominant organisations as it is shown in Figure 4.

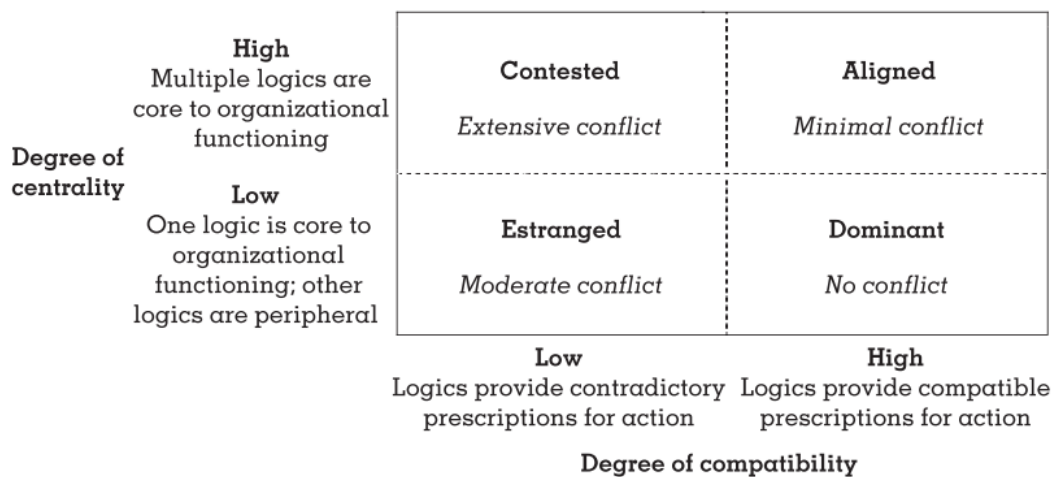


Figure 4. Types of organisations

(Besharov and Smith 2014: 371)

Contested organisations face the most intense internal conflicts, because of multiple logics manifest themselves within core organisational features, and the low compatibility among them. Internal conflicts are also present in estranged organisations, but the intensity of the conflict is moderate. Even though multiple logics impose conflicting demands, there is only one dominant logic that influences the core organisational feature. In contrary, when there are multiple logics that influence the core operations of organisations, but these logics are compatible, the organisations face just a minimal internal conflict. Finally, in the dominant organisation, there is just a single logic that guides organisational action and even prescriptions from secondary logics are compatible with the dominant logic. When this is the case, organisations do not face any internal conflict and logics coexist and reinforce each other. However, in contrast to the assumption that institutional pluralism results in institutional complexity and contradictions among advocates of different logics, Goodrick and Reay (2011) advocate an alternative approach, labelled “constellations of logics”. Similarly, Senaux (2011) observes that the new commercialisation logic in the French football organisational field has not replaced the former amateur logic, but the two logics coexist and inform organisational actions.

2.5. Institutional logics and sports

Sports organisations constitute a rich empirical setting for institutional theory to be employed (Washington & Patterson, 2011: 2). This is the case since sports organisations operate within fields with a large number of potential stakeholders and therefore are subject to multiple institutional logics as these emanate from multiple resource suppliers, such as players and sponsors, product consumers such as fans and mass media and regulatory agencies such as national associations (O'Brien & Slack, 2003: 419). While some of the papers discussed below do not employ institutional theory, they provide valuable insights of sport-related organisational fields, in terms of the institutional logics which are at play, as well as the perspectives of various stakeholders regarding the operation of organisations within these fields.

Inspired by Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury's (2013) typology of institutional logics, Gammelsæter (2010) present a tentative typology of institutional logics that influence commercialised sport clubs in Europe and discuss how governance is possible in these organizations facing institutional pluralism. His typology includes seven institutional logics with their own carriers, end, means and measurement criteria (Table 2).

Logics	Carriers	End	Means	Measurement criteria
Idealism	Club founders Community projects	Higher order goals	Practicing sport	Mobilizing members/ participants
Identity	Fans, supporters and followers of the team	Identity	Sport club as medium	Feeling of respect and empowerment
Autotelism	Players/athletic artists	Excellence, practising sport	Talent. Training and competing	Sport performance measures
Entrepreneurialism	Entrepreneurs, professional players	Mixed personal aims	Agency	Cash or intangible pay-back
Managerialism	Salaried managers	Profit	Business plans, commodification	Formalized measurement criteria
Bureaucracy	Sport federation servants, civil servants	Competition, competitive balance, fair play	Rules, controls and penalties	Adherence to regulations
Politics	Elected politicians	Political objectives	Sport club as pulpit or lever	Narratives of success, community wellbeing

Table 2. Typology of institutional logics of commercialized sport clubs

Gammelsæter 2010: 575

For each logic the author provides a sharp review based on academic literature as well as on real-life facts. For example, for the logic of politics, he references relevant literature and complements it with Prime Minister Berlusconi's involvement with AC Milan. Gammelsæter (2010: 580-581) notices that the typology of the seven logics is not exhaustive, but indicates that CSCs are immersed in a *mélange* of logics that vary in terms of which ends and means they subscribe to, and how meaning is ascribed to outcomes and processes. This comment complements Jay's (2013: 138) observation that some outcomes of actions of hybrid organisations members are successes when viewed through the lens of one logic, but failures through the lens of another logic. Gammelsæter and Jay's observations contribute to the discussion about the strategic value of institutional logics. More specifically, if success or failure is, among others, an issue of interpretation based on the organisational commitments to logics, then

organisations may have the option to strategically choose to commit to specific logics, which subsequently will contribute to the interpretation of outcomes as successful or not. Therefore, commitment to logics is a factor which potentially could define the success or failure of an organisation.

Gammelsæter and Solenes (2013) examine empirically institutional logics in action, in the field of professional and semi-professional sports in Norway. More specifically they address the issue of second career preparation of Norwegian team sport athletes. Their study suggests that the professional logic, the educational logic and the competition sport logic, heavily affect the propensity of athletes to combine their career with higher education. By comparing professional and semi-professional athletes, they conclude that the professionalisation in sport seems to deter professional athletes from combining sport and HE, and witness that the education logic is decreasing its power in sport as more athletes can make a living from it, thus combining the logics of competitive sport and professionalism (Gammelsæter & Solenes, 2013: 283). While this conclusion refers to a specific organisational field, similarities can be drawn to the professional football academies field in England. Players of football academies of professional clubs do not sign professional contracts until a certain age and during their tenure as academy players must combine training with education. From this perspective, academies which claim that they aim at the overall development of their players should commit to logics that do not deter athletes from combining training with education. From an analysis perspective, it is important to notice that while the authors recognise that all logics and orders are available to actors, they focus on logics which facilitate the answering of the research question.

The prevalence of professionalisation/commercialisation logics in the field of sports is also documented in the empirical study of Stenling & Fahlén (2009). Although, the study focuses on and gathers data from Swedish voluntary sport clubs, it reveals that the Swedish sport movement is influenced by three dominant logics: the sport-for-all-logic, the result-oriented logic and the commercialisation /

professionalisation logic. The authors comment that the trend towards individualisation and commercialisation in society has an impact even in amateur sport clubs, which introduce activities in accordance with the result-oriented and commercialization and professionalization logics (Stenling & Fahlén, 2009: 132). Hence, they highlight that changes in the order of logics in higher levels of the interinstitutional system, in this case the trend towards individualisation and commercialisation in the society, have implications for organisational fields and organisations, in this case amateur sport clubs. The connection among changes in ideology at societal level and the operation of sport clubs is analysed in detail by Wright & Zammuto (2013). They examine institutional change processes through a longitudinal archival study of First-Class County Cricket in England and comment on the type and characteristics of organisations which trigger multilevel processes of change. The study's focus is solely on the evolution of Cricket in England and how changes in the English society influenced this evolution. More specifically, starting from the societal level, the authors highlight how the change from an ideological foundation of social class towards egalitarianism, resulted in a major change at the field level, from the cricket-as-art logic to the cricket-as-business logic. However, it was the actions of certain field level actors which initiated that change. In the words of Wright and Zammuto (2013: 323):

“progression away from social class after WWII exacerbated resource pressures at the organizational level. The capacity of organizational actors to access financial and human resources was restricted relative to their field location. Central elites located closest to the center of the field faced the lowest resource constraints because of their size, history of success, and loyal membership and were the most committed to the logic of cricket-as-art. In contrast, actors located at the field periphery were the most resource-constrained. Because these marginal players subscribed superficially to the values embedded in the cricket-as-art logic, they were also the most cognitively open to deviating from institutional rules and expectations for sourcing cricketers. Marginal players reduced their resource disadvantage by deviating from the field-level logic through

organization-level acts of translation, resulting in some marginal players outperforming peripheral elites...”

Therefore, while the change from the ideological foundation of social class toward egalitarianism set the foundations for the change at the field level, it was the resource pressures to marginal players and their subsequent attempts to overcome them, which initiated the change. According to Wright & Zammuto (2013), central elites of the field, despite the change at the societal level, continued to commit to a certain logic. On the other hand, marginal players, due to their problematic access to resources, committed strategically to a new logic and indeed managed to outperform peripheral elites. This is an excellent example of the strategic importance of institutional logics and their importance as organisational resources. While the work of Wright and Zammuto focuses on the importance of commitments to logics for institutional change and the role of peripheral actors in triggering this change, this thesis extends the scope of their argument, by focusing on the significance of logics for competitive advantage. The commitment to a new logic allowed marginal actors to gain access to talented players, previously inaccessible due to the dominance of the cricket-as-art logic. This commitment allowed marginal players to outperform elite peripheral actors in the championships.

Focusing solely on professional sport, Gillet and Tennent (2018:228) suggest that professional sport clubs are driven by their own specific institutional logic, namely the professional sport logic. Inspired by Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury's (2012) work on institutional logics, Gillett and Tennent (2018) analyse the case of Middlesbrough Football and Athletic Company Limited, in terms of the financial management of the football club and the interventionist role of the local authority in supporting the club, which had symbolic value for the local community. They adapt the original framework of Thornton Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) to the specificities of the professional sports context and show that aspects of the sources of legitimacy, authority and identity from four institutional orders of the framework, namely family, community, profession and corporation, can be found

within the institutional logic of the professional sport club (Gillett and Tennent, 2018: 246). Table 3 summarises the ideal typical logic of professional elite sport.

Variables	Elite sport logic	Source drawn from
Source of legitimacy	Loyalty from supporters Avoiding relegation from the professional league	Familial loyalty Unique to professional sport
Source of authority	Board of directors	Corporation
Source of identity	Association with quality of craft Emotional connection to community, territory, shared experience and sense of place, and reputation	Profession Community (feeling of communal loyalty rewarded by success and quality of craft)

Table 3. Ideal typical logic of professional elite sport

(Gillett and Tennent, 2018: 246)

The conceptualisation of the elite sport logic, as constituted from elements of other logics, resembles Goodrick and Reay's (2011) concept of the constellation of logics, which inform the operation of organisations. Indeed, Gillett and Tennent (2018: 248) describe a football club as a hybrid organization with partial commercial and public logics incorporated but also a unique logic as the third element – sporting achievement (winning games and honours), as well as a craft or entertainment factor. Carlsson- Wall, Kraus and Messner (2016) in their study about the role of performance measurement systems in managing the co-existence of different institutional logics in a football organisation, also suggest that football clubs are subject to two major logics. More specifically, they acknowledge that football clubs are subject to multiple logics, but according to their study two of them are particularly salient, the sports logic and the business logic (Carlsson-Wall, Kraus and Messner 2016: 46). They associate the sports logic with the demand for success in sport, and the business logic with the financial performance of the club and objectives such as a balanced budget, a low level of debt, a particular return to shareholders or a successful initial public offering. In a research not within the scope of institutional theory and the institutional logics perspective, Bullough and Mills (2014) evaluate the

opportunities that exist for English footballers to play in the English Premier League and comment that there is a potential dichotomy in priorities between the games administrators, namely the EPL and the FA. “The EPL, largely, has a remit to protect and maximise the commercial aspects of the “product”, and player development is, arguably, a lower priority...” (Bullough & Mills, 2014: 646). Through the lens of the institutional logics perspective, this dichotomy can be conceptualised, as a dichotomy among a market/commercial logic which emanates from the EPL, and also a FA/National Team logic, which emanates from the FA. The following extract, “Nevertheless, talent must continue to meet opportunity and simply halting the decline is not sufficient. It is evident that continued strategies for increasing playing opportunities for English players must be implemented to not only safeguard the future of developing indigenous players, but also ultimately to protect the interests of the national team” (Bullough & Mills, 2014: 646) is an indication of a National team logic. Therefore, the inclusion of a National team logic in the analysis of the professional football academies’ operation is necessary for a more inclusive analysis of the professional football academies field, even though it may not be a priority at club level.

May (2019), using Birmingham City FC as a case study to examine the place of football within the globalised economy, summarises the factors which motivated Carson Yeung to take over Birmingham City FC back in 2009. He outlines that “investors in English football have many different reasons for their interest, including sporting success (Millward, 2013), prestige and social status (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2009), the desire to promote an existing business (Millward, 2013) and, despite the difficulties involved in so doing, the desire to make a financial profit (Hayton *et al.*, 2017; Millward, 2012, 2013; Porter, 2015). As will be explored, Carson Yeung’s decision to invest in BCFC was motivated by a mixture of all of these factors, leading to a somewhat confused business model” (May, 2019: 960). From the above quote, it can be inferred that various logics are in play within the field of the professional football in England, with the market logic having a dominant position. While football academies are separate sections

within football clubs, it is likely that some of these logics may also influence their operations.

Dolles and Söderman (2013: 368) describe the multiplicity of institutional logics in professional football as a network of value captures encompassing a football club's competitive scope (the array of product offerings and different customer groups served). They proposed eight possible products, services or entertainment that a club offers, namely:

1. team
2. sporting competitions
3. club
4. players
5. football services
6. event, facilities and arena
7. merchandise
8. other commercial activities

and six possible consumers of the above offerings namely:

1. spectators and supporters (fan base)
2. club members (club membership)
3. media,
4. sponsors and corporate partners
5. local communities
6. other clubs

The relations of the eight offerings with the six groups of customers shows the competitive scope of a football club. Each of these relations does constitute a value capturing activity through which a football club can create value (Dolles & Söderman, 2013: 372) The authors suggest that the value network facilitates the management of the whole set of products and offerings on a corporate level with the current and potential financial resources. From this perspective, Dolles & Söderman (2013) explicitly focus on the market/commercial logic of professional sports. Indeed, Morrow (2015: 326), in his study about power and logics in Scottish football, suggests that despite the multiple logics within the European

football field, there is an increased prominence of the commercial logic, which emphasises financial stability and certainty. However, despite the financial/commercial logic becoming dominant in Scottish football, on a specific case and under certain circumstances there was a prioritisation of the sporting logic over the commercial logic (Morrow 2015: 336). Similarly, while the value network of Dolles & Söderman (2013) emphasises value capture and competitive advantage from a financial/ commercial logic perspective, the multiplicity of offerings and customers groups, alongside their relations indicates a broader scope of institutional logics within the field of professional football. More specifically, since the framework identifies six possible consumers of the football products, then a universal definition of value does not fit all. In more detail, not all offers have the same value for all customers. A given offer could be considered valuable from a local community perspective and irrelevant from a sponsor's perspective. This is the case because a multiplicity of customers means a multiplicity of logics within the field of professional football, which does not allow for a single definition of value and competitive advantage. Therefore, a question that arises is what the importance of institutional logics in the definition of value and competitive advantage is.

According to the research objectives of the current thesis, the "players value capture" is of special interest. Dolles and Söderman (2013: 378) include in this "value capture" players who are developed by the academy of the club and consider the academy as a move toward more professional structures for: coaching, recruitment, medical and sports science support, administration, education and welfare. Therefore, the academy players, as one of the offerings to the six possible customer groups, can create value and/or competitive advantage for the club. However, as was previously discussed, there is no single definition of value and competitive advantage. From this perspective, the operation of the academy as a special department of the club can capture different values for different customers based on commitments to various institutional logics. Hence, according to Dolles and Sweizer (2010) cited in Dolles and Söderman (2013: 378) the benefits of establishing a youth academy are:

1. To identify and develop players for the first team squad and to train them to make professional football their first career;
2. To develop players in order to save the club expenditure otherwise spent on transfer fees;
3. To develop players who can earn the club revenue through transfer fees;
4. To prepare players also to make a career outside football;
5. To offer all players of all youth ages and nationalities an opportunity to experience the best development programme possible.

Reeves *et al* (2018) adopt a more simplistic approach and state that despite the fact that the most common cited reason for talent identification is the development of players for the first team, it appears a mismatch among the process and the outcome. Because of the large sums of money invested in players' transfers, the authors describe the talent identification and development process a necessity for football clubs (Reeves *et al.* 2018: 1123). Based on the study of Mills *et al.* (2014) there are nine factors that underpin optimal development environments within elite English soccer academies. These are: 1. A coherent philosophy for player development 2. Adaptability in embracing novel training ideas and methods 3. Understanding of players' world view and focus on players' welfare 4. Provision of a stable academy environment and continuity with coaches and staff 5. Effective communication with all stakeholders 6. Positive relationships with players, parents, board and staff 7. Involvement of players and staff in the operation of the academy 8. Achievement oriented environment 9. Provision of high-quality accommodation and facilities. These factors constitute an indication of the multiple institutional logics that inform the operation of elite academies, as well as areas on which an academy can focus and build a competitive advantage. For example, adaptability in embracing novel training ideas can be achieved through a commitment to a professional coaching logic and hiring of coaches with specific characteristics, while positive relationships with players and parents might be achieved through a commitment to a family logic and creation of a supportive environment within the academy. Indeed, Noon *et al.* (2015) identify a reduced perception of well-being among academy players of a category 2

academy, due to the training and competition load, pressure to earn a contract and relationships with peers, coaches, friends and family. Mills *et al.* (2014a) in their study about elite academy players' perceptions regarding the quality of their development environment, make a similar observation. More specifically, they find that, while players largely indicated that they had good coach-athlete relationships, it was clear that they did not feel particularly understood at a holistic level with coaches seldom expressing an interest in their lives outside of football (Mills *et al.* 2014a: 1467). These two studies highlight the importance of the provision of a supportive environment to academy players, and the necessity for the football academies to commit to institutional logics that facilitate the creation of such an environment.

The research of Bullough and Jordan (2017) regarding the impact of regulations on youth academy player development since 2006, provide an overall perspective about the inputs, outputs and outcomes of the academy system summarised in their player development outcome logic model (figure 5).

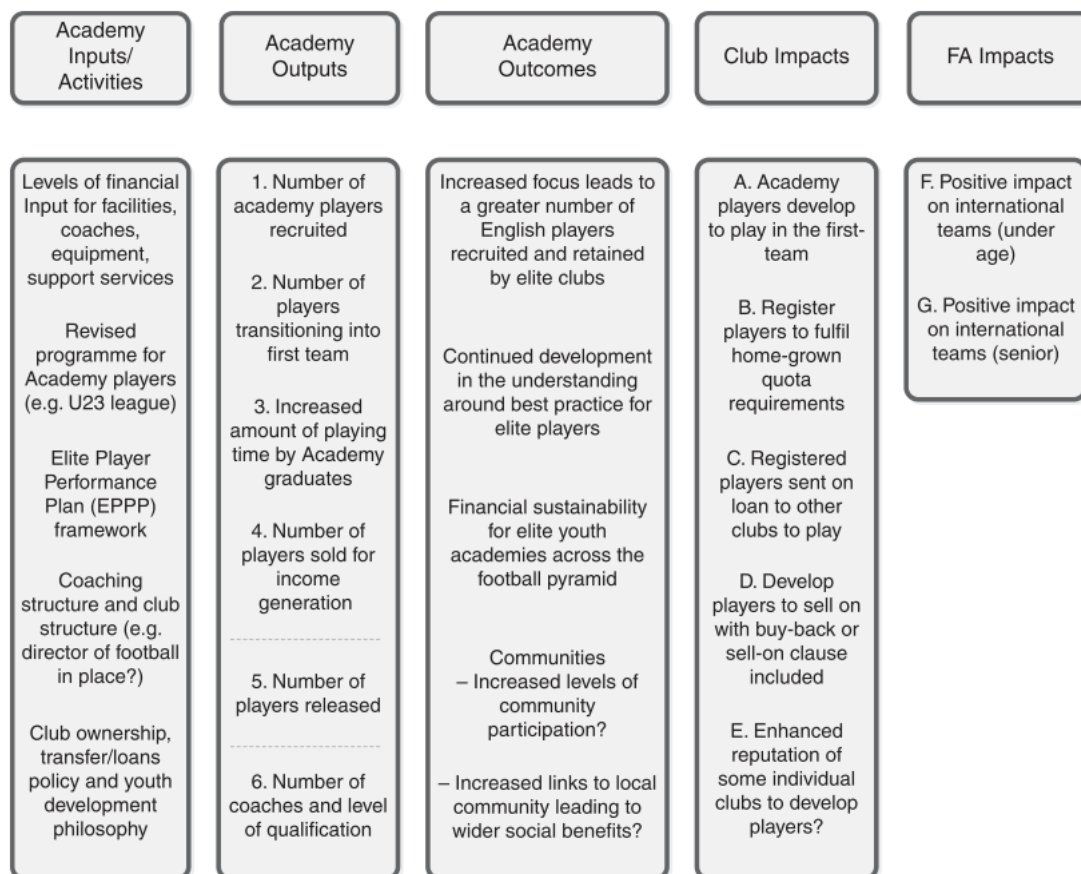


Figure 5. Player development outcome logic model.

Bullough and Jordan 2017: 384

The inputs, outputs and outcomes of the logic model can be related to various institutional logics. In general, apart from the market/business, sport and family logics that have been discussed in previous sections, the logic model identifies as a potential academy outcome the increased links to local community leading to social benefits, which can be related to a community logic. Also, the enhanced reputation of clubs in developing players is identified as a potential impact of the academy on the club, which highlight the importance of a club's reputation and the role of the academy in enhancing this reputation. Finally, the authors have a separate section for the FA impacts which include the positive impacts of the academy system on international teams underage and senior. Bullough and Jordan (2017) make this separation among club and FA impacts because of the apparent difference in perspective between the three stakeholder groups (EPL,

national team and between clubs). As they explain, there is dichotomy between the remit of The FA (player development and “working for the greater good of English football” and that of the EPL (commercially driven interests). This dichotomy suggests that the priorities of the key stakeholders are not aligned. which is a potential conflict of focus (i.e. development of the best product from the league perspective vs development of the best English players from the governing body perspective) (Bullough & Jordan, 2017: 379). From this perspective, an analysis of the professional football academies field should also include the National association/National team logic. The existence of multiple outputs and outcomes of the academy operation, allows academies to focus, differentiate and build an advantage on specific factors of their operation. Relvas *et al.* (2010) identify similar structure and homogenised management practices of elite academies across Europe. However, even within apparently similar organizational structures, the authors identify some differences within the organizational practices (Relvas *et al.* 2010: 182). From this perspective, it is worth to study the role of the institutional logics in facilitating differentiation even within a field with homogenised practices.

2.6. Institutional pluralism and constellations of logics

Studies of organisational change and organisational fields through the lens of neo-institutional theory and institutional logics perspective focused on just two logics and assumed that these logics are incompatible and their advocates will vie for dominance (Waldorff *et al.* 2013: 100). Greenwood *et al.* 2010 in their study of organisations operating in fields with multiple institutional logics, maintain that even when organisations are heavily influenced by a dominant logic, in their case a market logic, organisational fields cannot be conceived as insulated from the symbols and practices of other higher institutional orders, and it is precisely this interrelation among logics that creates heterogeneity in organisational responses. Their statement highlights that studies regarding organisational field do not adequately describe them since they exclude from their analysis the influence of secondary logics. Indeed, the extant literature provides two general explanations

of rivalry among logics. The first analyzes pluralistic organisational fields as battlefields, where actors who support the winning logics achieve dominance, while the losers are somehow excluded from field processes. The second portrays organisational actors as “secret agents” who work under-the-radar of other organisational actors so to bring their logic in a dominant position (Reay and Hinings 2009: 645). The core assumption of this approach to institutional logics is that there is a constant fight among logics and eventually when a logic achieves dominance, organisational practices change so to reflect the dominant logic.

In contrast to this line of inquiry, that treats complexity and fighting for dominance as the standard status of organisational fields and the smooth operation and co-operative or complementary work of institutional logics as the exception, Schildt and Perkmann (2017) maintain that complexity arises only periodically, when a new logic is introduced into a field. In theory, institutional complexity exposes organisations to uncertainty, about the rules and the norms that should follow. However, Schildt and Perkmann (2017) stress that in general, organisations do not appear to face problems because of institutional complexity and organisational uncertainty, but cope by creating their idiosyncratic organisational settlements. Goodrick and Reay (2011), in their influential study about changes in professional work, they challenge the assumption that institutional logics are holistic. They argue, in line with the assumption of the institutional logic perspective, that logics comprise of decomposable parts (Thornton Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012), and some parts of professional work may reflect attributes of one logic, while other parts may reflect attributes of different logics of the pluralistic environment. They describe the combination of institutional logics that guide organisational behaviour at any point in time, as constellations of logics. This conceptualisation contributed to their understanding of how societal level logics are combined to influence organisational processes (Goodrick and Reay 2011: 399).

The constellation of logics means that instead of competitive, the relationship among institutional logics may be cooperative, that is, increases in strength of

one logic do not result in a decrease of strength of another logic. More specifically, cooperative logics may be facilitative, that is changes in line with the prescription of one logic, support changes consistent with an alternative logic, or may be additive, that is the impact of multiple logics is merely to increase the numbers of demands that organisations must satisfy (Goodrick and Reay 2011: 405). Waldorff *et al.* (2013) use the theoretical concept of constellations of logics in their comparative analysis of two similar policy initiations, that were developed in two different countries for similar reasons. They employ all the possible societal level orders proposed by Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) and their influence on organisational behaviour. They suggest that a particular practice is not an instantiation of a particular logic, but multiple logics provide discretion and agency to organisational actors, allowing for the development of a variety of practices, so organisational actors are likely to take advantage of multiple logics (Waldorff *et al.* 2013: 125). Greenwood *et al.* (2010) in their study about organisational responses under conditions of institutional complexity, make a similar observation. They find that even for-profit firms that operate under an overarching market logic are also influenced by the regional, National side and family logic, a finding consistent with the theoretical concept of the constellation of logics. In an insightful analysis of French haute cuisine restaurants Rao, Monin, and Durand (2005) provide a longitudinal perspective of how nouvelle cuisine was developed as a rival category to classical cuisine. They suggest that the young founders of what was labelled nouvelle cuisine, borrowed elements from the classical cuisine logic in their attempt to legitimise their distinct logic of gastronomy. This is another example that even when boundaries exist among logics, organisational actors have discretion in choosing different elements of each logic, to serve their own purposes.

2.7. Institutional logics as strategic resources

The above cases highlight that field level logics do not merely constitute pressures, or just set the rules of the game that organisational actors need to follow in their attempt to gain legitimacy. Furthermore, the theoretical concept of constellations of logic, emphasises that when organisational actors recognise the

logics that are in play in a field, not only the dominant logic but also subordinate logics, then they can strategically position themselves against these logics. Indeed, the strategic elements of institutional logics had been stressed since the seminal work of Friedland and Alford (1991: 254), who maintain that under some conditions organisational actors “are artful, in the mobilisation of different institutional logics to serve their purposes”. This conceptualisation of logics as resources that can be mobilised by organisational actors means that conformity, and isomorphism, is just one of the possible outcomes of the influence of institutional logics. Since it is widely accepted that institutional pluralism prevails to some degree in all fields (Ocasio and Radoynovska 2016), then the multiplicity of institutional logics allows for various legitimate constellations of logics. Seo and Creed (2002: 237) emphasise that institutional contradictions increase the number of available logics and frameworks and provide organisational actors with a greater repertoire of tools for building their constellation of logics. Durand *et al.* (2013) in their study of French industrial design industry suggest that firms use logics to build their strategy and explicitly characterised logics as resources which firms use to leverage their strategic choices. McPherson and Sauber (2013) in an ethnographic study of drug courts in the United States, find that actors with different institutional and professional backgrounds employed logics in their daily activities. They observe that the same logic might be used for opposite goals and the same actor may use different logics in different situations and proposed that logics can be conceived as tools that can be combined, configured and manipulated to serve the purposes of actors. Therefore, it is not only logics that influence organisational actors, but also actors that influence logics when combining various aspects of logics in their attempt to serve their purposes. Berman (2012) in her analysis of how the market logic was introduced in the United States academic science, suggests that actors have interests and the capacity to creatively use practices from multiple logics, even in fields where there is a dominant logic. She conceptualises organisational fields as an ecology of practices from which actors can choose those that best serve their interests. Durand *et al.* (2013: 191) emphasise that logic dominance does not mean that other logics have no influence. They propose that the conceptualisation of the

market logic as dominating the various institutional sectors is modulated by the possibility that some organisations use a market logic in combination with rather than in substitution of their original logic.

Similarly to Goodrick and Reay (2011) who introduce the theoretical concept of constellations of logics, Ocasio and Radoynovska (2016), in their theorisation of logics as strategic resources, conceptualise organisations as making commitments to particular subsets of institutional logics and these commitments are the enactments of organisations' strategic choices. In fact, they illustrate organisational commitments to logics using Thornton's Ocasio's and Lounsbury's (2012) typology of societal-level orders and propose that organisations make differentiated commitments to subsets and combinations of market, corporate, professional, community, state, family and religious logics as part of their strategic choices. Therefore, organisational commitments to a subset of logics explain the heterogeneity even of organisational fields where there is a clear dominant logic. Pache and Santos (2013) find empirical support for the above observations. In particular, their study of four social enterprises shows that these organisations selectively coupled intact elements prescribed by social welfare and commercial logics. Especially in situations in which an organisation was lacking legitimacy in a given field, it was manipulating templates provided by multiple logics in order to gain acceptance.

Durand *et al.* (2013: 173) suggest that logics constitute resources to the extent that firms can recognise them in the field and position themselves by adopting specific practices of each logic. In this case, logics are strategic resources and can influence the future performance of the firm and apply pressures for imitation to competitors. From a different perspective, pressures to imitation to competitors means, that institutional logics as resources contribute to organisational differentiation. However, not all organisations have the same ability in building constellations of logics. According to Durand *et al.* (2013), high-status organisations have greater discretion to act upon institutional logics as strategic

resources, while low-status organisations can more easily violate conformity and innovate by combining logics.

Nonetheless, organisations do not have unlimited options in choosing combinations of logics. The same logics that allow for discretion, the same logics shape the range of available strategies (Tracey, Philips and Jarvis 2011). Institutional pluralism in a field allows for greater flexibility in the employment of logics, but the application of logics is constrained by norms, situational circumstances, interpersonal skills and nature of logics (McPherson and Sauder 2013). Despite these constraints, the conceptualisation of institutional logics as strategic resources allows for a rapprochement between the institutional logics perspective and the strategy literature. Durand (2012) suggest that the institutional logics approach could be refined by connecting it to strategic reasoning and decision making rooted in organisational resources and capacities. He argues that by interpreting organisational behaviour as a constant effort for legitimacy, institutional theory risks disregarding the question of the effectiveness of organisational actions. On the other hand, strategy literature by its strong focus on financial indicators overlooks alternative indicators to study performance and cannot address contemporary institutional phenomena (Durand 2012: 4).

As it is stated in the thesis question, this research seeks to identify the significance of institutional logics and elements of logics for competitive parity, competitive advantage and positioning. Therefore, it explicitly combines essential elements from both literatures. Institutional logics' prescriptions are a cornerstone of institutional theory, while the competitive advantage is the holy grail of strategy literature. Following Ocasio and Radoynovska's (2016), who employ Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury's (2012) typology to analyse organisational commitments to a subset of institutional logics, this thesis also relies on the same typology to identify the significance of institutional logics and elements of logics that organisations use as strategic resources, for positioning, competitive advantage and competitive parity. However, as Thornton Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012: 59)

explicitly state, the elemental categories of the typology are a didactic example and not a predetermined representation of the interinstitutional system, so which of these elemental categories will be employed in empirical research depends on the researcher's question and the characteristic of the research context. Since the aim of the research is to identify if institutional logics as strategic resources contribute to competitive advantage, the analysis focuses on four of the elemental categories of logics. The sources of legitimacy, the sources of identity as expressed in organisational reputation, and the basis of attention as expressed in organisational status. The thesis focuses on legitimacy, status and reputation because they are all theoretical concepts of the institutional logics perspective, while as resources possess qualities that may contribute to competitive advantage.

2.8. Legitimacy, status, and reputation as elements of institutional logics

Legitimacy concept introduced to organisational studies with Weber's work (Weber 1946), who suggests that antecedents of legitimacy are the congruence of an organisation with social laws, norms and values. Scott (1995) writes about legitimacy "Legitimacy is not a commodity to be possessed or exchanged but a condition reflecting cultural alignment, normative support, or consonance with relevant rules or laws", while Suchman (1995) defines legitimacy as "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions". Suchman distinguishes strategic legitimacy from institutional legitimacy. In strategic tradition, legitimacy is a resource that organisations can extract from their organisational environment and use it to achieve their goals. On the other hand, in institutional tradition, legitimacy is not a resource but a set of constitutive beliefs which determine how an organisation is built, how it is run, how it is understood and evaluated.

However, Suchman (1995) recognises that real-world organisations face both strategic and institutional challenges, so legitimacy can act as both a manipulable resource and a taken-for-granted belief system. In the most recent review of

Suchman's definition, legitimacy was described as "The perceived appropriateness of an organisation to a social system in terms of rules, values, norms, and definitions" (Deephouse *et al.* 2016: 9) and four states of organisational legitimacy were proposed, "accepted, proper, debated and delegitimate". However, even under this segregation, it was suggested that because of cognitive pressures most organisations are either legitimate or illegitimate and the two middle categories are temporary and unstable. Even though legitimacy should not be conceptualized as a binary concept, but as existing in a continuum. This conceptualisation of legitimacy allows institutional theory to facilitate explanations of organisational heterogeneity. Deephouse (1999: 152) suggests that despite legitimacy requirements that are imposed from institutional logics, firms can differentiate from competitors to a degree without losing their legitimacy, and that explains why firms are not the same, even though they face the same requirements. In fact, he terms the range of strategic similarity, within which firms maintain their legitimacy, range of acceptability. An important aspect of legitimacy, highlighted in most of its definitions, is that is a generalised collective perception, composed of subjective judgements made at the individual level, and objectified at the collective level (Bitektine and Haack 2015). This objectification of legitimacy allows it to be considered an objective organisational resource. However, at its core, legitimacy remains a social evaluation made by others. The "others" could be individual evaluators, or other organisations (Bitektine and Haack 2015).

Legitimacy has both strategic and institutional consequences for organisations. From a strategic perspective, legitimate organisations enjoy persistence because of their easier access to resources. Audiences supply resources to organisations which are considered desirable proper and appropriate, according to Suchman's definition (Suchman 1995). Legitimate organisations are taken-for-granted, so they are free to pursue their activities without questioning from society (Deephouse and Suchman 2008). From an institutional perspective, legitimacy affects how audiences perceive an organisation and legitimate organisations are considered more meaningful, worthy and trustworthy (Suchman 1995). In

general, Deephouse *et al.* (2016) in their latest review of the legitimacy concept literature, conclude that legitimacy matters because it enhances and supports organisational survival rates since legitimate organisations enjoy easier access to resources. Also, it enhances financial performance by facilitating stakeholders' support, since stakeholders will not engage with illegitimate organisations. Finally, it enhances the strategic choices of organisations, since legitimate organisations avoid questioning from society regarding their activities, while illegitimate organisations may face regulatory sanctions. To conclude, legitimacy is considered both a resource that organisations can employ in their pursuit of performance, as well as a set of beliefs that an organisation is desirable, proper and appropriate.

2.7.1. Status

Deephouse and Suchman (2008: 59) in their review of the literature regarding status offered the following provisional definition:

Status is 'a socially constructed, intersubjectively agreed-upon and accepted ordering or ranking' of social actors (Washington & Zajac, 2005: 284), based on the esteem or deference that each actor can claim by virtue of the actor's membership in a group or groups with distinctive practices, values, traits, capacities or inherent worth (Benjamin & Podolny, 1999; Weber, 1946).

Based on this definition, they defined the essential characteristics of status as well as, its differences and relationship with legitimacy. According to their review, status reflects a relative position in a group and in contrast to the dichotomous legitimacy, status is categorical and ordinal. Therefore, there are differences between higher and lower status groups. Consequently, status is segregating, not homogenising as legitimacy, and tends to attach to self-aware status groups than in individuals or whole populations. Based on their status group, organisations enjoy unique privileges. Status can differentiate organisations from

2 different status groups but cannot differentiate organisations within the same status group.

2.7.2. Reputation

According to Deephouse and Suchman's (2008: 58) literature review on social judgement, reputation is defined as:

A generalised expectation about a firm's future behaviour or performance based on collective perceptions (either direct or, more often, vicarious) of past behaviour or performance (cf., Ferguson, Deephouse, & Ferguson, 2000; Fombrun, 1996; Rindova *et al.*, 2005)

Therefore, reputation is based on assessments of past performance and relates the assessment to future organisational behaviour. A unique characteristic of reputation is that can be assessed on any attribute along which organisations may vary. Therefore, reputation can be assessed on more attributes than legitimacy or status (Deephouse and Carter 2005). An organisation can choose which attributes to focus on and thrive so as to enhance its reputation over competitors. These attributes do not have to be tangible or measurable, but more elusive, such "good place to work" or "with family values" to mention few examples. This is an important aspect especially for organisations which lack the necessary resources to become members of a high-status group and/or to compete against them. Even organisations within the same status group may focus on different aspect of reputation to gain a competitive position in the market. From this perspective, reputation differentiates organisations from best-to-worst and organisations can distinguish themselves by claiming and highlighting their different attributes in comparison with their competitors. Reputation, in comparison to legitimacy which tends to attach to all organisations within the same organisational field, and status which tends to attach to specific groups of an organisational field, tends to attach to individual organisations. Consequently, a good reputation can be a strategic resource which contributes to competitive

advantage, since it differentiates a legitimate organisation from an outstanding organisation (Deephouse and Carter 2005).

In general, within a legitimacy class and a status group, stakeholders will favour organisations with a strong reputation (Deephouse and Suchman 2008).

This research seeks to explore if and how institutional logics can be employed as strategic resources that contribute to competitive advantage. Therefore, in the following section, the presents an overview of the resource-based theory, one of the leading theories of the strategy literature, which focuses on competitive advantage, followed by the combination of institutional theory and the resource-based theory (Barney 1991). This line of inquiry started with Oliver (1997) who proposes a model that combined the insights of both theories and suggests that both resource capital and institutional capital are indispensable to sustainable competitive advantage. More recently, academics adopted similar approaches to institutional logics and focused on how institutional logics affect organisational competitive advantage (Fernández-Alles and Valle-Cabrera 2006, Ocasio and Radoynovska 2016). In the first section of the chapter a brief overview of the main propositions of the resource-based theory will be presented, followed by an analysis of how resource-based theory can be combined with institutional theory.

2.9. The resource-based view

The resource-based theory is the result of the work of many academics during the last decades (Newbert 2008: 747). However, it was Barney's paper "Firm resources and strategic competitive advantage (1991) that formalised the resource-based literature into a thorough theoretical framework (Newbert 2007: 123). The resource-based theory seeks to explain the sustained competitive advantage of firms by employing firms' resources as the unit of analysis (Lockett *et al.* 2009: 10). Barney *et al.* (2012: 114) in their article about the role of the resource-based theory in strategic management, suggest that the resource-based logic can be applied in order to understand sources of firms' economic rents and competitive advantages. However, the resource-based theory does not

provide rules that their application automatically results in a competitive advantage. Resource-based theory offers a framework to academics and practitioners, which can inform their attempts to analyse whether resources contribute to competitive advantage. Barney and Mackey (2016: 371) in a recent attempt to clarify the importance of resource-based theory to strategic management literature comment that:

“It is true that RBV theory cannot offer a general theory of value creation – that is, a theory that specifies which resources will create value and which resources will not create value, regardless of contexts. Such a theory would be a ‘rule for riches’... However, this does not mean that RBV theory cannot give practical and critical guidance to scholars and managers to understand whether a given resource, within a context, does, in fact, create economic value”.

2.8.1. Key terms and main assumptions of the resource-based theory

The resource-based theory is built upon 4 key concepts, strategy, competitive advantage, economic rents and resources. Before presenting the main assumptions of the resource-based theory, the definitions of these key concepts are provided. According to (Barney *et al.* 2012: 113) strategy is a “firm’s theory of how it can gain superior performance in the markets within which it operates” while resources are “the tangible and intangible assets firms use to conceive of and implement their strategies”. Tangible resources include those factors that have financial and physical value (Galbreath 2005). Intangible resources are classified into “assets”, which are things the company owns, like trademarks and registered designs and can be bought and sold and “capabilities” or “skills”, like employees’ know-how and organisational culture, which cannot be bought and sold (Hall 1992) or as Barney *et al.* expressed it human capital and organisational capital. The exploitation of these resources may lead to competitive advantage and economic rents. “Economic rents exist when firms generate more value with the resources they have acquired or developed than was expected by the owners of those resources while competitive advantages exist when a firm is

implementing value-creating strategies not currently being implemented by competing firms” Barney *et al.* 2012: 114). Economic rents and competitive advantages may be temporary when other firms simultaneously implement competitive strategies or sustained when other firms cannot duplicate a value-creating strategy.

Resource-based theory’s arguments are based on four assumptions (Barney 1991, Barney *et al.* 2012):

- 1) Firms are profit-maximizing entities
- 2) Firms’ managers are boundedly rational
- 3) Competing firms may possess a different bundle of resources
- 4) These resources may be immobile so that differences may persist

In Barney’s (1991) first conceptualisation of the resource-based theory, resources need to have 4 characteristics in order to create competitive advantage and sustained competitive advantage. They should be *valuable, rare, imperfectly imitable and with no strategically equivalent substitutes*. According to this categorisation, valuable resources are the resources which contribute to the achievement of the strategic goals of the firm, for example, increased profitability, or reduced costs, or both. However, if these resources are common in many firms, they cannot contribute to competitive advantage but only provide competitive parity. Therefore, apart from valuable, resources need to be also rare in order to contribute to competitive advantage. Valuable and rare resources are sufficient for competitive advantage but not for sustained competitive advantage. If other firms can easily imitate them. Therefore, for sustained competitive advantage, resources have to be valuable rare and not easily imitable. Finally and according to the resource-based theory, for resources which are valuable, rare and inimitable, strategically equivalent must not exist, in order for sustained competitive advantage to be achieved (Barney 1991).

However, this initial edition of resource-based theory framework lacks a focus on implementation. Possession of resources assumes their automatic exploitation

from the firm (Newbert 2007). This focus on the implementation of strategies in order to exploit resources resulted in Barney's VRIO framework (Barney and Wright 1998). VRIO stands for the four variables of the framework, namely, the question of value, the question rareness, the question of inimitability and the question of organisation (Barney *et al.* 2012). VRIO facilitates the application of resource-based theory and is considered the theoretical framework of the resource-based theory (Barney *et al.* 2012). VRIO first asks the question of value regarding firms' resources and capabilities and then specifies the impacts a resource or capability must have to create value for the firm (Barney and Mackey 2016).

The value variable refers to the ability of resources to facilitate firms' strategies that are successful. A successful strategy should allow the firm to exploit external opportunities and avoid threats, as well as to contribute to increased firms' revenues and decreased costs (Barney *et al.* 2012). The rareness variable refers to the scarcity of resources and occurs when demand for a specific resource, outstrips supply, while the inimitability variable refers to situations where imitation of a resource is difficult or not possible (Barney *et al.* 2012). Compared to the initial conceptualisation of the resource-based theory which identified four characteristics of resources valuable, rare, inimitable and non-substitutable, the non-substitutable variable is not included in the four main variables of the VRIO framework.

However, according to Barney *et al.* (2012: 126), the non-substitutable variable can be considered a "sub-variable" of resource rareness. A resource can be considered non-substitutable in situations where a one-to-one correspondence exists between a resource and a strategy. Barney *et al.* (2012) insightfully observe that maybe is not a single resource that enables competitive advantage but a bundle of resources and maybe it is the relationship and combination of these resources that lead to competitive advantage. This observation resembles to Goodrick and Reay's (2011) conceptualisation of professional work, as guided not by a single institutional logic, but from a constellation of logics.

Finally, the organisation variable refers to complementary resources, such as organisational structure, human resource policies and management of the organisation, that by themselves are not sources of competitive advantage, they are essential though for converting potential resources, to resources able to “build” a competitive advantage. According to Barney and Wright (1998), “Organisation requires having in-place the systems and practices that allow human resource characteristics to bear the fruit of their potential advantages”.

These systems and practices or processes described by another framework suggested by Teece Pisano and Shuen (1997). They underline that the accumulation of assets is not enough for competitive advantage, but it has to be supported by a management capability to coordinate redeploy internal and external resources effectively. They name this capability “Dynamic Capability” and define it as “the firm's ability to integrate, build, and reconfigure internal and external competences to address rapidly changing environments” (Teece Pisano and Shuen 1997). Firms use their dynamic capabilities to build new resources through the deployment of their physical or human resources (Bowman and Swart 2007). Resource-based theory and VRIO framework can explain competitive disadvantage, competitive parity, temporary competitive advantage and sustained competitive advantage (Barney and Mackey 2016: 371), based on the characteristics of the resources firms possess. If a firm does not possess valuable resources, it is in a position of competitive disadvantage and underperforms. If a firm possesses valuable but not rare resources, then is in a position of competitive parity, since all firms in the market have access to the same resources. If valuable firm resources are also rare, then a firm enjoys a temporary competitive advantage, since other firms are not in a position to acquire the same rare resources. Finally, if a firm possesses resources that are valuable, rare and with no strategic equivalent, then this firm enjoys a sustained competitive advantage (Barney *et al.* 2012). The contribution of distinct types of resources to a competitive disadvantage, competitive parity and competitive advantage is depicted in Figure 6 below.

RESOURCES				Competitive implications	Performance
Value	Rareness	Imitability	Organization		
NO	–	–	NO	Competitive disadvantage	Below normal
YES	NO	–	YES	Competitive parity	Normal
YES	YES	NO	YES	Temporary competitive advantage	Above normal
YES	YES	YES	YES	Sustainable competitive advantage	Above normal

Figure 6. Characteristics of resources

(Barney *et al.* 2012: 121)

Even though the focus of strategic management studies is on the sources of competitive advantage, Barney and Mackey (2016) highlight the importance of competitive parity for firms. The authors maintain that firms could enjoy riches from competitive parity that are essential for their survival. In other words, the absence of competitive parity means that a firm does not possess value resources at all, therefore it will underperform. In contrary, riches from a competitive advantage is a situation that it may occur and even if they do not, the firms' survival will not be at risk, while if they occur, its duration will not be infinite. Indeed, Barney (1991) in his seminal article about firms' resources and sustained competitive advantage clarifies that, it is not the period of calendar time that defines sustained competitive advantage, but the fact that competitors are unable to imitate the strategy that makes competitive advantage sustained and he concluded that sustained competitive advantage does not mean infinite advantage, but an advantage that cannot be duplicated.

Peteraf and Barney (2003) in their article provide an overview of the resource-based theory and specified the critical features of the theory that distinguished from other explanations of organisational performance. According to these authors, a critical defining feature of the theory is that it is an efficiency-based

explanation of performance differences. Based on the resource-based theory competitive advantage derives from resources which are valuable, rare, inimitable and non-substitutable. The second defining feature of the theory is that it is focused on the resource and enterprise level of analysis and explains performance differences among firms as attributable at these levels of analysis (Peteraf and Barney 2003). From this perspective, the resource-based theory is not a substitute for other theories that seek to explain performance, but they are focused on other levels of analysis, but a complementary tool (Peteraf and Barney 2003). Barney, Ketchen and Wright (2011) in their article regarding the future of the resource-based theory compiled an extensive list of key papers that combined resource-based explanations of performance with other theories. Among others, the authors included in this list Oliver's paper (1997) "Sustainable competitive advantage: Combining institutional and resource-based views". Oliver (1997) was the first who integrated institutional theory and resource-based theory in order to explain competitive advantage better. In the following section, the thesis provides an overview of Oliver's arguments regarding what each theory offers to the explanation of competitive advantage. This research is built on the insights of both resource-based and institutional theory. However, institutional theory, especially with its latest elaboration of the institutional logics perspective (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012), has evolved since 1997 and Oliver's attempt of integration of both theories. The main idea though that competitive advantage can be better explained through the integration of different theories remains the same. Institutional logics perspective, as the meta-theoretical tool of institutional logics, has overcome some of the theoretical obstacles of institutional theory since it allows for the conceptualisation of institutional logics as resources and can also explain heterogeneity of organisational responses to institutional logics. Therefore, Oliver's suggestion regarding the integration of resource-based theory and institutional theory can be further elaborated. In the concluding section of the literature review, the thesis provides the theoretical framework which seeks to indicate the ways in which organisations respond to field level logics in order to build their "constellations of logics" and to evaluate the contribution of these

constellations to competitive advantage based on the prescriptions of the resource-based theory.

2.10. The combination of institutional theory with the resource-based theory

Greenwood *et al.* (2011: 349) in their extensive work regarding institutional complexity and organisational responses to logics comment that previous work on organisational responses is a reminder that institutional accounts can be combined with the resource-based theory. Indeed, Oliver (1997) introduce this line of inquiry with her pioneer article “sustainable competitive advantage: combining institutional and resource-based views”. She starts with the observation that resource-based theory focused solely on characteristics of resources in explaining heterogeneity and competitive advantage and overlooked the social environment within which resources are embedded and resource selection is made. She addresses this issue by proposing a model that combined insights from institutional theory and resource-based theory. More specifically, she suggests that institutional factors affect resource decisions, and eventually the potential for firms to generate economic rents (Oliver, 1997: 698). Based on her review of institutional theory and the resource-based theory, the former has five implications for the latter:

“(1) firms can be captives of their own resource inappropriate and make history decisions; (2) sunk costs can be cognitive rather than economic and lead to suboptimal resource choices; (3) cultural support for resource investments may be an important determinant of their success; (4) firms may be unwilling rather than unable to imitate resources and capabilities, especially when those resources lack legitimacy or social approval; and (5) social influences exerted on firms reduce the potential for firm heterogeneity” (Oliver, 1997: 700).

However, as it was mentioned before, at that point, the central premise of the institutional theory was that organisations face pressures from their institutional environment which gradually result in isomorphism among organisations since

firms conform to these pressures for gaining legitimacy and acceptance. While, conformity to pressures and isomorphism, may be still a possible outcome of institutional pressures to organisations, the basic premises of the “institutional logics perspective” allow for heterogeneity among firms, because of the multiple institutional pressures they face. Therefore, while Oliver’s (1997) suggestion to bring together institutional theory and resource-based theory to better explain competitive advantage, is still pioneer and gathers academic attention from both institutional and strategy scholars. The combination of both theories could be approached not in terms of organisational balance between heterogeneity because of market imperfections, and isomorphism due to institutional forces. The combination of the two theories should be approached in terms of how institutional logics as resources can affect both organisational isomorphism and heterogeneity. More specifically, the conceptualization of institutional logics as strategic resources (Durand *et al.* 2013), and the introduction of “constellations of logics” (Goodrick and Reay 2011) which explains how professions and professional work are guided, not by a single logic, but a constellation, can be combined with the prescriptions of the resource-based theory to evaluate the strategic importance of logics for competitive parity and competitive advantage.

A more recent attempt of blending strategy literature and neo-institutional theory literature has been made by Peng *et al.* (2009). The authors start with the observation that industry-based view as initiated with Porter’s five forces (Porter 1979) as well as the resource-based view as developed with Barney’s work (1991) lack attention to contexts. Therefore, these theories cannot offer a holistic view of organisational strategy. The solution they propose is a third leg in the strategy tripod, in addition to the industry-based view and the resource-based view, termed as “the institution-based view”. That institution-based view has the capacity to inform organisational strategy, by focusing on the context within which organisational decisions are being made. Peng *et al.* (2009) explain that the institution-based view of strategy treats institutions as independent variables and focuses on the dynamic interactions among institutions and organisations and considers strategic choices the outcome of these interactions. (Peng *et al.* 2009:

66). According to the authors, the institution-based view complements industry- and firm-level conditions by highlighting that firms' strategic choices need to consider the formal and informal rules of the game and also offers an additional explanation regarding differences in performance among firms. Peng *et al.* (2009) conclude that true determinants of firm performance involve a combination of industry, firm and institutional forces. The institution-based view explicitly recognised that institutional logics could have an impact on performance.

However, this impact occurs not because institutional logics can be considered resources, but because they affect firms position within an organisational field and resource decisions. As the authors write, the fundamental role of institutions is to reduce uncertainty and to provide meaning (Peng *et al.* 2009: 66). In other words, the authors argue that institutions are a given and stable reality within a field, and organisations need to take strategic decisions that are in line with these institutions, so that they make the best use of their resources. According to the authors, institutional logics are more salient and powerful in an environment like developing economies, where there is no established hierarchy of logics, while in situations where the markets operate smoothly, institutional forces are almost invisible (Peng *et al.* 2009: 66).

2.9.1. Institutional logics and competitive advantage

This research though builds on the assumptions that all organisational fields are pluralistic, but this pluralism varies by the degree of dominance and the multiplicity of logics available in a field at a particular point in time (Ocasio and Radoynovska 2016: 289). It conceptualises institutional logics as resources per se, given that organisations can recognise them in a field (Durand *et al.* 2013: 173). It is this multiplicity of available logics and organisational agency in making commitments to constellations of logics, that contribute to the explanation of organisational heterogeneity. Indeed, Ocasio and Radoynovska (2016: 301) conclude that the higher the institutional pluralism in a field, the more increased the heterogeneity in business models and governance strategies guided by organisations' different strategic commitments to subsets of field-level logics.

Norman, Artz and Martinez (2007) recognise the dynamic nature of institutional logics and the organisational agency that allow, in their study of the U.S. airline industry during both a regulated and deregulated period. Their analysis, which combined insights from strategy and institutional theory literature, concludes that firms enjoyed benefits from non-conformity during both periods. However, during the regulated period firms experienced decreased performance, when differentiated above the industry mean. In conclusion, they suggested that differentiated actions have a positive impact on performance, to the degree that they do not stretch the boundaries of legitimacy, and managers understand their firms' environmental constraints. An observation that confirms that institutional logics, allow indeed for organisational differentiation which results in heterogeneity in business models and governance strategies, and at the same time set the boundaries of accepted organisational actions.

In the conclusion section of the pioneer paper "sustainable competitive advantage: combining institutional and resource-based view" Oliver made a distinction between resource and institutional capital and suggested that firms possess both. She defines resource capital as the value enhancing assets and competencies of the firm, and institutional capital as firms' capability to support value enhancing assets and competencies, or the context that surrounds resources and resource strategies, that facilitates or hinders the optimal use of the resource capital. For resource capital, the key success factor is the possession and protection of rare, inimitable assets and competencies, while for institutional capital, the key success factor is the effective management of the firm's resource decision context (Oliver, 1997: 709).

The insights of the article were the first attempt to explore the strategic aspects of institutional logics and bring together institutional theory and resource-based theory. However, as it is explicitly stated in the conclusion section, institutional capital contributes to competitive advantage only as a supportive boost for the best possible exploitation of resources through the management of the

institutional logics of the field, and it is the “management” of logics that contributes to competitive advantage, not the logics.

Through the lens of the institutional logics perspective though, organisations due to their agentic character, manage their environment according to their commitments to constellations of logics. For example, a firm with a reputation as a family business will manage the environment in a separate way, compared to an organisation with strong market orientation, even if they operate in the same institutional environment. From this perspective, logics are resources which define management decisions. Therefore, institutional capital should be conceptualised as constituted of resources that contribute directly to competitive advantage and not just as complementary to resource capital. This observation complements Durand’s (2012: 299) suggestion for a return “to sociological institutionalism’s original insights and better integrating the strategic models of resource acquisition, valuation and use into the institutional research.

A promising route could be to refine the approaches of institutional work and institutional logics (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006; Thornton *et al.*, 2012) by connecting them with strategic reasoning and decision-making rooted in organisational resources and capacities”. Durand (2012) calls for an integrated model of institution, organisation and strategy and advocated that this model could answer the question “Why, how and when do institutional and strategy factors drive an organisation in selecting the use of its resources? And what are the consequences of these outcomes for those institutional orders and logics that prevail within the field or industry?”. His integrated model assumes that organisations do not simply conform just for legitimacy reasons, but also for efficiency reasons and that there is a variation on how organisations conform (Durand, 2012: 299). This study builds on calls for an integrated model of strategy, institutions and organisations and seeks to understand, the strategic value of organisational responses to institutions.

Before presenting the theoretical framework of the thesis, some of the leading models of organisational responses to institutional logics are discussed and the choice to employ Oliver's (1991) model of strategic organisational responses to institutional processes is justified.

2.11. Organisational responses to institutional logics

As it was discussed in a previous section of the literature review, institutional theory studies have portrayed organisational fields as constituted of multiple logics and as leaning towards the relative incoherence of enduring competing logics (Greenwood *et al.* 2011: 323). The existence of multiple logics within fields allows organisations to make commitments to different logics and create constellations of logics. In terms of institutional logics perspective, this can be expressed as, organisations make commitments to or reject, building blocks of the seven interinstitutional orders (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012). Commitments to and rejection of logics implies that organisations “reply” to the available logics, given that are in a position to recognise them in their field. Therefore, it is not surprising that institutional studies have paid attention to how organisations respond to institutional logics. These studies focus on either organisational strategies or organisational structures (Greenwood *et al.* 2011).

The current study focuses on organisational strategies, that is, it is interested in “the “strategies” adopted by organisations in their efforts to handle institutional complexity and examine whether and to what extent organisations embrace prescriptions urged upon them by field-level referent audiences” (Greenwood *et al.* 2011: 348). Indeed, a multiplicity of logics within organisational fields fosters the agentic nature of organisations and allows them to correspond to alternative logics and sources of legitimacy (Quirke 2013: 1677). The author's study on Toronto's Canada private school field highlights the ability of organisational actors to select the field level logics to which they want to conform and organise their strategy accordingly (Quirke 2013: 1694). This finding agrees with (Waldorff, Reay and Goodrick 2013: 101) who highlight that apart from competitive, field level logics can also be co-operative and can jointly influence organisational

practices. In recent years many studies emphasise the multiplicity of logics that simultaneously co-exist in established organisational fields (Goodrick & Reay, 2011; Greenwood *et al.*, 2010, 2011; Lounsbury, 2007; Reay & Hinings, 2009).

These studies insightfully depict the co-existence of multiple logics in organisational fields for extended periods of time and describe how organisations respond and make commitments to multiple logics. While these studies highlight that organisations take strategic decisions regarding their institutional capital, they do not offer a valuation of logics as strategic resources, a contribution to the institutional literature that this thesis seeks to make.

Strategic decisions regarding institutional logics have been presented in the literature in the form of frameworks that identify and categorise the various types of organisational responses. This line of inquiry was initiated with Oliver's (1991) framework, on which this thesis is also based. However, since 1991 more frameworks regarding organisational responses to logics have been proposed. Greenwood *et al.* (2011: 348) in their extensive review of strategies organisations employ in situations of institutional pluralism identify some of the main frameworks that have been proposed in the literature. Greenwood *et al.* (2011) consider Pache and Santos's framework (2011) of organisational responses the most explicit framework in the literature. It needs to be emphasised that Pache and Santos (2013) have presented an updated framework of strategies employed by hybrid organisations. Greenwood *et al.* (2011) also highlight Kraatz and Block's (2008) contribution to understanding organisational responses to logics. In the following section, the thesis discusses these frameworks and explains why Oliver's (1991) approach is adopted.

2.10.1. Oliver's frameworks of organisational responses

The conceptualisation of organisational fields as constituted of multiple institutional logics, raised the question of how organisations respond to these logics. Oliver's framework (1991) of strategic responses to logics, which proposed that organisations do not blindly conform to logics, but their responses vary from

passive acquiescence to active resistance, was the first attempt of integration of institutional theory and resource-based theory (Greenwood *et al.* 2011: 349). The main “building block” of her analysis is that the integration of institutional theory with the resource-based theory offers a more comprehensive explanation of organisational responses to institutional logics, that may vary from conformity to resistance. In more detail, she proposes five types of strategic responses, acquiescence, compromise, avoidance, defiance, and manipulation and various tactics through which these responses are mobilised as it is shown in Figure 7.

Strategic Responses to Institutional Processes

Strategies	Tactics	Examples
Acquiesce	Habit	Following invisible, taken-for-granted norms
	Imitate	Mimicking institutional models
	Comply	Obeying rules and accepting norms
Compromise	Balance	Balancing the expectations of multiple constituents
	Pacify	Placating and accommodating institutional elements
	Bargain	Negotiating with institutional stakeholders
Avoid	Conceal	Disguising nonconformity
	Buffer	Loosening institutional attachments
	Escape	Changing goals, activities, or domains
Defy	Dismiss	Ignoring explicit norms and values
	Challenge	Contesting rules and requirements
	Attack	Assaulting the sources of institutional pressure
Manipulate	Co-opt	Importing influential constituents
	Influence	Shaping values and criteria
	Control	Dominating institutional constituents and processes

Figure 7. Strategic responses to institutional pressures

(Oliver, 1991: 152)

Acquiescence is the most passive of the organisational responses and depends on organisations’ intention to conform, their ability to recognise available alternative institutional logics and their anticipation that conformity to institutional logics will contribute to achieving organisational goals, through enhanced legitimacy (Oliver, 1991: 153). Compromise is the strategy organisations mobilise when acquiescence is not workable because of incompatibility among logics, or inconsistency among institutional demands and organisational efficiency. Compromise tactics facilitate partial compliance with institutional demands, but

also accommodate organisational interests. Avoidance is defined by Oliver (1991: 154) as “the organisational attempt to preclude the necessity of conformity”. Contrary to acquiescence and compromise which involve total or partial conformity, organisations choose avoidance when they want to circumvent institutional demands. Defiance is a more active form of resistance to institutional logics and represents a definitive rejection of institutional demands. According to Oliver (1991), avoidance occurs when the threat of losing legitimacy is low, when organisational interests and institutional demands are totally contradictory and when organisations are in a position to find alternative sources of legitimacy. Finally, manipulation is the most active response to institutional pressures and aims to change the pressures themselves or the institutional actors who exert these pressures. Oliver (1991: 157) describe manipulation as “the purposeful and opportunistic attempt to co-opt, influence, or control institutional pressures and evaluations”. What is important to notice, is that Oliver recognises that organisations conform or resist to institutional logics based on their willingness and ability to conform to the institutional environment. She comments that organisational willingness to conform is bounded by organisational scepticism, political self-interest and organisational control while organisational ability to conform is bounded by organisational capacity, conflict and awareness (Oliver, 1991: 159). She insightfully describes that there are boundaries within which organisations have the autonomy to decide about their responses to logics and these boundaries determine the likelihood of resistance. There is no comment though, regarding the role of institutional logics in setting these boundaries. Specifically, she suggested that organisational responses to institutional pressures toward conformity will depend on five institutional antecedents, cause,

constituents, content, control and context (Oliver, 1991: 159) as it is shown in Figure 8.

Antecedents of Strategic Responses		
Institutional Factor	Research Question	Predictive Dimensions
Cause	Why is the organization being pressured to conform to institutional rules or expectations?	Legitimacy or social fitness Efficiency or economic fitness
Constituents	Who is exerting institutional pressures on the organization?	Multiplicity of constituent demands Dependence on institutional constituents
Content	To what norms or requirements is the organization being pressured to conform?	Consistency with organizational goals Discretionary constraints imposed on the organization
Control	How or by what means are the institutional pressures being exerted?	Legal coercion or enforcement Voluntary diffusion of norms
Context	What is the environmental context within which institutional pressures are being exerted?	Environmental uncertainty Environmental interconnectedness

Figure 8. Antecedents of strategic responses

(Oliver, 1991: 160)

While this thesis' theoretical framework, as it will be discussed in the next section, is based partially on Oliver's work, it adopts a distinct perspective regarding why and to what organisations respond. More specifically, Oliver in the introductory section of her article comments that organisations respond to logics because of the institutional pressures toward conformity the institutions exert (Oliver, 1991: 147). On the other hand, the current analysis builds on the assumption that organisations respond to the main building blocks of the seven main orders of the interinstitutional system as this was described by Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012: 73) and that they respond to create their own constellation of logics. In this process, institutional logics set the boundaries within which organisations have the autonomy to decide about their strategic responses. From

this perspective, conformity is not the reason why organisations respond, as Oliver proposed, but a possible strategic response among others.

2.10.2. Pache and Santos' framework of organisational responses

Oliver's work sparked academic interest in strategic organisational responses, and more frameworks have been proposed in the literature. Pache and Santos (2013) in their comparative case study of four work integration social enterprises, which incorporated competing institutional logics, identify a distinct organisational strategy. More specifically, they suggest that hybrid organisations combine the competing logics of their institutional environment, through a strategy they labelled, "selective coupling" (Pache and Santos 2013: 994). According to the authors, selective coupling refers to the purposeful enactment of selected practices among a pool of competing alternatives and differs from the strategy previously described in the literature as "decoupling", in that it is not simply a ceremonial espousal of a prescribed practice with no actual enactment.

From this perspective, the selective coupling is consistent with the concept of constellations of logics and constitutes a possible strategy regarding how a constellation of logic is created. However, if, as the authors suggest, organisations deliberately select field level logics to couple, then we can conclude that they also purposefully select which logics, and practices to avoid or reject. Strategies that also have the capacity to explain how a constellation of logics is created are not included in the analysis of Pache and Santos (2013). Actually, the authors in the conclusion section of their article suggested that "hybrid organisations can lessen these harmful internal conflicts if they are not confronted with (or are able to avoid) institutional conflicts on goals, and if they are able to manage institutional conflict on means by strategically combining intact elements from either institutional world" (Pache and Santos 2013: 995). Thus, they recognise that avoidance is also an option that organisations have when they face institutional complexity. The distinction among institutional conflict on means

and goals is based on the framework of organisational responses that was proposed by the same authors in 2010 (Pache and Santos, 2010).

The framework builds on the assumption that because of the existence of multiple logics within fields, an organisation cannot merely comply with logics since compliance with some demands requires defying others and asked the question “how do organisations experience and respond to conflicting institutional demands”? (Pache and Santos 2010: 456). The authors complement Oliver’s framework by focusing not only on organisational responses but also on the conditions under which different responses might be mobilised. More specifically, they start their analysis by focusing on how the structure of organisational fields affects organisational responses. They suggest that institutional complexity is more likely to arise in fragmented fields, meaning in fields with multiple uncoordinated organisations, on which field members depend. They continue, by arguing that once institutional complexity arises in a fragmented field, the possibility institutional demands to be imposed on field members, depends on the centralisation of the field, meaning the power of competing institutional referents on their ability to enforce their demands (Pache and Santos 2010: 457). After they identify fragmentation and centralisation of the field as the characteristics that affect organisational responses, they focus on the organisational level. They argue that “organisations’ responses to conflicting institutional demands is a function of the nature of these demands and of the degree to which the demands are represented within the organisation (Pache and Santos 2010: 459).

Nature of demands refers to the distinction among conflicts regarding organisational goals and organisational means to achieve these goals. Conflicts regarding organisational goals are not easily resolved since they refer to the core system of values of organisational constituencies. On the other hand, conflicts regarding organisational means are peripheral and therefore more easily resolved. The internal representation of conflicting demands refers to whether there are organisational members that adhere to and promote these demands within the organisation. In summary, the framework suggests that fragmentation

and centralisation of the field affect the intensity of institutional complexity at the field level and when complexity arises at the field level, the nature of demands (goals or means) and internal representation of demands, affect organisational responses as it is shown in Figure 9.

Key Factors Influencing the Experience of Conflicting Demands

Key Factors	Dimensions	Influence on Conflict Experience
Nature of demands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Conflict over means only (not involving goals) ● Conflict over goals 	Negotiability of conflict
Internal representation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Absence of internal representation of conflicting demands ● Single internal representation of conflicting demands; one side represented only ● Multiple internal representations of conflicting demands; two sides (or more) represented 	Stakes involved in the response

Figure 9. Factors influencing experience of conflicting demands

(Pache and Santos 2010: 462)

Pache and Santos (2010) combined their insights with Oliver's (1991) suggestions of strategic responses to institutional logics and developed their own framework, which integrates field and intra-organisational level of analysis, to predict the actual strategies that are employed by organisations. While the work of Pache and Santos offers a comprehensive analysis of strategic organisational responses to logics, in the sense that it considers the interrelation of the field and organisational level and it conceptualises organisations not as unitary actors, but as consisting of members with distinguished "institutional identities" and interests. On the other hand, though, the model does not address the calls for the integration of strategy and institutional literature. It builds on two assumptions:

- 1) Field level logics are compact and impose demands on organisations.
- 2) When these demands are contradictory, organisations will mobilise responses, which vary from acquiescence to manipulation.

This research though adopts a distinct perspective. Following, Thornton Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012: 60) assumes that:

- 1) Institutional orders are near decomposable and that building blocks of each institutional order as contradictory and interrelated
- 2) Building blocks of institutional orders are resources themselves and organisations do not respond to “demands” but strategically decide about their commitments to logics and create their constellation.

2.10.3. Kraatz and Block’s framework of organisational responses

Similarly, to Pache and Santos (2010), Kraatz and Block (2008) propose that field level institutional logics impose legitimacy demands on organisations and there are at least four basic ways, which organisations employ to satisfy these demands. In their analysis, it is explicitly stated that organisational responses to logics may result from the strategic managerial action and that organisations can simultaneously attend to different institutional claims. In more detail, they suggest that the most obvious response to inconsistent institutional demands is for organisations to resist or deny some institutional claims, or, as the authors describe it, to respond to institutional pluralism by trying to eliminate pluralism (Kraatz and Block, 2008). The second approach to pluralism they propose is to compartmentalise identities by attending to different institutional claims through the creation of various organisational sub-units that satisfy various field level institutional logics. They describe this process as “loose coupling” and commented that it builds on the assumption that there is not a single organisational core. That is, specific organisational departments attend to specific institutional logics. Therefore, organisations can concurrently be legitimated by multiple and even incompatible logics. The third organisational strategy they propose is the restriction of institutional tensions through the balancing of institutional demands, playing constituencies against one another or finding cooperative solutions to tensions. Both loose coupling and control of institutional tensions imply that organisations can strategically respond to logics. The final

form of organisational adaptation they suggest is that “some organisations may be able to forge durable identities of their own and to emerge as institutions in their own right”. The authors argue that this is a hypothesised process which helps, though, to understand that an organisation can make multiple binding commitments and these commitments are material as well as symbolic and explain how an organisation can be multiple things to multiple people. While all the discussed frameworks offer unique insights, this analysis is based on Oliver’s framework. Oliver’s framework offers a general, not a case-specific perspective of organisational responses. More recent case-specific frameworks identified the same strategic responses, even though different terms were used to describe them. Indeed, Boxenbaum and Jonsson (2008) in their review of empirical research that has been conducted into isomorphism and decoupling comment that the same five strategic responses that Oliver proposed in 1991 are the same as the responses that have been identified in the more recent empirical research. They describe acquiescence as the response that leads to isomorphism and identified compromise with the response that has been described as “decoupling”. They comment that avoidance and defiance are the responses which organisations mobilise when they disagree with the institutional constituents, while manipulation is akin to entrepreneurship (Boxenbaum and Jonsson 2008: 85).

The thesis employs Oliver’s framework, not to identify how organisations respond to multiple logics but to indicate how organisations create their own constellation of logics through their responses. The analysis starts with the assumption that multiple logics are in play within the organisational field and organisations find heterodox ways of responding to accountability demands of their environment (Binder 2007: 567). In line with Kraatz and Block (2008), the thesis argues that organisations have the capacity to choose from available field level logics to build their strategy and can fulfil multiple logics simultaneously. That means organisations choose to which logics want to conform and which logics want to avoid without losing legitimacy. A suggestion which agrees with Quirke (2013) that organisational actors select the environmental elements to which they want

to conform. The conceptualisation of the field as constituted of multiple logics is an antecedent of organisational discretion. Multiple logics allow for more discretion of social actors since they offer alternative sources of legitimacy, and more options regarding organisational actions and consequently various sources of competitive advantage. For example, an organisation that decides to acquiesce to market logic needs to build its competitive advantage using the means this logic dictates. On the other hand, an organisation of the same field that acquiesces to a market and a family logic simultaneously has the discretion to build a competitive advantage not only as a firm that operates under the strict rules of a market logic but as well a family business. In the concluding section of the literature review, the thesis presents the integration of Oliver's framework with the institutional logics perspective and the resource-based theory.

2.12. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework aims to offer insights on how firms use institutions strategically in their efforts for competitive advantage. In doing so, it follows the call of Jonsson and Regner (2009: 518) who suggest that one of advancing the analysis of competitive advantage is by pairing recent advances of institutional theory with the insights of the resource-based theory. Indeed, this framework combines insights of the institutional logics perspective, the latest elaboration of the institutional theory, with the resource-based theory. It builds on the work of Durand *et al.* (2013) who conceptualise institutional logics as strategic resources. They suggest that logics are resources to the extent they affect the competitive position of the firm and have consequences for future performance. More specifically, they describe logics as a determinant of the rent potential of firms and suggest that logics have value to the firm to the extent, they increase pressure on competitors to imitate them. Based on their analysis, they conclude that by adopting a new logic, firms change their position in the field and increase pressures on competitors to imitate them. While their observation offers a unique insight to the value of institutional logics, the argument is incomplete in that, if logics increase imitation pressures to competitors, but at the same time they can be imitated, their strategic value is questionable.

Therefore, logics as strategic resources should not only apply pressures to competitors but according to the resource-based theory should also be inimitable in order to contribute to competitive advantage. Jonsson and Regner (2009) adopt a similar perspective regarding logics as resources and proposed that can be used by firms to raise normative barriers to imitation.

In other words, firms may envisage a competitive field-position where the risk of being imitated is low by conforming to logics, to which other firms are unwilling to conform. While this is a pioneering approach to institutional logics, one could argue that unwillingness of competitors to imitate a resource, maybe is not the result of the characteristics of the resource, but the result of the characteristics of the competitor organisation itself.

The strategic importance of field level institutional logics is also highlighted in the work of Durand and Jourdan (2012), who propose that organisations have the ability to conform to minority logics holders to resist pressures from dominant players and alter common practices and institutional order. Therefore, they clearly recognised that organisations have the discretion to choose among available logics to build a competitive advantage. Martin (2014: 59) insightfully suggests that a firm has an “institutional competitive advantage when it is implementing a strategy, featuring distinctive resources and activities enabled by its interactions with the institutional environment, which generates economic value in excess of its competitors”. However, there is no further elaboration regarding what these “distinctive resources” might be and no clarification regarding what their characteristics should be to contribute to institutional competitive advantage, other than being distinctive.

The common issue of the above-discussed studies is that they explicitly propose an integrated model of institutional theory and resource-based theory which will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of organisational strategy and competitive advantage. Despite the conceptualisation of institutional logics as

strategic resources though, what is missing is an evaluation of institutional logics as resources and their possible contribution to competitive parity and competitive advantage. The proposed theoretical framework supports data analysis and seek to contribute in filling this gap (figure 10).

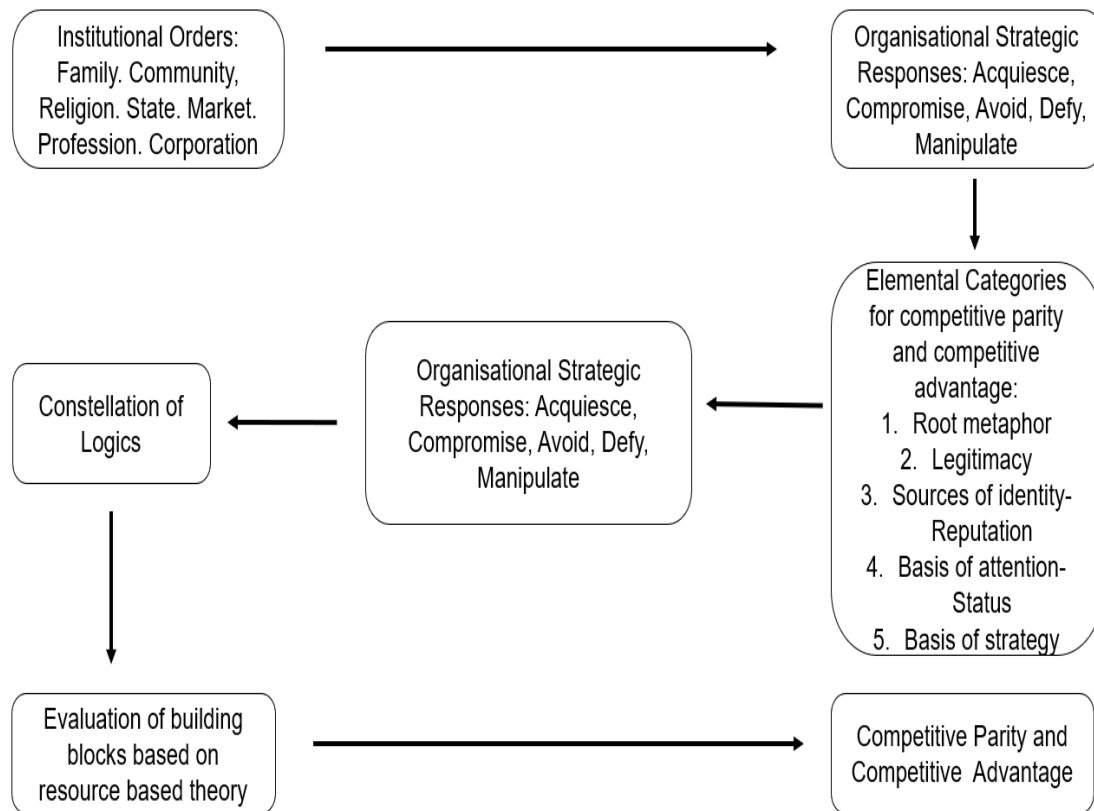


Figure 10. Theoretical framework

2.11.1. Elaboration of the framework

The framework builds on Thornton’s Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) depiction of the interinstitutional system as constituted of seven main institutional orders. Based on the literature discussed above, the thesis adopts the approach that multiple logics are in play within organisational fields, and these logics simultaneously set the boundaries of organisational discretion and open opportunities for strategic organisational action. Organisational strategic responses vary from acquiescence to manipulation as Oliver proposes (1991). However, as Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) describe logics are not

compact theoretical concepts, but decomposable and they consist of elemental building blocks. Therefore, organisations have the discretion to make commitments to specific elements of each logic and create their distinct constellation of logics. While not all logics can be strategised, since they are conceived as social facts, there are logics that can be strategised and be exploited as strategic resources (Jonsson and Regner 2009: 522). Based on the insights of the resource-based theory, the framework evaluates the contribution of these resources to organisational competitive advantage. The following chapter articulates the philosophical assumption that informs the research and explains the employed methodology.

Chapter 3. Methodology

This section aims to present, discuss and justify the chosen methodology of the research as well as the philosophical assumptions which inform it. The structure of the methodology chapter is based on the “research onion” as depicted by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2016: 124) Figure 11.

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Figure 11. Research onion

(Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016: 124)

First, the main philosophical assumptions which define the research design are presented, and the ontology and epistemology and the type of study, exploratory, descriptive and explanatory are discussed. Then, the methodological choice of the multiple qualitative research design is justified. In the following, the research strategy is scrutinised. The analysis covers the issues of the case study approach, and the supporting archival research and in order to provide an overall

perspective of the research strategy also discusses the sampling method which was employed to choose cases, as well as, the longitudinal time horizon of the research. Then, the chapter focuses on the methods used for acquiring research data, namely semi-structured interviews and relevant secondary documents. The final part of the methodology chapter addresses the method used for analysing the data, namely thematic analysis and the deductive and inductive approaches which were employed for theory development. Ultimately, the type of study and research questions, the philosophical assumptions and the aim in regard to the contribution to knowledge, defined the research methodology.

3.1. Type of study and philosophical assumptions

According to Leavy (2017: 5), there are mainly 3 reasons for conducting social research. Exploration of a relatively new topic for which there is no extensive academic or the approach of a topic from a new perspective is the first reason and results in exploratory research. From this perspective, part of the thesis can be described as exploratory. The institutional logics and the institutional logics perspective are not a new topic, and extensive academic knowledge is available. However, the concept of the constellation of logics and the issue of commitments to institutional logics, as they were discussed in the literature review, are new topics, which offer the possibility of a novel approach to institutional logics. This novel approach allowed for a combination of the institutional theory, with the strategy literature, and among the aims of this research is to explore innovative ways to combine the institutional logics perspective with strategy theory about competitive advantage. That brings the discussion to the second reason for social research, the description.

Descriptive studies offer “thick” and in-depth profile of persons events or situations, which include details, meaning and context (Leavy 2017: 5) and can be an extension from an exploratory research or a precursor for explanatory research, which is the third type of research (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2016: 175). From this perspective, part of the thesis is descriptive since it aims to provide an understanding of each individual case. More specifically, it seeks to

describe how organisations create their constellation of logics from the available field level logics and subsequently to analyse elements of logics that have the capacity to contribute to competitive parity and competitive advantage.

This does not mean though that it conceptualises elements of logics and competitive advantage as variables and aims to establish and explain the relationship between them. That would be the focus of explanatory research, while this one, is what Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2016:175) labelled as descripto-explanatory research. Research that utilises a description that could serve as a precursor to an explanatory study. Finally, staying within the boundaries of descriptive research, it seeks to identify the significance of logics for field level positioning. In conclusion, the research can be labelled as exploratory which seeks to offer a different perspective of institutional logics as strategic resources and on a second level as descriptive and descripto-explanatory, which seeks to offer a thick analysis of constellations of logics and their capacity to contribute to competitive parity and advantage and positioning of organisationa.

A specific research philosophy informed the chosen research methodology through which the exploratory and descripto-explanatory aims the study were fulfilled. Research philosophy is the system of beliefs and assumption about the development of knowledge (Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill, 2016: 124). These philosophical aspects of the research answer the question “What do we believe” moreover, these beliefs refer to the “nature of the social world, what can be known about social life, how research should proceed, who can be a knower, what kind of knowledge is valued and how we come to know” (Leavy, 2017: 11).

These beliefs define the ontology and epistemology of the research, which subsequently define the research paradigm. Guba and Lincoln (1994) explain that research ontology refers to the form and nature of reality and what can be known about it, while the epistemology refers to the nature of the relationship between the knower and what can be known. Based on his ontological and

epistemological assumptions, a researcher decides about his methodology, meaning how can he/she learn whatever he/she believes that can be learned (Guba and Lincoln 1994).

Together, ontology, epistemology and methodology define the research paradigm. The thesis lies within the constructionism/interpretive paradigm. When applied to organisational and business studies, the primary concern of the paradigm is to understand fundamental meanings attached to organisational life (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016: 134). As it was discussed in the literature review, institutional logics define organisational ends and means to achieve these ends. However, it is at the field level where institutional logics have greater specificity in their material and symbolic manifestation (Greenwood, Hinings and Whetten 2014: 1215). Moreover, their enactment and the way logics shape organisational strategy depends on how organisational actors interpret these logics. Therefore, the constructivism/interpretive paradigm with its focus on meanings fits the aims of this exploratory and descripto-explanatory research, which seeks to understand the cognitive aspects of organisational strategy.

Ontologically, the paradigm builds on the “*relativist*” assumption that “there is no single reality and that realities are apprehendable in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature (although elements are often shared among many individuals and even across cultures), and dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions” (Guba and Lincoln 1994: 112) . In line with the “relativist” ontology, the thesis assumes that institutional logics do not dictate one single reality, but each organisation has the capacity to interpret field-level logics in novel ways. Therefore, the same institutional logic, can be interpreted and eventually shape organisational strategy in diverse ways, even in organisations of the same organisational field. This assumption allows for an explanation of why organisations of the same field are not isomorphic despite operating under the influence of the same logics.

Epistemologically constructivism paradigm adopts a subjectivist approach. Subjectivism conceptualises reality as constructed through the social interaction in which social actors create meanings and reality (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016: 130). In this respect, the researcher and the object of investigation interact with each other and co-create the findings as the investigation proceeds (Guba and Lincoln 1994: 111). When subjectivism is the epistemological assumption that informs the investigation, the researcher must study the situation in detail and include in his data collection, analysis, and interpretation of findings the historical, geographical and socio-cultural contexts in order to understand what is happening (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016:131). Indeed, the first part of this research is devoted to the historical analysis and presentation of the organisational field, in which football academies are operating. This organisational field becomes the context of the second part of the research, in which each case is analysed. In line with the subjectivism epistemology, the findings of this research are not conceptualised as representing a single “real” world, but as representing the reality of each individual case, which was created through the interaction of the researcher with the organisational actors and through the researcher’s interpretation of the data.

3.2. Research Philosophy

The broader concept of research philosophy informs the paradigm and its main assumptions. Research philosophy is the system of beliefs and assumptions about the development of knowledge (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016: 125). This research is mainly based on the “Interpretive” philosophy; it adopts elements though from the “Pragmatist” philosophy. Goldkuhl (2012) highlights that the two philosophies share some common ontological assumptions which can be summarised in the phrase “Meaningful action based in evolutionary social interaction”. Despite the fact that the two philosophies have apparent differences in their epistemological assumptions Goldkuhl (2012) suggests that they can be combined in one of the following ways “Either interpretivism is seen as instrumental for a pragmatist study or pragmatism is seen as instrumental for an interpretive study”, so each philosophy can be the base philosophy, allowing

elements from the other to be used (Goldkuhl, 2012: 144). In the following section, elements of interpretivism and pragmatism that inform the research are presented.

3.2.1 Interpretivism

Interpretivism emphasises that human beings have the capacity to create meanings, while researchers seek to offer a thick description of these meanings, in order to provide a deeper understanding of social world and contexts (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016). In regard to business and management studies that means that the researcher tries to look at organisations from the perspective of organisational actors. As it will be discussed further in the “methods” section, this research seeks to identify the significance of institutional logics for organisational actors.

Klein and Myers (1999) define seven fundamental principles of conducting interpretive field research (Figure 12). The fundamental and first principle is that of the hermeneutic cycle, which suggests that human understanding is based on the interdependence of social actors as well as of social actors and the context within which their actions take place. As it was discussed before, the thesis seeks to describe the constellations of logics in the specific context within which they were created. As it will be highlighted in the course of the analysis, it does so by going from the theory to the data analysis and then back from the revealed data to the theory, to provide a “thick” description of the situation and answer the research question.

Table 1. Summary of Principles for Interpretive Field Research

<p>1. The Fundamental Principle of the Hermeneutic Circle This principle suggests that all human understanding is achieved by iterating between considering the interdependent meaning of parts and the whole that they form. This principle of human understanding is fundamental to all the other principles.</p> <p>Example: Lee's (1994) study of information richness in e-mail communications. It iterates between the separate message fragments of individual e-mail participants as parts and the global context that determines the full meanings of the separate messages to interpret the message exchange as a whole.</p>
<p>2. The Principle of Contextualization Requires critical reflection of the social and historical background of the research setting, so that the intended audience can see how the current situation under investigation emerged.</p> <p>Example: After discussing the historical forces that led to Fiat establishing a new assembly plant, Ciborra et al. (1996) show how old Fordist production concepts still had a significant influence despite radical changes in work organization and operations.</p>
<p>3. The Principle of Interaction Between the Researchers and the Subjects Requires critical reflection on how the research materials (or "data") were socially constructed through the interaction between the researchers and participants.</p> <p>Example: Trauth (1997) explains how her understanding improved as she became self-conscious and started to question her own assumptions.</p>
<p>4. The Principle of Abstraction and Generalization Requires relating the idiographic details revealed by the data interpretation through the application of principles one and two to theoretical, general concepts that describe the nature of human understanding and social action.</p> <p>Example: Monteiro and Hanseth's (1996) findings are discussed in relation to Latour's actor-network theory.</p>
<p>5. The Principle of Dialogical Reasoning Requires sensitivity to possible contradictions between the theoretical preconceptions guiding the research design and actual findings ("the story which the data tell") with subsequent cycles of revision.</p> <p>Example: Lee (1991) describes how Nardulli (1978) came to revise his preconceptions of the role of case load pressure as a central concept in the study of criminal courts several times.</p>
<p>6. The Principle of Multiple Interpretations Requires sensitivity to possible differences in interpretations among the participants as are typically expressed in multiple narratives or stories of the same sequence of events under study. Similar to multiple witness accounts even if all tell it as they saw it.</p> <p>Example: Levine and Rossmore's (1993) account of the conflicting expectations for the Threshold system in the Bremerton Inc. case.</p>
<p>7. The Principle of Suspicion Requires sensitivity to possible "biases" and systematic "distortions" in the narratives collected from the participants.</p> <p>Example: Forester (1992) looks at the facetious figures of speech used by city planning staff to negotiate the problem of data acquisition.</p>

Figure 12. Principles of interpretive research

(Klein and Meyers 1999: 72)

The contextualization principle suggests that the subject under investigation should be placed in its social and historical context so to become clear how the studied phenomenon occurred. Indeed, the first part of the thesis is a description of the historical evolution of the organisational field under investigation and a description of the logics that are in play within the field.

The principle of interaction between researcher and subject suggests that facts, as it was discussed before, are produced through the interaction of researcher and participants. One of the chosen methods of data collection for this research is “semi-structured” interviews, during which meanings were co-produced from the interaction with participants.

The principle of abstraction and generalisation advocates that the interpretation of the collected data should not be arbitrary but should be related to general concepts that describe human understanding and social action. The interpretation of data is based on the premises of the institutional logics theory as well as of the resource-based theory. Concepts of both theories have the capacity to explain the organisational action and also allow for the generalisation of the findings.

In general, this research seeks to establish a relationship among the specific meanings as these were described in the interviews with participants, to abstract categories and concepts of the institutional theory and the resource-based theory. These established theories inform the interpretation of findings, and at the same time the findings inform and offer a distinct perspective of the two theories. Generalizability of the research findings though will be discussed in a separate section. The principle of dialogical reasoning calls for the researcher to clarify his/her philosophical assumptions and confront them with the data that are revealed during the research process. This is a crucial requirement, since it may be the case that the collected data do not support the researcher’s prejudices, meaning his/her philosophical assumptions, so they have to be modified. This rule can and should be applied several times until the researcher is in a position

to showcase how his/her preconceptions support and inform data analysis and interpretation. Indeed, this research, and more specifically this particular section clarifies the fundamental philosophical assumptions.

When this research was at the stage of the “research proposal” philosophical assumptions, type of research and methods were different from the research philosophy and strategy that were eventually adopted. The change took place gradually starting from the literature review, during which the institutional logics theory was adopted as the “device” through which a distinct view of organisational action revealed and continued until the data collection stage, during which interviews with participants, as well as secondary documents, revealed perspectives that had to be considered and eventually resulted in further modifications of the research strategy.

As Klein and Meyers state (1999: 76) the improved understanding of one stage of the research becomes the prejudice for the next. Similarly, to the principal of dialogical reasoning, the principle of multiple interpretations requires the researcher to consider the impact that the research context has on the research subjects, by including in the data analysis perspectives from multiple sources, which may result in modification of researcher’s preconditions. This research, as it will be discussed in more detail, adopts a case study research strategy, supported by archival research, which alongside with the employed sampling techniques offered the necessary multiple and diverse perspectives regarding the way organisations with distinct characteristics create their constellation of logics.

The final principle is the principle of suspicion. In contrast, to the first six principles which are concerned with the interpretation of meanings, the principle of suspicion refers to the discovery of “false preconceptions” (Klein and Myers 1999: 77). This principle does not focus on the understanding of the meaning of data but instead asks the researcher to immerse the social world of the “actors”. In other words, while most interpretative studies focus on the meaning of “what” social actors say, the principle of suspicion goes beyond that and asks the

researcher to study “why” social actors say what they say. This is why Klein and Meyers (1999) while being the authors of the seven fundamental principles of interpretive research, suggest that some interpretive researchers may choose not to apply this principle. This is the case with this research also, which does not focus on “the social world behind the words of the actors, a social world that is characterized by power structures, vested interests, and limited resources to meet the goals of various actors who construct and enact this social world” (Klein and Myers 1999: 78).

All the principles are interdependent and together create the “whole” meaning that this research seeks to describe. As Klein and Myers (1999) suggest, none of the principles should be applied arbitrarily. However, it is the researcher’s responsibility to decide how and which of the principles apply to his research.

As it was established in the above discussion, this research applies and fulfils the requirements of six out of seven fundamental principles for conducting interpretive research. It iterates between meanings of parts and the whole that they form. In other words, it iterates between the requirements of the six principles. It takes into consideration and critically reflects the context, within which the institutional logics are in play, and the organisational action happens. It highlights the interaction with participants, which resulted in the “construction” of the research material. It focuses on a specific organisational field and specific case studies, but it relates data interpretation to established academic literature and concepts. It considered the contradiction between the preconceptions of the author and the data and accordingly modified the philosophical assumption and research strategy. It also considered the contradictions between participants’ interpretation regarding institutional logics of the field, in order to provide an in-depth description of the context and of each individual case.

3.2.2. Steps of social research

The application of each principle was not a one-off process but an iterative course, during which the improved understanding of one stage, constituted the

prejudice for the next (Klein and Meyer 1999) until the “whole” description was created. Gephart (2017) in his review of interpretive methodology creates an 8-steps framework (Figure 13) for conducting social science research.

The structure of the thesis mirrors these steps. More specifically, the thesis started by gaining access not to actual places where the action took place, but to professionals, and individuals who were involved in the everyday operation of the football academies and professionals who had experience in working with football academies. Consequently, interviews were conducted (the choice of method will be further discussed in another section), in order to identify logics and elements of logics which have a significance for competitive parity, competitive advantage and positioning. In the last step of the first level of analysis, data from interviews were analysed to discover concepts and meanings that described the institutional logics which were in play in each academy.

Gephart (2017) describes these concepts as first order “constructs” that are based on the commonsense knowledge and interpretations of participants and are constructed at the first level of the interpretive research. The second level of the research, as the framework suggests, starts with a review of the first order constructs, so as to categorise them into second-order models. Second order models are “ideal type theoretical constructs formed in accordance with procedural rules valid for all empirical sciences” (Gephart, 2017: 36). In this thesis though, second-order concepts were not constructed inductively by the author, but they came from Thornton Ocasio and Lounsbury’s (2012) framework of the interinstitutional system, a decision that will be discussed in detail in the theory development section of the methodology chapter.

Steps 5 to 8 describe each case. Then, the thesis relates the first order concepts of each model to second order concepts of institutional theory, so the models to be validated. Subsequently, the thesis compares the models with each other to understand how differences in the model, meaning in the composition of the constellation of logics, were related to a difference in the strategy of each case,

meaning how organisations seek to define their competitive advantage based on their commitments to institutional logics. Then, the thesis evaluates the capacity of basic elements of logics to contribute to competitive advantage, based on the propositions of the resource-based theory and, finally, the findings are interpreted to refine specific aspects of the institutional theory and resource-based theory and propose a combination of both to better explain competitive advantage.

Interpretive research approach has the capacity to offer novel insights to business and management studies. It provides an understanding of essential management issues, that is difficult to achieve with quantitative research since it describes and theoretically interprets meanings that people use in their every-day actions (Gephart 2004).

From this perspective, the choice to adopt an interpretivist approach in order to study management issues of football academies is grounded on the relativist stance of interpretivism that meanings exist and influence how people comprehend the objective world and how they make decisions accordingly.

LEVEL 1: COMMON SENSE CONCEPTS

1. Interpretive scientist gains access to everyday life site of actual social interaction of relevance to research and observes interaction as it naturally occurs in real life contexts.
2. Researcher uses field research and ethnographic methods including ethnographic interviews to develop thick and detailed written descriptions of actual interactions in real life context and records detailed descriptions of settings and conversations that occurred therein.
3. Researcher analyses data to discover members' concepts including key words, constructs and theories that explain the subjective meaning of everyday life settings and actions and develops first order descriptions of interactions and settings from actors' point(s) of view.

LEVEL 2: CONCEPTS OF CONCEPTS OF SOCIAL ACTORS: SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

4. Researcher reviews and analyses (interprets) concepts and theories in members' accounts from a distant or disinterested (scientific) perspective to induce via abstraction second order concepts, i.e. concepts of concepts of social actors that show patterns in first order descriptions of actors.
 - a. Researcher constructs ideal type models of social roles or positions of people participating in interaction in focal settings to analytically describe the interaction
 - b. Ideal type models are refined to include course-of-action models and motives ascribing typical notions, purposes and goals to ideal type models of actors in specified but general social positions
 - c. Constructed second order models are refined to insure they 1) capture and preserve (make recoverable) subjective meanings of members, 2) are logically consistent and 3) present human action in a manner understandable to everyday actors
5. Researcher varies features of models to understand how variations in models lead (hypothetically) to variations in outputs or outcomes of interaction.
6. Researcher examines data (prior data or new data) to ascertain if patterns of meaning and interaction provided in adduced theory are consistent with actual behaviours and interactions in real life settings that represent key aspects of ideal type models.
7. Researcher relates or compares actors' and social scientific descriptions of behaviour and interaction to existing and newly created (inductively and abductively constructed) second order concepts and theories to refine or contest prior and new theories and concepts.
8. Researcher formulates narratives, logically consistent and testable propositions or hypotheses that summarize via empirical generalization the findings and insights from first order and second order analyses.

Figure 13. Levels of interpretive research

(Gephart 2017: 38)

3.2.3. Pragmatism

Goldkuhl (2012) asserts that elements of interpretivism and pragmatism could be combined, given that the researcher is aware of their resemblances and differences in order to make a proper research-design. This thesis adopts key philosophical assumptions of pragmatism regarding "knowledge". More specifically pragmatism maintains that "concepts are relevant only when they support action and considers theories, concepts, ideas, hypotheses and research findings, not in abstract form, but in terms of the role they play as instruments of thought and action and in terms of their practical consequences in specific contexts" (Saunders, Thornhill and Lewis 2016:143). While the thesis builds on the abstract concept of the interinstitutional orders as presented by Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012), it focuses on the field level where institutional

logics have greater specificity and organisations enact them through their actions, (Greenwood, Hinings and Whetten 2014) and seeks to identify their significance for competitive parity, competitive advantage and positioning. From this perspective, it adopts a key suggestion of pragmatism that the division between theory and practice is artificial (Rumens and Kelemen 2016). It does so by building on the foundational assumption of pragmatism that the meaning of a concept or idea is its practical consequences (Goldkuhl 2012).

The research does not seek just to describe the abstract meaning of constellations of logics, but mainly to identify the significance of logics and their elements. In pragmatism philosophy, knowledge is not a copy of an independent reality, but a tool that guides successful action and is judged upon its capacity to be useful for some person (Rumens and Kelemen 2016). This thesis conceptualises field-level logics, not as a concept that exists independently of organisational actors, but as strategic resources that have value to organisations to the extent they have consequences for their competitive advantage. From this perspective, knowledge about institutional logics has value to the extent that has consequences for organisational action. Indeed, pragmatism's philosophical assumptions facilitate the study of institutional logics, as Watson (2016: 68) sets it:

“The logics which all social actors have to come to terms with in their practices are inherent in the basic social institutions of the time and place in which these actors are located. And these institutions, as was stressed in the earlier discussion of the pragmatism and the social construction of reality, are the products of human creativity. They are the means by which the ‘unfinished animals’ of the human species have struggled to cope with the brute forces of reality pertaining at their point in history and their position in the structure of their society.”

Pragmatism perspective is relevant to organisational studies, since not only makes intellectual sense of the organisational action using institutional logics as a theoretical device but also evaluates the extent to which this knowledge informs practices of organisational actors (Watson, 2016).

To conclude, while, from an interpretivist philosophy perspective the description of organisational logics and constellation of logics would be enough, the adoption of elements of pragmatism, more specifically the conceptualization of knowledge regarding institutional logics as relevant, only when it supports organisational action, allows this research to focus also on the practical significance that institutional logics have for organisations.

3.3. Methodological choice

This section is devoted to the “methodological choice” layer of the research onion (figure 11). The chosen methodological approach is that of the qualitative multi-method. As the name suggests, qualitative multi-method uses more than one technique of data collection and the corresponding analytical procedure (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2013: 169). For this research data are collected through semi-structured interviews and archival research. Specific methods of data collection and analysis, though, will be discussed in a separate section. As it was analysed in a previous section, the choice of qualitative research is justified on the basis of the capacity of the qualitative approach to explaining research observations, by providing conceptual insights that reveal how concepts and theory operate in specific cases (Gephart 2004). In relevance to this research, the qualitative approach contributes to a deep understanding of the practical significance of the abstract concepts of institutional logics and a constellation of logics. As Gephart (2017) suggests, qualitative organisational research is a multimethod process that uses qualitative data like verbal communications and written texts to “grasp” organisational operation. From this perspective, institutional logics are suited to qualitative research methods (Reay and Jones 2016). Indeed, many studies focused on institutional logics and with similar objectives with this research, employ a qualitative multimethod approach (Durand

et al. 2013, Gawer and Phillips 2013, Goodrick and Reay 2011, Smets *et al.* 2015, Waldorff, Reay, and Goodrick 2013). In the next sections, the thesis presents the various elements of the qualitative multimethod approach, by discussing in detail the issues of the case-study research strategy, the interview and archival research methods of data collection, and the thematic analysis method of data analysis, alongside with the approach to theory development.

3.3.1. Why a case study research strategy

Yin (2003:) in his seminal work regarding case study research strategy summarises its main characteristics. According to the author, a case study is “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context especially when boundaries among context and phenomenon are not clear. It copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, so it relies on multiple data sources, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion. It benefits from the prior development of propositions to guide data collection and analysis. A case study is a comprehensive data strategy which covers the logic of design, data collection techniques and specific approaches to data analysis”. In the rest of this section, the selection of the case study strategy will be justified, and its main characteristics in relevance to this research will be discussed.

The research focuses on a contemporary phenomenon, namely the impact the “Elite Player Performance Plan” has on the operation of professional football academies. It does so by specifying the context of the professional football academies field, as this was developed since the establishment of professional football academies in England in 1997. The boundaries among context of the phenomenon under investigation, namely the available institutional logics of the field, and the phenomenon under investigation, namely, what is the significance of institutional logics for competitive parity, competitive advantage and positioning organization, are not clear, since as previous studies (Gawer and Phillips 2013, Smets, Morris Greenwood 2012) suggest institutional logics impact organisational practices, which in turn impact the institutional logics of the field.

Therefore, context and phenomenon intertwine, a situation which suits the application of a case study research strategy.

As the above Yin's summary of case study suggests, in the analysis of competitive advantage more variables are available than data points. The scope of the thesis though is limited on the institutional logics, which are not conceptualised as variables with a quantifiable relationship with the competitive advantage, as positivism philosophy would have required. They are conceptualised as elements that may have the capacity to contribute to competitive advantage, and this research seeks to interpret their capacity, based on data collected from multiple sources. In this case, interviews, and archival secondary data. Decisions about the type and sources of data were not arbitrary, but they were based on propositions developed in previous studies of institutional logics.

In conclusion, the characteristics of the the thesis fit Yin's description of what a case study research is. According to Dul and Hak (2008: 24) case study research is a suitable strategy when the topic is broad and highly complex as is the case with institutional logics and the way they have a significance for competitive parity, advantage and positioning . Second, when the existing theory does not cover the phenomenon under investigation, which is partially true for this research. More specifically, while there is extensive literature about institutional logics and organisational action, the conceptualisation of institutional logics as strategic resources and the combination of the institutional logics perspective with the strategy literature is a recent development that provides opportunities for a re-examination of the question of strategy (Ocasio and Radoynovska 2016). From this perspective, the adopted case study approach contributes to the refinement of existing theory about institutional logics and competitive advantage. Finally, a case study is an appropriate research strategy when the context is especially important.

In the thesis, football academies' actions cannot be analysed and interpreted, without considering the institutional context within which they happen, since it is precisely the institutional logics of the field, which describe what constitute legitimate organisational ends and at the same time they constitute available resources. In reference to complex social phenomena, Yin (2003) proposes that the case study approach allows the researcher to gain a holistic understanding of organisational and managerial processes, which is the broad aim of the research.

Furthermore, he specifies 3 conditions regarding when to use the case study strategy (Figure 14). First, the type of the research question asked, with “how” and “why” questions to be mainly associated with a case study. While the research question does not satisfy this criterion, in the specific case it is a matter of word selection, which does not influence the essence of the research. For example, the “what is the significance of logics” question, it could be easily phrased as how the constellation of logics does facilitates competitive parity and competitive advantage. Second, the extent of control the researcher has over behavioural events, with the case study to be the preferred strategy when the research has no control. Indeed, during the course of the research, it was not possible to manipulate the actual behaviour of participants or to include or exclude field level institutional logics from the analysis. The third condition is the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical phenomena, with contemporary phenomena to be the focus of case study strategy.

The thesis focuses on the on-going contemporary phenomenon, of the significance of institutional logics for competitive parity, advantage and positioning, as it was happening when the data collection was happening. To conclude, the thesis satisfies all the three conditions of a case study, as these were described by Yin (2003).

Strategy	Form of Research Question	Requires Control of Behavioral Events?	Focuses on Contemporary Events?
Experiment	how, why?	Yes	Yes
Survey	who, what, where, how many, how much?	No	Yes
Archival analysis	who, what, where, how many, how much?	No	Yes/No
History	how, why?	No	No
Case study	how, why?	No	Yes

Figure 14. Types of research strategies

(Yin, 2003: 5)

Case study approach had been adopted at numerous studies focused on institutional logics. Binder (2007: 554) in her study about organisational responses to institutional logics uses a nuanced case study which is “ideally suited to answer questions about organisational responses to environmental pressures”. Part of the thesis focuses on organisational responses of football academies to institutional pressures from the “Elite Player Performance Plan”. As it will be discussed in more detail in the data collection and analysis chapter Waldorff, Reay and Goodrick (2013: 107) employ a comparative case study approach to explore how constellations of logics impact action on two different case studies. One of the main aims of the thesis is to identify the capacity of logics and of their building blocks to contribute to competitive parity, advantage, and positioning. Therefore, the case study research strategy allows for a better understanding of how the constellation of logics facilitate academies’ attempt for competitive parity and advantage. Gawer and Philips (2013) and Smets Morris and Greenwood (2012) also employ case study studies in their attempt to explore how everyday practice of organisations impacts on institutional change at the field level, and vice-versa.

From this perspective, the case study approach allows for organisational action to be related with the enactment of institutional logics, which is one of the main assumptions which informs the current research. More specifically, the thesis

seeks to identify what is the significance of the building blocks of logics for the competitive advantage of academies. The above examples confirm Eisenhardt's (1989) observation that case studies can be used to describe a phenomenon, to test a theory or to generate theory. The thesis aims at both exploring the phenomenon and also contributing to the refinement of the existing theory of institutional logics as strategic resources. Therefore the case study strategy facilitates both aims. According to Yin (2003), a case study has five components:

- 1) Research questions
- 2) Propositions, if any
- 3) Units of analysis
- 4) The logic linking the data to the propositions
- 5) The criteria for interpreting the findings

Research questions and propositions have been discussed in the literature review, while the criteria for interpreting the findings were part of the previous discussion about the interpretivism and pragmatism philosophy of the research. Therefore, the methodology chapter continues with the definition of the unit of analysis and the sampling technique for choosing the cases and the logic of linking the data to the propositions, which is part of the discussions of theory building through case study strategy.

3.4. Case studies and sampling

As the research question suggests the focus of this research is the strategic significance of institutional logics for football academies, the type and scope of research question called for a multiple embedded case study design (Figure 15).

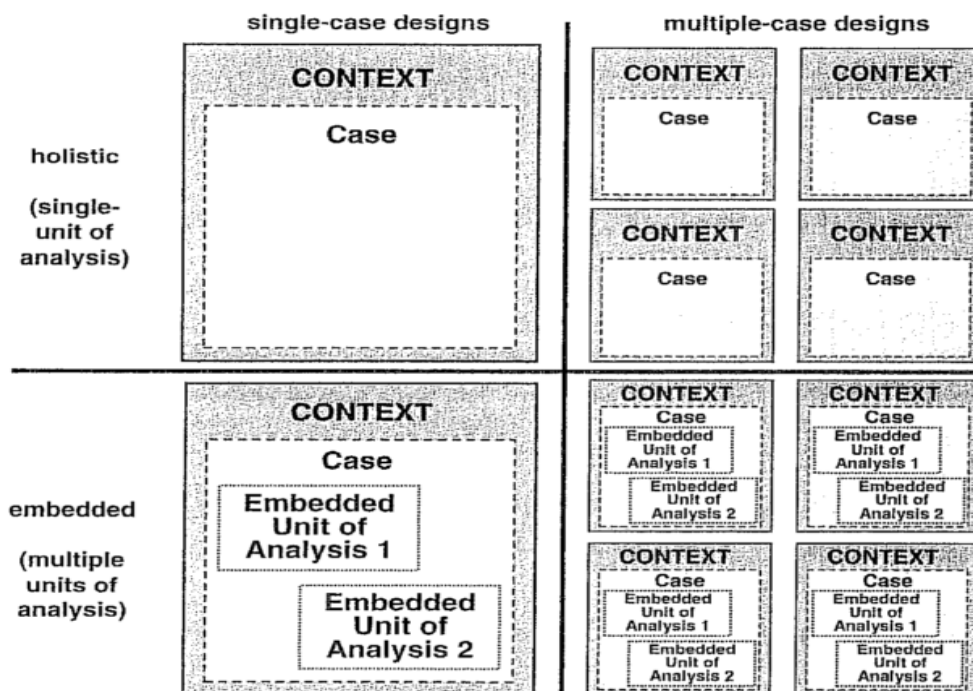


Figure 15. Case study designs

(Yin, 2003: 40)

Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) suggest that multiple cases allow for comparisons among cases, reveal if findings are idiosyncratic to a single case or are replicated continuously in cases, the created theory is more robust since the propositions are grounded in varied evidence, and allows for broader exploration of research questions and theoretical elaboration. Five case studies were selected in order for the research question to be answered. Before proceeding through to the justification of the sampling technique, a distinct characteristic of the organisational field under investigation should be highlighted, since it affected the sampling strategy.

Professional football academies under the rules and regulations of the Elite Player Performance Plan, are judged based on their performance in relevance to 10 key-performance indicators and subsequently are officially categorised in four categories, based on their performance evaluation. Therefore, key characteristics of the candidate cases were known a priori. The five selected cases of this

research, which constitute the main units of analysis, are coming from 3 categories of football academies plus an academy which has withdrawn from the EPPP. Therefore, in terms of their key characteristics, can be considered as representative, not of the whole sample but of their respective category.

3.4.1 Purposive sampling

Cases from each category were selected in a purposive or judgmental sampling process, meaning that they were selected on the basis that they facilitate the answering of the research question. More specifically, the sampling process for four out of five cases can be described as heterogeneous or maximum variation sampling, since participants have sufficiently diverse characteristics, given that they came from 3 different categories. Particular reference should be made about one of the cases, which was selected as a critical case.

Critical cases make a point markedly and represent important examples (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016). Indeed, one of the football academies has adopted a unique approach to the “Elite Player Performance Plan” compared to all other categories. Despite the fact that another academy from the same category was among the case studies, this specific case offers a novel perspective on the strategic importance of institutional logics and field level position. Overall, the logic that supported the choice of judgmental sampling is that the aim of the research is to refine the extant theory of institutional logics and explore the development of a theory that combines elements of the institutional logics’ perspective and the resource-based theory.

As Eisenhardt and Graebner (2008) comments, when the purpose of the research is to develop theory and not to test the theory, then theoretical sampling and not random or stratified is appropriate. In theoretical sampling, the cases may be chosen to replicate previous cases, to extend emergent theory, or to fill theoretical categories and provide examples of polar types (Eisenhardt 1989). In theoretical sampling, cases are selected because they explain and extend relationship and logic among constructs.

In this thesis, the reason of the theoretical sampling of cases, is to elaborate theory of institutional logics as strategic resources and of their capacity to contribute to competitive advantage and positioning organisation. To facilitate the aims of the research question, two embedded units of analysis, namely elements of institutional logics and field position, were included in the analysis and allowed for a thicker description of the relationship among institutional logics competitive advantage.

Overall, the research aims to contribute to the development of theory. Theory, as defined from Dul and Hak (2008), is a set of propositions about an object of study. Each proposition, in theory, consists of concepts and specifications of relations between concepts. The object of study is the stable characteristic of theory while concepts are the variable characteristics and the propositions formulate the causal relationship between concepts and the domain is the specification of where the theory applies. In the case of this research, the stable characteristics are the football academies, while the concepts are the institutional logics, competitive advantage and the field position while the domain of the theory is organisational fields within which multiple institutional logics are in play.

Development of theory is a crucial activity in organisational studies. It builds on existing theory in which identifies a gap and seeks to fill it. It needs though, to justify why the research question is addressed through theory building and not theory testing (Eisenhardt and Graebner 2007). The identified gap referred to the significance of institutional logics for competitive parity, competitive advantage and positioning.

Finally, regarding theory building choice, the thesis conceptualises institutional logics of the field, and elements of logics, as abstract terms with no predefined meaning, which are instantiated through academies' interpretations. Therefore, quantification of institutional logics may exclude essential meanings from the analysis. Without quantification of institutional logics, competitive advantage and

field level position, theory testing is not a viable option. Considering this, the thesis adopts a theory building approach, which Eisenhardt (1988: 548) suggests as the appropriate approach in the early stages of research or when a fresh perspective in an already researched topic is needed. Institutional logics is an established research topic; however, the conceptualisation of logics as strategic resources offers the opportunity for a new approach to the literature, which suggests that a theory building research has the capacity to contribute to knowledge about the strategic role of institutional logics.

3.5. Time-horizon of the research

The aims of the thesis called for a longitudinal design. Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, (2016: 200) recommend longitudinal design when you study change and development of a phenomenon over time. The analysis is divided in 2 periods. The first period with a historical perspective, providing context and looking at the emergence of logics and constitution of the professional football academies field. The second stage covers the period from the introduction of the EPPP in 2012 until 2018 when the main part of the analysis was written. As it will be discussed in more detail in the data collection chapter, despite the fact that the thesis focuses on a contemporary phenomenon. The analysis starts from 1997 when professional football academies were established In England. The context of case studies is an important element of the research. In this case, the context of each case is the organisational field with its overarching institutional logics, within which professional football academies operate. Considering this, the longitudinal approach was deemed necessary in order to provide an overall perspective regarding the development of the field, from the date professional academies were established, until the year the data collection and analysis happened, which coincided with the “Elite Player Performance Plan” era. The policy that currently sets the rules and regulations regarding the operation of football academies, and therefore sets the institutional boundaries of the organisational field. The longitudinal approach allowed for a rich description of the change and development of the institutional logics of the field and a better understanding of what logics are in play within the field.

3.6. Data collection methods

According to Yin (2003: 82) data for case studies come from 6 sources: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation and physical artefacts. For Eisenhardt (1988) theory building researchers mainly combine, interviews, observations and archival sources. This thesis employs two data collection methods, interviews both primary and secondary and archival documents. Interviews and archival documents were employed for studies with similar aims with the current one. To reference some, Morrow (2015), employs and in-depth analysis of secondary data to identify institutional logics in the field of Scottish professional football. Durand *et al.* (2013), in their study of institutional logics in the French design industry, conduct a number of interviews and supplemented them with industrial design history and art history documents, so to identify field level logics and instantiation of logics from industrial firms. Binder (2007), in her work about creative organisational responses to field level institutional logics, uses semi-structured interviews as one of the data collection methods. In a similar study to this one, Waldorff, Reay and Goodrick (2013), in their pioneer work about how a constellation of logics impact action, combine archival and interview data. Finally, the seminal work of Goodrick and Reay (2011) about the constellation of logics, highlight the importance of archival records in identifying field level logics. First step of the thesis was the collection of, archival documents so as to describe the development of the field and to identify the institutional logics which are currently in play. Archival research is common in organisation and management studies and provides rich and detailed secondary diachronic and contemporary materials (Stokes 2002). The importance of historical analysis in organisation studies was highlighted by Kieser (1994) who proposes 4 reasons:

- 1) Structures of and behaviour in present organisations reflect culture-specific historical developments. Differences between organisations in different cultures can, therefore, only be explained completely if the historical dimension is included in the comparison

- 2) The identification of actual organisational problems and of their appropriate remedies is often not free of ideology. By confronting current "fashionable" trends in organisation theory and practice with similar developments in the past, we can identify and possibly overcome prejudices that characterise the presentation of these trends.
- 3) Historical analyses teach us to interpret existing organisational structures not as determined by laws but as the result of decisions in past choice opportunities, some of which were made intentionally and others more implicitly. Choice opportunities that had not been used to the advantage of the actors involved possibly present themselves again or can be restored in some way or other.
- 4) By confronting theories of organisational change with historical developments, these theories can be subjected to a more radical test than they have to pass when merely being confronted with data on short-run changes.

Kieser's arguments especially the first one also highlights the relevance of historical analysis to studies of institutional logics, since institutional logics are indeed "culture-specific historical developments".

The second data collection method was semi-structured interviews. The topic of each interview facilitated the overall aims and objectives of the research and provided answers to research questions. In general, there are four situations in which semi-structured interviews are the preferable data collection method (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2016):

- 1) When you undertake research in which you need to understand participants' attitude and the meaning of this attitude. This is especially, when you adopt and interpretivist philosophy, as this research does.
- 2) When you have reasons to believe that participants will not reply to a questionnaire and you need to establish a personal contact which will allow

them to talk in detail about a topic that is relevant to their work. Indeed, professional football clubs, are suspicious to outsiders and due to tight time-schedules of their employees, reluctant to participate in research, especially when it is a PhD research and they do not know in detail if it is relevant to their work. The interview approach allowed me to establish personal contact with participants and showcase that the research results will be beneficial for their work also.

- 3) When there is a large number of questions to be answered, these questions are complex and open-ended, and the order and logic of questions need to be varied. Indeed, because the participants are from academies with diverse approaches to the “Elite Player Performance Plan” the questions were adjusted to each specific case.
- 4) When the complexity of issues means that the interview is the only mean for obtaining the necessary data. Institutional logics is a complicated concept difficult to be “captured” using other qualitative methods than the interview. Interviews allow participants to express their thoughts in detail, so to construct meaning alongside with the researcher.

The two methods facilitate different research aims, but at the same time were interrelated. The archival research describes the establishment and development of the organisational field of professional football academies, so it focuses mainly on the context of each case and the field level, while the interview method offers insights on how each football academy replies to logics and subsequently identifies the strategic significance of these logics and their elements so it focuses on the organisational level. The archival research though, informed the content of the interviews, in that questions for each case were developed by taking into consideration the context within which the academies operate.

3.7. Data analysis method

Yin (2003) proposes 3 analytic strategies for case studies, to rely on theoretical propositions, which is the preferred strategy, to look for rival explanations and to use a pattern-matching logic. This thesis employs both, reliance on the theoretical

proposition and a pattern matching logic. As it was discussed, the literature review resulted in a theoretical model, which at a later point guided the data collection and data analysis as Yin suggests (2003: 113). Regarding pattern-matching, predicted patterns were developed before data analysis, based on the literature review and the predicted patterns were compared with the emerged patterns of the data analysis. Both strategies contributed to theory development for which a key method is, within case analysis and detailed description of each case and a comparison of emergent concepts with the extant literature (Eisenhardt 1989).

The chosen method to identify emergent concepts was the thematic analysis. Thematic analysis tends to be employed in inductive and interpretivistic-style research, with the themes which emerge from the analysis assembled into a conceptual framework that contributes to the development of emergent theory (Stokes 2002). It focuses on identifying themes and interpreting textual data and is widely used in organisational and management studies. The generic styles of thematic analysis provide structure to the analysis and allow the researcher to adopt them to the needs of his research. The specific technique which was employed in this research is that of “thematic networks”. Before, proceeding to a step-by-step presentation of the technique, 3 approaches to theory development are presented, deductive, inductive and pattern matching, as well as, a distinguish is made among two different stages of the data analysis. Reay and Jones (2016), in their article about qualitatively capturing institutional logics, suggest 3 approaches: pattern deducing, pattern matching and pattern inducing. In this research, deduction, pattern matching, and induction are employed.

The first stage of thematic data analysis was about the development of the football academies organisational field. The main themes for this stage deduced from theory, more specifically, from the 7 interinstitutional orders of Thornton’s Ocasio’s and Lounsbury’s framework (2013). Subsequently, thematic analysis of secondary data reveals which field level logics alongside with their main building blocks were in play. From this perspective, both deductive and inductive

approaches are employed. This stage of analysis defined the context of the case studies. Morrow and Howieson (2018), also employ a combination of inductive and deductive approaches to thematic analysis, to capture experiences and perceptions of professional football managers and then analyse them by applying Bourdieu's concepts.

The second stage of the analysis focused on the organisation level and aimed at answering the research question. More specifically, each of the identified field level logics was related to an ideal type behaviour. Subsequently, from the thematic analysis of the transcribed interviews, as well as, of case-specific secondary documents, the actual behaviour of football academies was induced and compared to the ideal types. This approach allowed to identify the responses of each academy to field level logics and therefore to identify the constellation of logics of each specific case.

The adopted approach to thematic analysis is that of the thematic networks. Thematic networks approach systemizes the extraction of lowest-basic themes, categories of basic themes which together constitute more abstract organising themes and super-ordinate themes which summarise the interpretation of the whole text (Attride-Stirling 2001). As the Attride-Sterling (2001) defines them, basic themes are the lowest order themes of data, and they do not have the capacity to describe the text on their own. In order to make sense, they need to be clustered with other basic themes. Clusters of basic themes represent an organising theme which summarises the main assumptions of the cluster of basic themes. Finally, the global themes constitute an argument about the issue under investigation and summarise the interpretations of the text.

Figure 16 depicts the 6 steps of the technique. In general, this research followed the 6-steps approach.

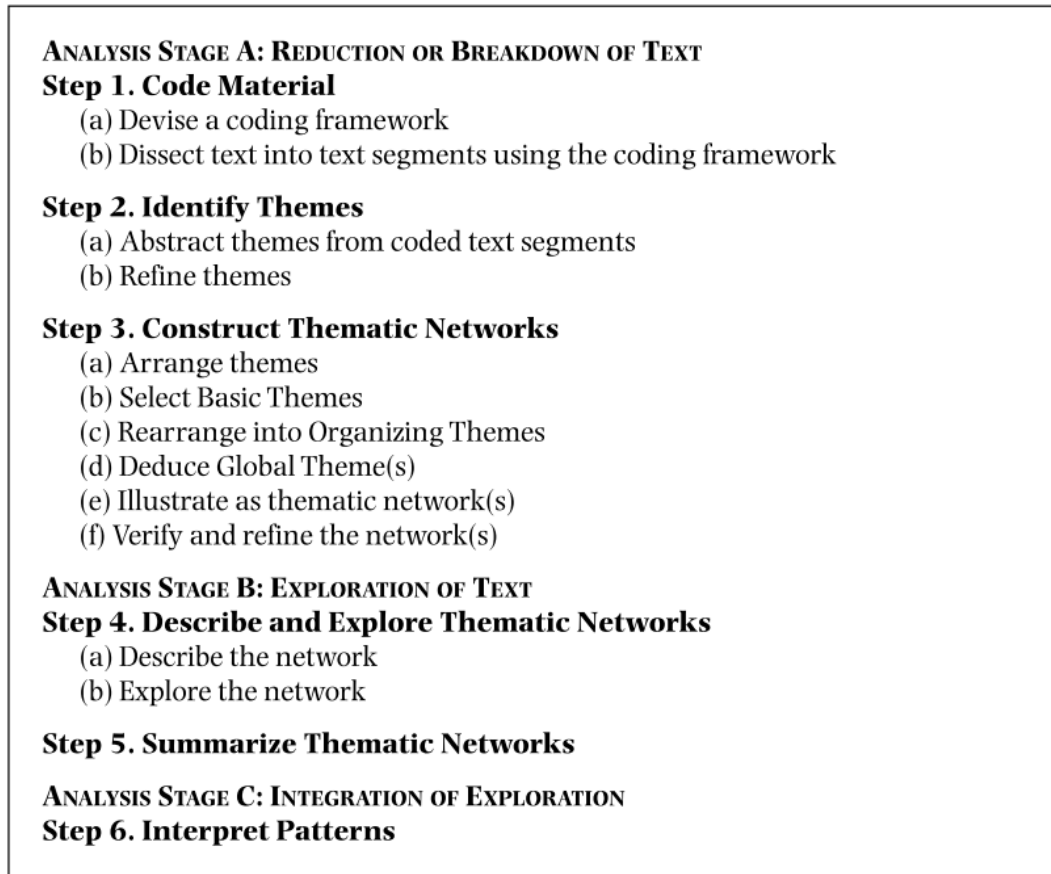


Figure 16. Steps of the thematic network analysis

(Attride-Sterling: 391)

While the thematic networks technique employed at both stages of the research, there were some differences in the order of the steps because of the different theory-development assumptions of the stages.

More specifically, on the first stage, the global themes, the 7 interinstitutional orders were already known, and so the thematic analysis went from the global themes to the organising and basic themes. On the other hand, for stage 2 the thematic analysis went from basic themes up to global themes. In more detail, the thematic analysis for each case study started by identifying logics of each specific case, then clustered the logics to a constellation of logics, (the organising theme) and finally from the organising theme identified which elements of logics contribute to competitive advantage (the global theme). The technique will be

discussed in more detail in the data analysis chapter. To summarise, the thesis adopts a case-study research strategy which allows for the investigation of a contemporary phenomenon, namely the strategic significance of institutional logics. It seeks to explore the combination of two distinct theories, institutional logics and resource based-view, and describe a possible relationship between institutional logics and competitive advantage. It does so, by collecting data, through archival research and semi-structured interviews, which allow for a longitudinal approach to the phenomenon and analyses these data by employing thematic analysis. It is a qualitative multi-method research, which interprets data based on the assumptions of the interpretivist philosophy that human beings create meanings of concepts, in this case, individuals within football academies create the meaning of institutional logics and also on the assumption of pragmatism philosophy, that concepts have value to the extent they support action, in this case, institutional logics have value to the academies to the extent they support strategy. Ontologically, assumes that there is no single reality, so multiple interpretations of institutional logics create multiple realities and epistemologically these realities are constructed through the interactions of social actors, so the meaning of institutional logics depends on the interactions of organisational actors. In the next chapter, the data collection process is presented.

3.8. Data corpus and data set

This section focuses on the data corpus and the data set. It provides details about the type of data and the number of documents that were analysed and explains the contribution of data to the 2 stages of the analysis. Data corpus refers to the whole data collected for research, while the dataset refers to the data from the corpus that were used in the analysis (Braun and Clarke 2008). For this research, data set was constituted of quotations from the data corpus, which contributed to answering the research question and to a deeper understanding of the field level, as well as, case-specific logics. For practical reasons, the data collection chapter mainly focused on the data corpus, since the data set is presented and discussed in the data analysis chapter.

The content of the data corpus was gathered based on the research question. As it was discussed, for stage 1 of the research data were collected through archival research. The aim of this stage was to describe the development of the field and identify the available field level logics. The reason for focusing on field level is that institutional logics have greater specificity at this level. Also, organisations, in this case, football academies, do not operate in a vacuum or independently of each other. They are members of an organisational field, with specific rules and regulations. This is why the data corpus of this stage included 13 official publications/reports regarding football academies. These publications set the rules and regulations of the operation of professional football academies.

The thematic analysis of the official documents revealed which logics of the seven main interinstitutional orders, inform the operation of football academies. The data corpus also includes a report regarding football academies around Europe, published by the European Clubs Association, and a Deloitte's report about English football, with a particular chapter regarding football academies. These publications from non-governing bodies of English football contributed to the more comprehensive understanding of the organisational field and the available logics. As in the case of individual football clubs, organisational fields do not operate in a vacuum, and while the governing bodies set the boundaries, organisational fields are open to influences from various sources. These reports highlighted these influences and revealed different perspectives, compared to those of the governing bodies.

3.8.1. Parliamentary reports

A rich source of information and essential part of the data corpus were two parliamentary reports regarding football governance. More specifically, the "Culture Media and Sport Committee" launched two inquiries into domestic football governance, one for the period 2010-2012 and the follow-up inquiry for the period 2012-2013. The issues of football academies and the "Elite Player Performance Plan", were part of the inquiries, which resulted in two parliamentary

reports. These reports are available online from the official website of the parliament including the oral and written evidence of the inquiries.

This evidence allows, otherwise impossible access to views expressed by executives of football governing bodies, as well as, professional football club executives. The reports reveal diverse perceptions held about football academies and the “Elite Player Performance Plan” and consequently the logics that were in play, within the boundaries of the football academies field. More specifically, the oral and written evidence of the first report included contradictory perceptions about the “Elite Player Performance Plan”. These contradictions were particularly clear between the so-called “big clubs” of the Premier League and the rest of the clubs and exposed the different institutional logics of the organisational field. The second inquiry coincided with the first two years of the “Elite Player Performance Plan” uncovered diverse perceptions and interpretations of the actual implantation of the plan and revealed how clubs responded to the requirements of the “Elite Player Performance Plan”. Table 4 summarises the key documents of the first stage of the analysis. It should be stressed though, that the author studied a much broader set of secondary data, in order to gain a broader perspective of the football academies field.

Key-documents included in the analysis	
1. Football Education for young footballers. A charter for quality	Howard Wilkinson
2. The Football development strategy 2001-2006	The FA
3. Meltdown report 2007	Professional Footballers Association
4. A Review of Young Player Development in Professional Football. Review of the Charter for quality	Richard Lewis 2007
5. Every Boys dream. Book	Chris Green 2009

6. Developing world class coaches and players	The FA 2008
7. The Whole Game Approach	The FA 2010
8. The Elite Player Performance Plan	Premier League 2011
9. Parliamentary report	HC 2011
10. Parliamentary report	HC 2013
11. The FA Chairman's England Commission Report 1.	The FA 2014
12. Government's reply to the parliamentary report	Department of Culture Media and Sports 2011
13. Annual Review of Football Finance 2015	Deloitte
14. Report in Youth Academies in Europe	ECA

Table 4. Key-documents

3.8.2. Data collection for stage 2 of data analysis

Stage 2 of data collection focused on specific case studies. Data for this stage came from direct semi-structured interviews, as well as, from online resources. In total, 24 interviews were conducted. Moreover, these interviews are supplemented with interviews of other football professionals, which have been published in reliable sources. The interviews provided insights on, how practitioners experience the "Elite Player Performance Plan", how it impacts their every-day work, and more importantly how clubs respond to its various requirements and are positioned in the field.

Potential participants were contacted through emails, in which the research was described and the issues that will be covered in the interview. Main issues discussed during the interviews included the below

Role of the academy

- ❖ Aims of the academy
- ❖ How does the academy serve broader aims?

Isomorphic environment

- ❖ Implications of the Elite Player Performance Plan
- ❖ Pressures applied by the EPPP on clubs

Academy management

- ❖ Changes to academy's operation because of the Elite Player Performance Plan
- ❖ Does that lead to improved academy performance?

Competitive advantage

- ❖ Is it possible to establish competitive advantage under the new rules?
- ❖ Is there space for differentiation?

Moreover, attached in the email there were the “Informed Consent Form” and “The Participant Information Sheet” both in line with “Coventry University” code of practice and approved by the relevant department.

All the interviews were conducted online through “Skype” and recorded via “Mp3 Skype Recorder” and lasted from 40 minutes to 1 hour and 30 minutes. “Skype” is a free software which allows for direct video and voice calls, while “Mp3 Skype Recorder” is a free application which records “skype” calls. In general, professional football clubs are suspicious to outsiders and reluctant to participate in PhD studies, while football professionals are on tight time schedules and therefore difficult to arrange a one-hour interview with an outsider. Furthermore, the geographical position of participants and the distance from Coventry, was a restrictive factor, in terms of time and expenditures, for the interviews to be conducted face-to-face. In that context, “Skype” interviews were considered the most suitable and feasible option. All the interviews were conducted and subsequently transcribed by the author. The content of the interviews though was discussed with the supervisor of this thesis. Table 5 below summarises the first-hand interviews and table 6 the interviews obtained from secondary resources.

First-hand Interviews		
Interview number	Interviewee	Date of interview
1.	Author who has published extensive research on English football academies	28/02/2016
2.	Wigan Athletic FC- Academy manager	03/11/2016
3.	Brentford FC- Past Head of Football & Business Operations	07/11/2016

4.	Coventry City FC Academy manager at the time of interview	02/12/2016
5.	Walsall FC-Academy manager	28/02/2017
6.	Birmingham City FC- Assistant academy manager	17/03/2017
7.	Everton FC- Academy director at the time of the interview	07/04/2017
8.	Senior consultant and manager of the auditing organisation	20/04/2017
9.	Parent of Walsall academy player	05/03/2019
10.	Wigan FC academy player in the past	13/04/2019
11.	Parent of Birmingham City FC academy player	25/4/2019
12.	Brentford B team player in the past	17/5/2019
13.	Supporter and Parent of Coventry academy player	26/06/2019
14.	Everton FC- academy director in the past. Independent Football Consultant	27/06/2019
15.	Business and Data analyst. Senior auditor of EPPP academies. Directly involved in the	28/06/2019

	auditing process of all the academies of the sample	
16.	Past Academy secretary Brentford FC	01/07/2019
17.	Academic. Coventry FC Academy player in the past. Auditor of EPPP academies	01/07/2019
18.	Academic/Professional Soccer analyst	09/07/2019
19.	Supporter of Everton and parent of Everton's academy player	14/7/2019
20.	Full-time consultant upon EPPP Independent Standards for the Premier League. Assessor of EPPP academies in the past, involved with some of the academies of the sample	23/07/2019
21.	Academic/research on European football academies. Technical Football Analyst	20/08/2019
22.	Head of Education and Performance Manchester City academy, in the past	23/10/2019
23.	Academy director for Premier League club. Youth Development	01/11/2019

	Manager for the Premier League in the past	
24.	Parent of academy player. Director of free support service for players, parents, clubs, staff	06/11/2019

Table 5. First-hand Interviews

Secondary Interviews	
Name	Position
1. Dave Parnaby	Every boys dream
2. Malcolm Clarke	President of Football Supporters Association/Member of the FA Board- Parliamentary report 2013
3. Richard Scudamore	CEO Premier League. Parliamentary report 2013 and the Guardian 2016
4. David Gill	Then CEO Man United. Parliamentary report 2011
5. Julian Tagg	Vice Chairman Exeter. Parliamentary report 2011. BBC 2013
6. Simon Jordan	Chairman Crystal Palace. Guardian 2011
7. Shaun Harvey	Former CEO Leeds United.
8. Paul Fletcher	Burnley CEO. BBC 2011b
9. Barry Fry	Director of Peterborough. BBC 2011c
10. Steven Parish	Chairman of Crystal Palace. Telegraph 2011
11. Alex Horne	General Secretary of the FA. Parliamentary report 2011

12. Greg Clarke	Then chairman of the EFL and then Chairman of the FA. Parliamentary report 2011
13. William Gaillard	Adviser to the president at UEFA. Parliamentary report 2011
14. Alex Ferguson	Manchester United ex coach. BBC 2012
15. Ose Aibangee	Director of Youth Development, Brentford FC
16. Robert Rowan	Head of Football Operations, Brentford FC
17. Alan Irvine	Academy Manager, Everton FC
18. Sean Lundon	Head of Academy Coaching Everton FC
19. Joel Waldron	Academy manager Everton FC
20. Kristjaan Speakman. 2 interviews, 1 on youtube and 1 published	Academy manager youtube Birmingham City FC
21. Academy coach	Birmingham City FC
22. Academy coach	Birmingham City FC
23. Graham Biggs	Academy manager Walsall FC
24. Rasmus Andersen	Director of Football Brentford FC

Table 6. Interviews obtained from secondary resources.

3.8.3. Triangulation

As it was discussed in the methodology section, this is a multi-method qualitative study, which combines elements of two philosophies, interpretivism and pragmatism. The multi-method approach alongside with the combination of two philosophies allowed for the triangulation of data. Triangulation of data is the observation of research issue from at least 2 perspectives. Regarding qualitative research is less seen as a validation strategy and more as a strategy to capture various dimensions of a phenomenon and add breadth and depth to the research (Flick, 2004; Saunders Lewis and Thronhill 2016). Flick (2004) proposed various

forms of triangulation and three of them are relevant to this research, namely, triangulation of data, between theories triangulation and perspectives triangulation which is the result of the combination of data and between theories triangulation.

Data triangulation refers to the combination of data from different sources and at different times, in different places (Flick, 2004). Indeed, the thesis combines secondary data obtained through archival research, with first-hand data from the interviews. In this way, the perspectives about the available logics of the field, triangulated with the perspectives of football professionals regarding which of the available logics they enable in the operation of the academy and what is the significance of elements of logics for competitive advantage. Between method triangulation practically means a combination of different data collection methods which results in capturing different aspects of the research issue. In the thesis between methods triangulation took place during both at the first and second stage of data collection. The archival research which contributed to a deeper understanding about the historical evolution of the professional football academies field, and highlighted how various social actors, from governing bodies to individuals influenced its development, triangulated with the interviews. In this manner, different aspects of the same issue were revealed and facilitated a broader understanding of the field and the power balance between social actors.

Finally, the systematic triangulation of perspectives refers to the triangulation of different research perspectives which are combined to complement their points and limitations (Flick, 2004). Actually, the triangulation of perspectives encompasses all the other types of triangulation. It builds on the assumption that different type of data and different methods of data collection have different ontological and epistemological assumptions. In this thesis, triangulation of perspectives was achieved through the combination of elements of interpretivism and pragmatism philosophies. By employing an interpretivistic approach, institutional logics were identified through the interpretation of oral and written

data. In this sense, logics interpreted as intangible and abstract concepts. This “constructed” knowledge though, was triangulated with a pragmatist approach, which allowed the interpretation of logics as resources that inform the practices of people pursuing their project.

As it was previously mentioned, the aim of the various forms of triangulation was not to validate the interpretation of the data, but to offer a richer and deeper understanding of the phenomenon, by offering various perspectives. The next chapter presents the 2 stages of the data analysis.

Chapter 4. First stage of the data analysis. Setting the institutional context

As it was discussed in the methodology and data collection chapters, the data analysis method is thematic analysis and more specifically what Attride-Stirling (2001) defined as “thematic network analysis”, which is divided into two stages. The first stage of the thematic analysis is devoted to identifying the logics of the professional football academies field and defining their main elements. In particular, by employing thematic analysis in documents, covering the time period from the establishment of professional football academies to the implementation of the “Elite Player Performance Plan”, the thesis evaluates which of the 7 main interinstitutional logics (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012) were reflected in the organisational field of football academies. The approach is similar to the approach employed by Goodrick and Reay (2011) and Waldorff, Reay and Goodrick (2013) in studies with similar aims. This stage follows the historical order of the evolution of the field, from the establishment of professional football academies to the implementation of the “Elite Player Performance Plan”. This approach contributed to a deeper understanding of how new logics were introduced to the field, how “older” logics lost their intensity and eventually resulted in the “Elite Player Performance Plan”. This longitudinal approach allowed for a thick description of the research context within which football academies operate and at the same time informed the analysis of the second stage. Since the focus of this research is the football academies field in the Elite Player Performance Plan period, the description of the field before this period has a linear narrative form, which concludes with a thick description of the field alongside its institutional logics of the current period.

4.1. The evolution of the organisational field

Before proceeding to the analysis, it should be clarified that quotes from conducted interviews are referenced with a distinct number at the end of the quote. For example, “interview 1. Table 7 provides details about the interviewees, date of interview.

First-hand Interviews		
Interview number	Interviewee	Date of interview
1.	Author who has published extensive research on English football academies	28/02/2016
2.	Wigan Athletic FC- Academy manager	03/11/2016
3.	Brentford FC- Past Head of Football & Business Operations	07/11/2016
4.	Coventry City FC Academy manager at the time of interview	02/12/2016
5.	Walsall FC-Academy manager	28/02/2017
6.	Birmingham City FC- Assistant academy manager	17/03/2017
7.	Everton FC- Academy director at the time of the interview	07/04/2017
8.	Senior consultant and manager of the auditing organisation	20/04/2017
9.	Parent of Walsall academy player	05/03/2019
10.	Wigan FC academy player in the past	13/04/2019

11.	Parent of Birmingham City FC academy player	25/4/2019
12.	Brentford B team player in the past	17/5/2019
13.	Supporter and Parent of Coventry academy player	26/06/2019
14.	Everton FC- academy director in the past. Independent Football Consultant	27/06/2019
15.	Business and Data analyst. Senior auditor of EPPP academies. Directly involved in the auditing process of all the academies of the sample	28/06/2019
16.	Past Academy secretary Brentford FC	01/07/2019
17.	Academic. Coventry FC Academy player in the past. Auditor of EPPP academies	01/07/2019
18.	Academic/Professional Soccer analyst	09/07/2019
19.	Supporter of Everton and parent of Everton's academy player	14/7/2019

20.	Full-time consultant upon EPPP Independent Standards for the Premier League. Assessor of EPPP academies in the past, involved with some of the academies of the sample	23/07/2019
21.	Academic/research on European football academies. Technical Football Analyst	20/08/2019
22.	Head of Education and Performance Manchester City academy, in the past	23/10/2019
23.	Academy director for Premier League club. Youth Development Manager for the Premier League in the past	01/11/2019
24.	Parent of academy player. Director of free support service for players, parents, clubs, staff	06/11/2019

Table 7. List of interviews

The description of the evolution of the football academies is divided into 4 periods. The division is subjective and facilitated a smooth and fluent description of the

field; it does not imply that there is a formal division of English football in periods. The 4 periods are the following:

- 1) The period of introduction of club-based professional football academies with the “Charter for Quality”, that is from 1997 to 2001 (Wilkinson 1997)
- 2) The first years of the operation of club-based academies and the Football Association’s strategy from 2001 to 2006
- 3) The period after the first official review of the “Charter for Quality” in 2007 (Lewis 2007)
- 4) The period from 2010 until the current date which covers the years of the development of the “Elite Player Performance Plan” and its implementation after 2012

For each period, key documents and reports regarding the development of English football in general and football academies in particular were analysed. The thematic analysis of these key documents reveals the themes of each period. As it was discussed in the methodology chapter, the analysis adopted Attride’s terminology of thematic network analysis (Attride-Stirling 2001). Thematic analysis documents of each period resulted in a list of identified themes, while the stage 1 analysis concluded with a chart of the global themes. The global themes of stage 1, meaning the main institutional logics, came from Thornton’s, Ocasio’s and Lounsbury’s (2012) depiction of the interinstitutional system as constituted of seven main logics, each one with specific characteristics. Therefore, the documents were read in order to identify codes and themes which were interpreted as relevant to the seven institutional logics. Stage 1 of the data analysis also concludes with a depiction of the institutional logics of the field, alongside with their main characteristics. As it was already discussed the

thematic analysis of each period, followed the suggestions of Attride-Sterling (2001) about “thematic network analysis”.

<p>ANALYSIS STAGE A: REDUCTION OR BREAKDOWN OF TEXT</p> <p>Step 1. Code Material</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">(a) Devise a coding framework(b) Dissect text into text segments using the coding framework <p>Step 2. Identify Themes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">(a) Abstract themes from coded text segments(b) Refine themes <p>Step 3. Construct Thematic Networks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">(a) Arrange themes(b) Select Basic Themes(c) Rearrange into Organizing Themes(d) Deduce Global Theme(s)(e) Illustrate as thematic network(s)(f) Verify and refine the network(s) <p>ANALYSIS STAGE B: EXPLORATION OF TEXT</p> <p>Step 4. Describe and Explore Thematic Networks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">(a) Describe the network(b) Explore the network <p>Step 5. Summarize Thematic Networks</p> <p>ANALYSIS STAGE C: INTEGRATION OF EXPLORATION</p> <p>Step 6. Interpret Patterns</p>
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Table 8. Thematic Network Analysis

(Attride-Sterling, 2001)

Codes for each document were developed based on the suggestions of the institutional theory. More specifically, quotes from texts of all 4 periods were related to various institutional logics (step 1). From these codes the basic themes were abstracted (step 2). The abstracted themes constituted the basic themes of the analysis, which in turn combined in the more abstract categories of organising themes, and finally organising themes with common meanings constituted the global theme, which in this case was one of the seven institutional logics (step 3). The description and exploration (steps 4 to 5) of the thematic networks resulted in a chart of institutional logics and their characteristics, similar to Thornton

Ocasio and Lounsbury's (2012). This table is the depiction of the institutional context within which football academies operate and therefore informed the second stage of the data analysis. However, as it will be discussed in the analysis the state logic of the framework, has been replaced by the National side logic

Y-Axis:	X-Axis: Institutional Orders						
Categories	Family 1	Community 2	Religion 3	State 4	Market 5	Profession 6	Corporation 7
Root Metaphor 1	Family as firm	Common boundary	Temple as bank	State as redistribution mechanism	Transaction	Profession as relational network	Corporation as hierarchy
Sources of Legitimacy 2	Unconditional loyalty	Unity of will Belief in trust & reciprocity	Importance of faith & sacredness in economy & society	Democratic participation	Share price	Personal expertise	Market position of firm
Sources of Authority 3	Patriarchal domination	Commitment to community values & ideology	Priesthood charisma	Bureaucratic domination	Shareholder activism	Professional association	Board of directors Top management
Sources of Identity 4	Family reputation	Emotional connection Ego-satisfaction & reputation	Association with deities	Social & economic class	Faceless	Association with quality of craft Personal reputation	Bureaucratic roles
Basis of Norms 5	Membership in household	Group membership	Membership in congregation	Citizenship in nation	Self-interest	Membership in guild & association	Employment in firm
Basis of Attention 6	Status in household	Personal investment in group	Relation to supernatural	Status of interest group	Status in market	Status in profession	Status in hierarchy
Basis of Strategy 7	Increase family honor	Increase status & honor of members & practices	Increase religious symbolism of natural events	Increase community good	Increase efficiency profit	Increase personal reputation	Increase size & diversification of firm
Informal Control Mechanisms 8	Family politics	Visibility of actions	Worship of calling	Backroom politics	Industry analysts	Celebrity professionals	Organization culture
Economic System 9	Family capitalism	Cooperative capitalism	Occidental capitalism	Welfare capitalism	Market capitalism	Personal capitalism	Managerial capitalism

Table 9. *Interinstitutional system ideal types*

(Thornton Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012: 73).

The interpretation of the networks (step 6) informed the conclusion and discussion chapters.

4.1.1. From Football Association's National School of Excellence to club-based academies

Academy

- 1) An organisation intended to protect and develop an art, science, language, etc., or a school that teaches a particular subject or trains people for a particular job
- 2) The part of a football club that trains young players who might one day become part of the first team

- 3) A school in the UK that is not controlled by the local authority and receives its money directly from the central government (Cambridge Dictionary n.d.)

The above are the definitions of “Academy” according to the Cambridge online dictionary. However, the term academy was not always associated with football as the second definition implies. It was first initiated in 1996 by Cirencester Town FC (Cirencester Town F.C. n.d.), while the English Football Association officially introduced it to the football lexicon in 1997. Eventually, football academies became a core part of English football clubs.

Before that, youth development responsibility was lying mainly with schools and the Football Association. Professional clubs were allowed to train young player from 14 years old and only for a few hours every week. In 1984 the FA ran what can be considered the first professional football academy in England, but during that period was named the “Football Association National School”. The school, based in Lilleshall, Shropshire, England, remained open until 1999 and in its 15 years of operation, 220 talented English boys, aged from 14 to 16 were trained and attended classes in its facilities. The then England Manager Bobby Robson and the FA’s technical director Charles Hughes were responsible for setting up “Lilleshall” with the aim of giving the opportunity to the best young footballers around the country to develop in the ideal environment with the best coaches for a maximum amount of time (FourFourTwo 2017). The Football Association was organising a number of local, regional, and national trial to identify the best 14-years old footballers of the country and bring them to “Lilleshall”. Ultimately, the aim of “Lilleshall” was to develop a strong English National side to compete at international level. However, high running costs, as well as pressures from the professional clubs, led to the decision of stopping its operation in 1999.

The decisive moment, though, regarding youth development in England had come two years earlier, in 1997. Even though the analysis of the institutional logics of the field of the “Lilleshall” period is not within the scope of this research, the facts that the school was financed by the Football Association and that the

aim was a strong national side highlight that there was a strong “National side” institutional logic, and was informing the operation of the “Football Association National School”. The publication of the Charter for Quality” in 1997 though, and the subsequent implementation of its suggestions set the boundaries of a new organisational field regarding football academies and introduced new institutional logics.

4.2. “Football Education for Young Footballers. A charter for Quality” and the Introduction of club-based academies

In 1997 Howard Wilkinson was appointed technical director of the Football Association. One of his first decisions was to close the “Football Association National School”. The reasons for this decision can be found in a document written by himself, titled “Football Education for Young Footballers. “A Charter for Quality”. For the first time in English football history, “Charter for Quality” officially introduced the term academy into the football lexicon and defined the organisational field of youth development in England. It was the first official publication which analysed in detail a plan for a new youth development system (Wilkinson 1997). The aim of the research is not to focus on the technical aspects of the document, but to examine and analyse the emergence and development of the organisational field of professional football academies, from the day the term was introduced in English football to the present day that the professional football academy’s field is regulated by a highly prescriptive plan called the “Elite Player Performance Plan” and identify the significance of logics and elements of logics for competitive parity, competitive advantage and positioning

Before proceeding, in order to understand the organisational environment in which the “Charter” was written, it is crucial to highlight that the Premier League had already been established 4 years before, and clubs were seeking more power in decision making as well as more profits. The same was the case with youth development. Professional football clubs were asking for more power in decision making, more time to train young players and easier access to young players. The FA with the “Charter for Quality” created a new field, the professional

academies field and practically gave to professional football clubs what they were asking. The dominant position in the new era of youth development was assigned to professional clubs, which according to the “Charter” were encouraged to operate the newly introduced academies:

The purpose of the FA programme of excellence is to identify players of outstanding ability and place them in a technical and educational programme designed to produce football excellence in conjunction with personal development. The programme incorporates the following activities, “Centres of Excellence” and ‘Football Academies” and all FA Premier League clubs are encouraged to operate a football academy (Wilkinson 1997).

4.2.1. Club-based academies

The reasons for this suggestion are stated in the introductory section of the document, where Howard Wilkinson states that football clubs want improved access to young players and increased time to coach young talented player. As explained in the charter, English clubs desired the same access to young players as their foreign counterparts. The phrase of the “Charter” that accurately highlights the change in the power balance in the youth development field and showcases the new dominant position of the clubs is the following, “Clubs would desire the same sort of access that the Football Association currently has for the boys attending the F.A. National School.” The FA willingly resigned from its responsibility of youth development and recognised professional football clubs as the appropriate organisations for the task in charge. Howard Wilkinson justified the change by commenting that because of the fragmented match programme and the priority that schools have on gifted players, clubs did not have the necessary time for player development and concluded that in order to maximise the potential of the best players it is reasonable to allow more access to clubs (Wilkinson 1997).

“Charter for Quality”, set a number for criteria to operate a football academy, or, the centre of excellence, and assigned the task of academy inspection to the FA. However, the Premier League and the Football League were authorised to award the licences to the clubs. One of the most interesting and revealing parts of the “Charter” regarding the state of English football and consequently youth development, was its postscript, where it mentions among others:

The Football Association International Committee meeting on 5 June 1950, wished to address these issues and recommended (Minute 68) that a Technical Committee be formed. The full minute is enclosed overleaf.

The aims of the Minute were admirable, but almost 50 years on, the issues raised in 1950 have not sufficiently been addressed.

The challenge for the Charter for Quality is to address the issues so that in 50 years’ time it will patently clear that a definite “sea change” was initiated in 1997. (Wilkinson, 1997).

In clarity, the “Charter” recognised that English football could identify issues regarding football academies but for various reasons the implementation of the suggested changes was always problematic. This observation revealed one of the key characteristics of the field, which is the resistance to change. On the other hand, recommendations of the “Charter for Quality” have been adopted and implemented. From this perspective, the choice of the document of the “Charter for quality” as the key document, which has defined the era of club-based academies and set the boundaries of the organisational field is justified.

Indeed, Howie and Allison (2015), both in high managerial positions in the FA, in their article about the importance of the “Charter for quality” and the changes it brought to English football, commented that its most eye-catching recommendation was the club-based academies and in general it signified FA’s intention to provide strong leadership and substantial investment in grassroots football. The thematic analysis of the “Charter for quality document” identified

themes which have influenced the evolution of the football academies field, from its publication date to the “Elite Player Performance Plan” era.

4.2.2. “Charter for quality” identified codes and themes

The identified codes and themes of the “charter for quality” are depicted in Table 10. The first column of the chart shows the identified codes. The institutional logics theory and the seven interinstitutional orders of Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) guided the coding process. Codes identified on the basis that signify relation to one of the seven logics. The second column of the chart includes indicative quotes from the text, which highlight critical details of the code. Finally, the third column consists of the identified themes. The process from codes to themes involved the grouping of similar codes, and subsequently their interpretation to main themes.

Codes	Raised Issues	Themes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual Player • Education • Welfare • Salary • Development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Player as the central figure ✓ Provisions for personal development education and welfare ✓ Salary for academy players over 16 years old 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Players as individual personalities with individual needs 2. Individualistic interests 3. Football as a profession, not a game
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved quality of services • Improved access to players • Increased training time • Best training facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Need to improve quality of academies ✓ Clubs desire improved access and more time with players ✓ Clubs should offer the best coaches and facilities to players 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Organisational changes 5. Organisational improvements

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Control • Monitor • Quality control • Quality control mechanism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Role of the FA to monitor academies ✓ Develop effective quality control 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Formal control 7. Official monitoring mechanism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review • Audit • Quality audit 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ FA will evaluate academies on objective criteria ✓ Academies will be reviewed annually 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 8. Structured auditing process 9. Hierarchy
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Criteria • Regulations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Football Association to set specific criteria for operation of academies ✓ Football Association to ensure that clubs fulfil the requirements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10. Formal criteria for operation 11. Regulated operation of academies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Registrations • Application forms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Players need to be officially registered 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12. Formal process

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Results of the auditing process to be officially reported ✓ Clubs to officially apply for academy licence 	13. Bureaucratic organisation of the academy system
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structured match programme • Programmed training • Fragmentation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Fragmented match programme impedes player development ✓ Match programme to be provided by academies ✓ Establishment of football calendar with programmed training sessions 	<p>14. Organisation of academies in corporate/ professional standards</p> <p>15. Predefined targets regarding “working-hours” of academy players and staff</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Best coaches • Coaching Association • Qualification of adults • Qualified staff • Term academy • Research unit • Sports Science 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Establishment of coaches’ association ✓ Specification of staff qualification and requirement of continuing professional development plans ✓ Qualified training staff ✓ Establishment of specific training courses for various academy positions ✓ Term football academy to be used only by member clubs of the FA ✓ Establishment of research unit to investigate key issues of football academies ✓ Coaches and players to take advantage knowledge gained in the field of sports science 	<p>16. Professionalization</p> <p>17. Development of football academies specific knowledge base</p> <p>18. Controlled access to knowledge</p> <p>19. Formalization of the term “academy.”</p> <p>20. Development of knowledge</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents • Parental involvement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Parents should be involved in the make-up of the match programme ✓ Parental choice is the appropriate principle to decide about how to limit the number of games 	21. Role of family in operation of football academies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict • County/School football matches • Time rule 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ It is hoped there will be no conflict between the Schools' football and centres' football ✓ Representatives of county football association will be advised ✓ County football association played a role in the development of initiatives 	22. Recognition of the conflict of interest between schools and academies 23. Recognition of the importance of local communities

Table 10. Thematic analysis of the Charter for Quality period

4.3. The period after the Charter for Quality

In 2001 the FA published a document title, “The Football Development Strategy 2001-2006”, aiming to provide the strategic framework for football development in the next five-year period (The FA 2001). The document was the result of extensive consultation with all key stakeholders. Grassroots football was among its focus-areas. Even though grassroots football and professional football academies are different areas of the game, they are closely related and mutually dependent as it is shown in Figure 17 below.

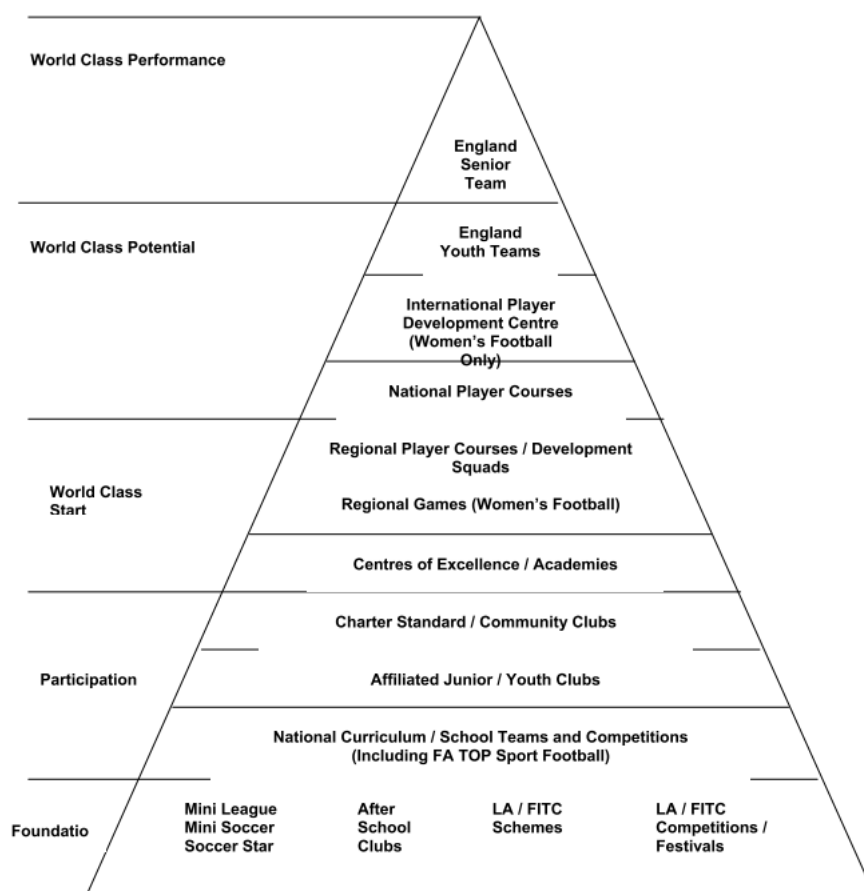


Figure 17. The FA's football pyramid

(The FA, 2001:6)

Grassroots football constitutes the main pool of players for the professional game, while professional game develops players for the National side and also attracts new young players. Therefore, the policy articulated in the document had implications for the professional football academies.

According to the document, FA's mission was to increase participation, quality and enjoyment of football by developing the best football club structures in the world, providing high-quality coaching and development opportunities for all. The document declared a player-centred approach, the same approach as the one described in the "Charter". Furthermore, recognised a lack of high-quality facilities and the need for increased investment, as well as, the lack of qualified coaches and the need to develop coach education courses and suggested the conduct of research about the best practice in the world in this area. However, since the FA assigned the power of decision-making regarding youth development to professional football clubs, any suggested change or improvement had to have the support of the professional game in order to be implemented.

The "Football Development Strategy 2001-2006" document was indirectly related to professional club-based football academies since responsibility for licensing and organising football academies was lying with the "Premier League" and the "Football League". The "Football Association" though, which published the document, is one of the primary stakeholders of English football from grassroots to the professional level. Therefore, its policy, strategy, and planning reflect institutional logics which influence all levels of English football. The fact that the English senior team is on the top of the pyramid and academies and centres of excellence one level below, does not imply that the ultimate aim of the FA is to develop a strong England senior team. It indicates though that academies and centres of excellence are influenced by and facilitate the aims of a "National Side" logic in relevance to the production of players for the National side. Football academies and centres of excellence are conceived as just one of the necessary levels which contribute to a solid top of the pyramid.

This interpretation of football academies and centres of excellence, as building blocks in the middle of the football pyramid though, preconditions that professional football clubs share the same approach regarding aims and role

of their academies as the Football Association. This approach means that professional football clubs, invest, organise and manage their academies aiming among others at contributing to a strong national side, irrespective of whether this aim coincides with their respective aims regarding the academy. In this regard, the document offers an insight into the multiplicity of institutional logics of the professional football academies field. Therefore, thematic analysis (Table 11) offered fruitful insights regarding the institutional logics of the professional football academies field. The importance of these themes is that they reveal an alternative perspective to football development compared to that of the professional clubs. Table 11 presents the themes of the period after the changes that the Charter for Quality” initiated.

Codes	Issues raised	Themes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National game • Best club structure in the world • Strategic framework for development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Football development for all, not just elite level ✓ Football Association investment to grassroots football ✓ Top of the pyramid is the national side 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Professional football academies just a level of the pyramid 2. Participation for all 3. Strong National side
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High-quality coaching • Coach education programme 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Excellent football provision through the highest standards in training ✓ Comprehensive coach education programme and qualifications 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Knowledge development 5. The state through the Football Association establishes qualifications
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The player is the central focus 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Player-centred approach 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. The state through football association ensures that everyone has the right to participate

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> England Senior team All key stakeholders work together for developing a strategy The Football Association asks for collaboration with key stakeholders Professional clubs should work with community clubs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Top of the development pyramid is the National side ✓ The FA has undergone extensive consultation with all key stakeholders ✓ Unity among stakeholders is needed to achieve objectives of the strategy ✓ Professional clubs will link with community clubs and provide clear pathways between participation and excellence 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Academies as a means to build a strong national side The FA has the responsibility to bring together, stakeholders The FA's strategy success depends on the unity among stakeholders Professional clubs have the key role in providing competitive football

Table 11. Thematic analysis of the period after the Charter for Quality

It is clear that in the FA's perspective professional football clubs and their academies have a crucial role in football development. Their role is to offer a pathway from mass participation football to elite football and consequently to contribute to a strong national side. In this regard, the FA aims to establish well-organised academies. The reasons though for demanding such academies may not be the same as the reasons which professional clubs have for organising their academies. These issues will be raised in detail in the discussion section.

It is revealing though, regarding the state of English academies, that the same issues, with almost the same wording, that were raised in the "Strategy 2001-2006" document were also raised in the "Charter for Quality" 3 years before. However, 3 years after the initiation of football academies and despite the ability of the stakeholders of the game to spot and raise issues, identify best practices

in the world and offer suggestions, English academy system was not delivering the desired results. A situation described in a review published in 2007, by the Professional Footballers' Association, titled "Meltdown".

4.4. Meltdown

Meltdown report was written and published by Professional Footballers Association in December 2007 and after England's failure to qualify for the UEFA 2008 European Football Championship. For this research, thematic analysis was not employed in the original document of the report but in an article written by Gordon Taylor, who was the Chief Executive of the Professional Footballers Association when the report was written and has this position to date. The article was presented at a conference hosted by Birkbeck Sport Business Centre in May 2008. As it is stated in its introduction "This article was first published as the "Meltdown Report" by the Professional Footballers" Association in December 2007 and is reprinted with the kind permission of the PFA. This article does not include all the figures used in the original report" (Taylor 2009: 51). In this regard, thematic analysis of the article is a thematic analysis of the "Meltdown" report, so in the rest of the section, reference is made to the "Meltdown" report.

The report highlighted the decline of English players in the Premier League and connected this decline with the poor performance of the English National side: "We have never had so few English players in the top level of our game as we have had in the past five years. Yet we expect this shrinking pool of players to produce world-beating teams constantly and are shocked when it fails to do so" (Taylor 2009: 52).

For the Professional Footballers Association, professional football clubs should not only organise their academies but also provide opportunities to English academy players for playing in the Premier League, in order to create a bigger pool of players, eligible to play for the National Side. From this perspective, there is a clear connection among the professional football clubs and their private investments in academies with the success of the national side. In other

words, professional football clubs should invest in their academies not only for gaining a return on this investment but also for contributing to a strong English national side. As it is mentioned in the document

“Producing a smaller number of English players was inevitably going to produce a smaller number of players who were good enough for the national side” (Taylor 2009: 59).

The main points of the report were that Premier League clubs should provide a clear pathway from the academy to the first team and offer more opportunities to young English academy players to play at the highest level.

“Most worrying of all, the number of overseas players making Premier League debuts every season is running at three times that of English players coming into the game through the Academy system... This means an average of 13 English players have gone from the Academies into the Premier League every season since the Academy system began. In the same period, 617 overseas players have made debuts in the Premier League” (Taylor 2009).

The point of giving more playing opportunities to English academy players was supported by the indicative, regarding the approach to professional football academies, argument that talented English academy players have a fundamental right to play in the Premier League:

“Most of the British and Irish lads who are coming through the system are effectively already lost... many of the generation behind them will be lost if the flow of foreign boys into Academies keeps increasing, as every indication says it will. The fundamental right of home-grown boys to rise as far as their talent will take them is being denied. That cuts against the most basic concept of fairness, and we should be ashamed that things have reached this stage. This is not sport” (Taylor 2009: 68).

4.4.1 Football academies and English players

This argument of the Professional Footballers Association was revealing of a distinct approach to the organisational field of professional football academies. According to the “Meltdown” report, talented English academy players should play in the Premier League not only because they are talented, but also because they are English, and they have the right to play in the top football competition of their country. Despite the fact football clubs are private companies which make an investment in the development of their human resources, that is an investment in the academy, the Professional Footballers Association was suggesting that this investment should be made to create a strong national side. In the report, there was the explicit recognition that “market” is the dominant logic of the field and investment in academies should be evaluated based on the returns it has for the clubs.

“The second question begged by the high expenditure on youth development is that of the outcome. Having spent so much on developing young players, is it acceptable that most of the fruits of this expenditure have their path to the Premier League blocked by their clubs repeatedly buying older, ready-made players? Any good business invests in research and development. However, our business has researched and developed young players and then blocked their way to the top. Would we expect an IT company to spend a small fortune on researching and developing computers, but then spend the bulk of its income on importing computers from abroad?... However, the behaviour we would find absurd in the rest of the world has become common practice in football.” (Taylor 2009: 65).

4.4.2. Multiplicity of logics and cooperation of stakeholders

The above quotes are a clear indication that multiple logics are in play within the field and football academies have the agency to choose logics and specific elements of logics. More specifically, the report recognised that the professional football clubs operate in a free market environment and should organise their

strategies based on the “rules” of the market, but on the other hand, it suggested that these strategies should also contribute to the national’s good.

However, the report advocated that the market forces within the professional football academies field should not be left unregulated:

“The combination of the Bosman ruling and a huge TV income have brought enormous benefits to the top end of our game. But as this free-market revolution speeds up, we should stop and think about where it is taking us next...This is the free market gone absolutely mad” (Taylor 2009:68).

From this perspective, the report was asking for a regulated professional football academies field, which will be contributing to the fulfilment of all stakeholders’ aims. In this regard, the report was in line with the recommendations of the “Charter for Quality” and was asking all the main stakeholders to co-operate:

“The Charter addressed many issues, but above all, it addressed our failure to develop a stream of elite players for the national side. In practice, its recommendations dealt with the long-standing tension between club and country that has undermined our chances of succeeding at both levels.” (Taylor 2009).

The report recognised, that the primary stakeholders of the game may have the same aim, a successful academy system, but a successful academy for the clubs is not the same as a successful academy for the Football Association. Clubs want the academy to produce players for the first team, regardless of their nationality or eligibility to play for the national side, while the FA aims at an academy system which serves the need of a successful national side. Therefore, the report concluded that there is a need for a national approach to youth development:

“There are many more examples of hopeful initiatives here, imaginative projects there. But few will have the impact they deserve if these strands are not pulled together into a national approach” (Taylor 2009: 70).

4.4.3. Summary of the period

In the report, Premier League and Football League academies are conceptualised as a means of national policy implementation. However, professional football academies have their own aims and objectives and since these aims may not be common with those of the FA, a national strategy is problematic. Moreover, there are differences among the aims of Premier League and Football League academies. The lack of a unified approach to youth development between the FA, Premier League and Football League was obvious and had consequences on the implementation of the policies described in FA’s official publications. 10 years after “Charter” was published, the same issues were still present and this is why the Football Association, the Premier League and the Football League commissioned Richard Lewis, the executive chairman of Rugby Football League, to undertake a review of young player development in professional football. Richard Lewis had no football backgrounded so he was considered ideal to bridge the differences among the 3 main stakeholders. The review resulted in the publication of a report titled “A Review of Young Player Development in Professional Football” in June 2007.

The “Meltdown” report was published in the same year as the “Review”. Both documents focused on the same issues of youth development, but from a different perspective. The thematic analysis of the “Meltdown” report revealed the professional footballers’ perceptions regarding football academies, as those were officially expressed through their association, and enriched the analysis of the field by providing players’ perceptions of professional football academies and their role in regard to player development and national strategy.

On the other hand, the “Review” was an official report written by Richard Lewis, on behalf of the Football Association, the Premier League and the Football League. Therefore, the thematic analysis of the review provided a supplementary perspective regarding youth development and professional football academies of the period. Since both documents referred to the same issues of the same period, identified themes are presented in a common chart which encompasses all the identified themes.

4.5. The review of the “Charter for Quality”

The document titled “A Review of Young Player Development in Professional Football” was actually the first review of young player development after the “Charter”. As it became clear, not many things had changed during that 10-year period. As it is stated in the introductory section of the document:

“By 2006 there was widespread agreement throughout professional football that a review of the Programme of Excellence was timely, and that issues including the quality of coaching, the standards of young English players compared to the world’s best, the role and funding of Football Academies and Centres of Excellence, and the impact of the influx of overseas young players, all allied to extensive media exposure, needed to be considered” (Lewis 2007: 5).

The “review” did not focus on technical aspects of youth development, but mainly on the management of the professional football academies field. In this respect, it offers a rich insight into the institutional logics of the field of that period. The document is not just a description of the then state of youth development in English football, but it also provides specific recommendations about various elements of youth policy. These recommendations were the result of consultation between direct and indirect stakeholders of the game. More specifically the list of consultees included:

- Premier League clubs

- Football League clubs
- The Professional Footballers Association
- The League Managers Association
- The English Schools FA
- The Football Supporters Association
- The Technical and Development Staffs Association
- Mr Andy Roxburgh, UEFA Technical Director
- Mr Craig Simmons, FA Player Development Adviser

From this list, it is apparent that the document encompasses distinct perspectives regarding youth development and constitutes a rich source from which available institutional logics of the field can be identified.

In the introductory statement of the author, it is stated that stakeholders of the game should ensure the competitiveness of professional English football in the global market by promoting a culture of excellence in youth development.

“If football in England wishes to be the very best in the world, it must be the best at young player development. Indeed, it must be the very best at every aspect of young player development – there can be no room for compromise” (Lewis 2007: 6)

4.5.1 Football academies and English football

Youth development is conceptualised as a mechanism to improve English football, and this improvement is defined in terms of global market competitiveness. Football academies should promote excellence in every aspect, so as to set a solid foundation of the English football to become the very best in the world. In this regard, youth development should be organised according to the principles of the global market. A clear indication that despite the “sensitive” mission of football academies to ensure even development and wellbeing of underaged players, strategies and practices should fulfil market requirements. Based on the “review”, the excellence of the youth development system requires formal monitoring from an independent organisation and establishment of key performance indicators:

«A culture of excellence demands that high standards are set, that measurement is against these standards and progress and achievement is recorded... compliance monitoring should be enhanced by a system of quality assurance based on ISO standards... The quality assurance system should be operated independently. Equally, in the case of audit of grant aid expenditure, I consider it essential that an independent body carries out this function and does so with the least bureaucracy required to do the job effectively... I conclude that the best practice would be to establish Key Performance Indicator's (KPI's) and to monitor them” (Lewis 2007).

Since football academies are the equivalent of a “Research and Development” department, then the formal practices of monitoring which apply to organisations in the free market should also apply to football academies.

The aim of these practices is to ensure that academies operate in the most efficient and effective way, in terms of the money invested in the academies and the final outcome, meaning the number of players developed for the first team and eventually for the national side. To ensure the best possible outcome, academies should be evaluated on specific elements of their operation. However, the “review” explicitly recognised that not all football academies have the same financial resources and strategies and aims:

“The dual system of Football Academies and Centres of Excellence recognises that some Clubs may wish to invest considerably more heavily than others in I consider that this dual staff, facilities and accommodation for young players system reflects the realities of the professional football industry in England and the financial circumstances of Clubs” (Lewis 2007).

4.5.2 Football academies and local talent

The dual system of academies referred to the volume of clubs' investment in academies. Differentiation between football clubs can be achieved through the volume of investment in the academy and higher investment results in a better academy. The club-based football academies system has the capacity to provide the best career development path to young footballers, especially from the local area of each club:

“I believe that the individual club, as part of a long-term player development model (LTPD), is ideally suited to provide a career path for local players from their early years through to the first team” (Lewis 2007: 6).

While the “review” aimed at establishing a youth development system to improve the competitiveness of English football in the global market, it also recognised the value of local players for professional football clubs:

“It must be recognised that there is much value in the player who has been developed by the club – a “local” player. Club supporters readily identify with “local” players; such players can be brought up within the culture of the club and can increase the standing of the club in the local community. They can be introduced into the first team during closed transfer periods. Significantly bringing a “local” player through the club’s Football Academy or Centre of Excellence into the first team can be a most cost-effective way of recruitment”(Lewis 2007: 10).

Therefore, professional football academies operate in the environment of the global market and should be organised according to the “rules” of the market.

On the other hand, local players have an intangible value that cannot be “bought” in the market. They are raised with the distinct values which characterise each club, so fans can identify with these homegrown players, with

whom they share the same values and who understand the character of the club. Apart from the intangible value though, homegrown players are also a less costly option for the first team, compared to the recruitment of experienced older players. In this sense, the value from the academy is measured not only in monetary terms, but also in more abstract, intangible and difficult to measure concepts.

4.5.3. Summary of the period

The fact that club-based academies have a key role to play in the implementation of football development policy results in tensions between the club and the country. More specifically, as it was discussed before, clubs aim at developing players for the first team, irrespective of nationality. If this is not possible, they recruit players from the free market. On the other hand, the country expects from club-based academies to develop high-quality players eligible for playing for the national side. These aims are not always compatible:

“The tensions between the young player development agendas of Club and Country are evident in all professional sports throughout the world. In some cases, it appears that the needs of Club and Country are irreconcilable. In professional football in England, the Charter established the Football Academy/Centre of Excellence system as Club based. As such the system is committed in the first instance of improving the pool of talented young players available for first-team selection at each Club” (Lewis 2007: 10).

As was discussed in the literature review, each of the institutional logics has its distinct content and rules which guide the actions of organisations. In this regard, the existence of multiple logics within the professional football academies field, create tensions among stakeholders of the game. What is a legitimate aim under a market logic (in this case to gain monetary value from the development of players), or a community logic (in this case to be benefited from a strong bond between homegrown players and supporters) might not be compatible with what is legitimate from a National side perspective, in this

case, professional football clubs need to invest in academies, in order to develop players for the national side. This possible incompatibility of logics within the field though does not mean that multiple logics cannot co-exist and inform the actions of the stakeholders. Incompatibility can be eased and co-existence can be facilitated if there is a unitary approach to rules and regulations of the field:

“As a matter of principle, I believe that the three rulebooks should be simplified and harmonised. To this end, the FA’s Program for Excellence Regulations should be redrafted to set out a framework of guiding principles. The two Leagues’ Rules should be set in accordance with these principles and should differ from one another only where there is good cause” (Lewis 2007: 19)

Despite the fact that existence of multiple logics within the field should be facilitated, the significant influence that the market logic has on professional football clubs is also recognised:

“I found it very surprising that in a sport that has been so successful following free market principles the rules for player development appear particularly rigid” (Lewis 2007: 16).

The market logic with its focus on efficiency and effectiveness of professional football academies required the development of qualified professionals with football academy specific knowledge.

“Quality coaching is critical. The coach is crucial to the development of the young player and providing the very best coach education and coach development must be at the top of the list of priorities for action. The role of The FA is central in this respect, as the UEFA accredited body to deliver coach education & training...One area for future improvement is in specialist support. As standards get higher, sports science, nutrition and

specialist support will all become more important” (Lewis 2007: 5 and 28).

The operation of an academy as a distinct department of professional football clubs requires qualified professionals with specific knowledge. The academy itself should be organised according to professional standards, which involve decisions being made by professionals, who are informed of specialised knowledge on specific features of the academy and academy players.

Table 12 encompasses the identified codes and themes from the “Meltdown” report and the “Review” document. As was explained, these documents described the same period of youth development in England and offered different perspectives. The “Meltdown” report provided professional footballers specific insights, while the “Review” as an official publication of the Football Association, the Premier League and the Football League offered an overview of the multiple logics of the professional football academies field, as well as insights about how these logics co-exist.

Codes	Issues Raised	Themes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A player-centred approach which ensures English academy players rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The youth development should have a player-focused approach which ensures the sporting, academic and personal development of academy players ✓ English academy players have a fundamental right to play at the highest level their talent allows for 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Football academies contribute to the development of the complete personality of players 2. Nationality is an important element of academy players
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Balance among English players and foreigners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ English clubs should have a balance among experienced foreigners who ensure clubs' status and English academy players who have the right to play 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. English clubs among the best clubs in the world 4. English clubs' academies contribute to the creation of a strong National side

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The flow of foreigners into the Premier League is considerably larger than the flow of the English, academy player ✓ Unbalanced rush has decimated the chances of home-grown players 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English national side 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ A smaller number of academy players in Premier League clubs means smaller number pool of players for the National side ✓ What is the point to be the wealthiest football nation if you cannot develop your own players? ✓ Academy system is committed to the improvement of players qualified to represent England 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Professional football clubs contribute to the strong national side 6. Football academies are a mean for implementing a national strategy
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pathway to the first team 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Foreign players block the English players' path into the Premier League ✓ There should be a logical pathway from the academy to the first team 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Academy is an integral part of professional football clubs 8. Strategic links of the academy with the first team

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Transition from the academy to the first team is a crucial element of youth development 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Club-country contradictions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ English Premier League clubs are thriving, but the development of English players is declining ✓ Create a balance between the conflicting needs of clubs and young players ✓ Clubs' power drained the England team of players ✓ Professional clubs' academies should be committed not only to develop players for the first team but also for the National side 	<p>9. Aims of professional football clubs and the national side, regarding youth development are not common</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commitment to development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ There is no policy regarding youth development other than just throwing money at it ✓ Huge investment in youth development does not mean commitment ✓ The FA to cement a long-term development strategy ✓ What is the strategy for spending money in academies? ✓ There is a short-sighted strategy that underlies youth development 	<p>10. Investment in academies based on specific criteria</p> <p>11. Investment in academies should be an element of a long-term strategy</p> <p>12. Academies are the “Research and Development” component of the football industry</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Value of homegrown players 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ What is the outcome of investment in academies? ✓ Homegrown players are a cost-efficient way of recruitment ✓ Supporters identify with homegrown players 	<p>13. Tangible and financial returns from investing in the academy</p> <p>14. Intangible non-monetary returns from investing in the academy</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Homegrown players increase the standing of the club in the local community 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global football market 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Market revolution speeds up ✓ The free market has gone absolutely mad in football ✓ English football is very successful in following free market principles 	<p>15. Professional football academies should be organised based on free market principles</p> <p>16. Market forces should be regulated</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-operation of stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The Football Association, Premier League clubs and Football League clubs should adopt a national approach to development ✓ Stability and consistency to the system of the young player development 	<p>17. A national approach to young players development</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Club-based system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Clubs differ regarding their financial resources, strategy in football academies and volume of investment in the academy 	18. Competition between clubs regarding football academies is not a level playing field
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formal monitoring 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Progress in academies should be monitored ✓ System of quality assurance based on ISO standards ✓ Establishment of key performance indicators 	19. Academies' monitoring and evaluation should be based on corporate strategies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professional academy staff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Academies' staff should be professional with specific qualifications and specialised knowledge 	20. Development of professional football academy staff
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specialized knowledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Academies should focus on sport science 	21. Development of football-academies specific body of knowledge
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Management group should have the power of decision-making regarding football academies 	22. Organisation of the academies field with professional/corporate standards

Table 12. Thematic analysis of the review of the Charter for Quality

4.5.4 Charter for quality and review of the charter

The same issues that were raised in the “Charter” were raised again in the “Review” of the “Charter”, and the same stakeholders suggested the same solutions. Obviously, these issues remained unsolved, because the solutions were not appropriate or because the stakeholders responsible for implementation were not willing to implement them, or both. Regarding the proposed solutions, it is revealing that despite the fact that both the “Charter” and the “Review” explicitly state that the “Central figure is the player and its best interests” (Wilkinson 1997, Lewis 2007), in the list of consultees there are neither young players nor their parents, who are obviously the most affected groups by any policy regarding youth development. Therefore, the proposed solutions, which were supposed to serve the interests of young players, had not incorporated the players’ and parents’ opinions and suggestions regarding youth development.

Regarding implementation, what happened with the suggestions of the “review” is indicative of the multiple approaches within the field. The review contained 64 recommendations and amongst them was the set-up of a youth management group to “implement the findings of this Review, to act as the leadership forum for Young Player Development, and to be given the remit of decision-making, action and review” (Lewis 2007: 9). The group constituted as the “Professional Game Youth Development Group” with 3 stakeholders, the Football Association the Premier League and the Football League. However, 9 months after its formation fell apart, due to disputes between its members. The main reason for the conflict was, who would be responsible for monitoring and assessing the clubs’ academies. The Football Association wanted to be involved, but neither the Premier League nor the Football League were willing to accept that, on the premise that they should be responsible for monitoring their investment in academies. As a result, the conflict of interest between the FA, the Premier League and Football League was apparent and this practically cancelled the 64 recommendations of the “Review”. Dave Parnaby, Head of Middlesbrough Academy, described the developments in the football academies field since the publication of the “Charter”:

“The youth development fell apart. Why? Because of politics and self-interest. We have been promised change, and we are all waiting, but nothing is happening. We have been talking about the same subject for three of four years now” (Dave Parnaby quoted in Green 2009: 123).

After the dissolution of the group, the 3 stakeholders declared in a statement that a new group will be formed and that among its immediate objectives would be the development of a new child and youth development manual (Green, 2009). Since the publication of the “Charter” and the establishment of football academies and centres of excellence, the 3 main stakeholders of the professional Game could not find common ground regarding youth development.

The FA from its part as the organisation responsible for coach development, set the objectives and goals for football coaching and player development in England for the period 2008-2012, in a document titled “Developing World-Class Coaches and Players” (The FA 2008a). Obviously, world-class player development should be based on world-class coaching, and since football academies and player development had been on the agenda since the publication of the “Charter” in 1997, someone would expect that the issue of coaching would have also been raised. Surprisingly, as is explicitly stated in the document “To date, there has not been a single integrated and detailed plan aimed at improving the coaching system. This strategy document fills this gap.” (The FA 2008a). From 1997 to 2008, the 3 bodies (FA, Premier League, and Football League) responsible for youth development and football academies were arguing about a successful youth development system, but never had a strategy regarding coaching. This fact proves the lack of a holistic and unitary approach despite the attempts of the 3 main stakeholders of the professional game to find common ground regarding youth development. Despite the fact that suggestions since the period of the publication of the “Charter” had not been immediately implemented, they set the foundations of the current system

of youth development called “Elite Player Performance Plan”. In this regard, the EPPP encompasses all the institutional logics that were present in the previous periods of youth development, since many of the suggestions and recommendations of previous years, finally implemented through the EPPP.

4.6. The Elite Player Performance Plan Era

The 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa was considered a failure for England’s senior team, so the issue of number and quality of players eligible to play for the English team was once again raised. The FA conducted a review of how English football could bring greater success in international football. The review reached 25 recommendations, some of them directly related to youth development, and was asking for an aligned approach of English football to youth development in order to produce more and better players (The FA 2010, BBC 2011a). The approach that was named “Whole Game Approach” is depicted in the Figure 18 below.



Figure 18 Whole Game Approach

(The FA 2010)

The most intriguing element of the approach is in section 2, the “Elite Player Performance Plan” and the explicit claim that the FA fully supports the EPPP (The FA 2010). It is intriguing since the document is dated “December 2010”

and the Elite Player Performance Plan was officially accepted by Football League clubs on 20th October 2011. The clubs voted 46 in favour, 22 against with 3 no-shows and one abstention. Therefore, it is a plan which created controversies since its first day of existence.

Despite the fact that many of the clubs were against it, the FA fully endorsed the EPPP, anticipating that these clubs would eventually accept it. As a result, it was expected that clubs would eventually produce top quality players, who would enlarge the pool of players eligible for the national side. The way that the plan was developed, suggested to and approved by clubs, highlighted that football clubs, which are responsible for implementing youth development policy, do not have common strategies and aims regarding their academies.

The Elite Player Performance Plan was initially discussed in January 2010 at a meeting of Premier League academy managers (Premier League 2011: 11). The Premier League shareholders subsequently supported the proposals at the Annual General Assembly in June 2010, and after consultation with the Football League the Football Association and other key stakeholders, the Elite Player Performance Plan was officially introduced to English professional football in the 2012/13 season (Premier League 2011). As claimed in the official document, the EPPP is the first fully comprehensive revision of the “Charter for Quality” and its aim and vision, as described on the official site of the Premier League, is to create a world-leading academy system which develops talent and convert it into professional players for the first team. Furthermore, the EPPP promotes technical excellence and ensures financial stability through regular and independent audits of clubs. (English Premier League, 2011).

The EPPP is the latest youth development policy and as such it encompasses logics of previous periods and at the same time prioritises some of the logics over others. Apart from the original document of the “Elite Player Performance Plan”, as this was published by the “Premier League” in 2011 and its subsequent embeddedness to the Premier League Handbook, institutional logics of the “Elite Player Performance” Plan era were identified through

immersion to other relevant documents. More specifically, a very rich source of information for this research was 2 parliamentary reports, which were published after the “Culture Media and Sports Committee” of the House of Commons began an inquiry into football governance. Senaux (2011), in his historical analysis of the emergence and shifts in institutional logics in French football, also paid particular attention to parliamentary reports. In the written and oral evidence of the inquiry, the opinions of CEOs, former CEOs, Chairmen, former Chairmen, and other senior executives of the FA, the Premier League, the Football League and the Premier League and Football League clubs, are included.

4.6.1 Perspectives about Elite Player Performance Plan

In 2010, the House of Commons began “an inquiry about domestic football governance to examine the problems English football was facing at the moment and to establish the seriousness and to identify possible solutions to improve the state of the national game” (HC 2011:3). Regarding youth development in the report’s summary it is stated that the incoherent approach to youth development is worrying and the FA should provide strategic direction about major issues of youth development such as spending and coach education (HC 2011:3). Since, 1997 and the creation of the professional-academies field; and after 13 years and numerous publications (All party parliamentary football 2009, Lewis 2007, The FA 2001, 2008b) declaring a unified approach to youth development, a lack of co-ordinated approach was still among the main issues of English football. More specifically, in the chapter about the future development of the game, the report states that English football is not doing enough to create a sustainable future for the clubs in the pyramid system and that there is a lack of common purpose between the FA, Premier League and Football League (HC 2011:88).

The period that the report covers coincides with the period the EPPP was introduced to the public. The list of witnesses for the report includes chief executives, former and current chairmen and other senior executives, from the FA, the Premier League, the Football League, and the Premier League and

Football League clubs. In this way, it encompasses various perspectives regarding youth development and reveals controversies among the 3 stakeholders about the EPPP. For example, Malcolm Clarke, President of Football Supporters Federation and member of the FA board, commented in a written statement:

“The recent decisions on Elite Player development were effectively imposed on the Football League by the Premier League which was not the first time that its financial muscle has been used to achieve decisions which it wants. This does not bode well for any prospect of a new co-operative approach driven by the best interests of the game as a whole”(House of Commons 2013: 84).

On the other hand, in the same Committee, Richard Scudamore, the Chief Executive Officer of the Premier League, offered a different perspective on the agreement about “EPPP”:

“Therefore, thank goodness we have managed to get the entire FA, the Football League and ourselves to agree to the new Elite Player Performance Plan. It is a huge investment. It is a monumental investment, not just in economic terms but in time, effort, energy and improvement terms. It is going on around the clubs. The revolution is starting. It is starting now” (House of Commons Culture Media and Sport Committee 2013).

David Gill, the then Chief Executive of Manchester United, also confirmed that the FA, the Premier League and the Football League were working together to create a new academy system:

“We put millions in, and there is a big review going on now in terms of youth development, which is a tripartite process, involving the FA, the Premier League and the Football League to see what has happened. The academies have been in existence now for 13 or

14 years. We are now looking to see what changes and improvements need to be made” (HC 2011:91).

Also, Julian Tagg, Vice Chairman and Sporting Director of Exeter City, commented to the committee about the development of the EPPP that the Premier League clubs are trying to improve the academy system, but this attempt is not the result of consultation between the FA the Football League and the Premier League and because of that is disparate rather than a unified group (HC 2011: 91). Despite the fact that Julian Tagg’s club voted in favour of the EPPP, it was not actually supportive of the new system:

“We had very little option but to accept the deal, like so many clubs. I think the motivation is very simple. It is so Premier League clubs can take the best players” (BBC 2013).

Simon Jordan, Chairman of Crystal Palace from 2000 to 2010, in an article published online was even more critical:

There is no other word for it. The Football League has been blackmailed by the Premier League into accepting radical new proposals which will allow the richest clubs to cherry-pick the best young talent for a fraction of their worth (The Guardian 2011).

Shaun Harvey, the former Chief Executive of Leeds United, mentioned that Football League clubs voted for the EPPP because they felt they had no choice (The Independent 2011a). Burnley’s Chief Executive Paul Fletcher described the new system in a more dramatic way stating that “This is a democracy and we have to go along with it, even though the Premier League is putting a gun to our heads” (BBC 2011b), while director of football of Peterborough United Barry Fry stated that Football League clubs were blackmailed by the Premier League in order to accept the new plan (BBC 2011c). Steve Parish, Chairman of Crystal Palace, in his article published on “The Telegraph” offered a rich

insight into the negotiations about the EPPP as well as the way “smaller” clubs perceived the new plan:

Don't be fooled. EPPP is not – and never has been – about the England team... Rather, this is a brazen attempt by the Premier League's wealthy elite to cherry-pick the best youngsters from Football League clubs... To put the vote into context, last season the Premier League agreed on a new deal to provide solidarity money to the Football League... At the same time, the clubs were told that there was this EPPP scheme coming along which we would be expected to support in return. There were veiled threats of money being taken away, and that has scared a lot of clubs, and understandably so (The Telegraph 2011).

On the other hand, General Secretary of the FA Alex Horne gave a different perspective on the state of English football and was enthusiastic about the new system when interviewed by the Culture Media and Sports Committee:

What we're striving to achieve around that turbo-charged academy system is a much broader, deeper talent pool of young players coming through the system from five years old...The Premier League and the Football League are working very hard to increase the output of their academies, and that then benefits our international team structure...The whole game is aligned behind that approach, and that's what we're going to focus our time and energy on (Culture and Committee 2011: 126).

Despite the fact that a number of clubs explicitly commented on the lack of consultation regarding the EPPP, one of the executives, who was actively involved in the development of the auditing process, and its implementation in English football clubs, confirmed the involvement of many clubs in the development process of the plan.

But we always customise it, based on the country. So, when we defined the program it was in collaboration with the PL, with the FA, with club representatives, they said ok, this is needed in our country, these criteria should be in, so it is a kind of customisation cycle, we do with the Premier League... A lot of clubs. They were involved in the process...When we started and made the EPPP, there was a lot of consultation process between the Football, the Premier League, club representatives to come to one plan so how you make it really to the English culture and this plan. Clubs will say we were not involved but, they were (Interview 8).

On the other hand, an author who has published a detailed analysis of the English academy system commented that based on the interviews he conducted the EPPP was not the outcome of a consultation process:

They won't love me for saying this, but it happens to be a fact. The people who drew the document, when they try to say this was the result of a calm and measured consultation, they all choose to ignore the 6 years before that, when the Premier League decided to cause the biggest almighty wreck they possibly could... Yes, they put a lot of money into the Football League academies, but they totally ignored the views the needs and demands and necessities of running a football league academy (Interview 1)

Clearly, the existing conflicting views between the Premier League the FA and the Football League about the EPPP, cannot be described as an aligned approach to youth development. The Premier League as the main funder of youth development in England had the power to impose the new plan despite the arguments against it:

But I think there were different agendas going on. Premier League decided they are going to draw it up, their own documents or walk away from it completely and just leave the whole thing hanging in

the air... I spoke to academy directors who are fed up of travelling up and down, attending meetings... the minutes of the meetings the spirits of that meetings somehow delivered something completely different, people won't listen to them... In essence, it just solves the problems of the Premier League clubs... The rules are just their rules now (Interview 1).

Morrow (2015) made a similar observation about the operating and governance structures of the Scottish Premier League, which he described as heavily skewed towards the interests of Celtic FC and Rangers FC due to their financial power.

The lack of a common approach to youth development can be conceptualised as the proof of the existence of multiple logics within the field, which inform the actions of field actors. Indeed, among the observations of the report one can read:

“The potential for revenue generation from the professional leagues, in particular, has created tensions between the sporting and cultural value of football clubs and their commercial value”
(House of Commons Culture Media and Sport Committee 2013)

As can be clearly seen, multiple logics within the field allow for different approaches, which means alternative aims and strategies, to youth development. A common approach is premised on common aims and objectives, and these aims and objectives presuppose that the actions of various players of the field are informed by the same institutional logics. While organisations of the same field have the agency to choose among the same logics for reasons which are not within the scope of this research, they create distinct constellations of the available institutional logics. These constellations inform the aims and actions of organisations. Consequently, since constellations are distinct, so are the aims and strategies of organisations. From this perspective, the concept of the constellations of logics can explain the

inconsistent approach of various organisational actors to the youth development policy.

4.6.2. A corporate perspective

Indeed, as it was revealed from the thematic analysis of documents from past periods of the youth development policy, various institutional logics were in play within the field. The multiplicity of logics also characterises the EPPP era. As it is stated in the report of the Culture Media and Sports Committee:

The amount of money now flowing into football suggests it is a highly commercial business and, in terms of revenue generation, the Premier League is second to none. But businesses need to take account of the bottom line and expenditure as well as revenue (House of Commons Culture Media and Sport Committee 2011: 16).

From this perspective, football academies as integrated parts of professional football clubs should contribute to revenue generation, an aim compatible with a market logic. While in Government's reply to the Committee professional football is described as:

a multi-billion-pound business whilst the corporate governance structures still look like they belong to another era. The Select Committee's report highlights the inability of the football authorities to respond to new challenges quickly enough and the strong perception that they are unable to agree and deliver a common vision for the long-term health of the game (Department for Culture Media and Sport 2011).

The above quotes do not directly comment on football academies' related issues but are about professional football clubs in general. Nevertheless, since academies are integrated parts of football clubs, these quotes are relevant. Football academies in England and especially academies in the Premier

League operate within an environment which requires contemporary corporate governance practices, as billions of pounds are invested in the industry. Therefore, the football academy is an investment which should be evaluated based on market principles and professional standards and organised as corporations in other industries.

Indeed, in the “glossary of terms” of the official “Elite Player Performance Plan” document, the attempt for the professionalisation of the field and the introduction of corporate practices are apparent. A review of the full list of terms and concepts of the glossary would not offer a richer understanding of the field. Hence, just an indicative sample that clearly highlights the presence of various logics within the field was included in the analysis. Based on the glossary, each academy will have “an academy management team, which will include specialists in Coaching, Education, Sports Science and Medicine and Talent Identification and Recruitment” and there will be an “Academy Performance Plan the long-term strategy developed by the Academy Manager in consultation with the club board and/or Technical Board.

The Academy Performance Plan will provide coaches and support staff with clearly defined performance targets which are closely aligned to the clubs’ Football Philosophy”(Premier League 2011). Performance of academies will be audited through an audit tool “an online application designed to enable effective measurement of each Academy. The Audit Tool will be available to all Academy Managers and will be used by the ISO to establish the category of each Academy”, and there will be an official process of auditing “the approach which will be adopted for the evaluation of each Academy. The process will take place in three steps. Step one - self-assessment, step two - annual evaluation by the League, step three - a biennial evaluation by the ISO” (Premier League 2011).

The result of the auditing process will be the classification of academies in four categories. Academies’ staff will be professionals with specialised knowledge of the task at hand, and clubs will be responsible for the continual professional development of their staff “the ongoing training provided to support the

professional development of staff in the Academy. Each club will identify a defined programme of CPD in its Academy Performance Plan. The content and approach to CPD will be the sole responsibility of the club” (Premier League 2011). Professionalization of the academy refers not only to coaches, but also to other disciplines which support the coaching programme. “Sports Science and Medicine - one of three programmes administered in the Academy to support the Coaching Programme. The Sports Science and Medicine Programme is the inter-disciplinary home for Science, Medicine, Physiotherapy, Match Analysis and the other performance support services employed in support of the Academy player” (Premier League 2011).

4.6.3. A professional perspective

Alex Horne General Secretary of the FA, when interviewed by the “Culture Sports and Media Committee” commented about the professionalisation that the EPPP will bring:

All of that is underpinned by another central FA attribute, and that is the development of coaches. We are setting about professionalising the coaching industry, licensing coaches, continuous professional development for coaches, more, better-qualified coaches with age-appropriate skills being available to the game at all levels across the grassroots and into the academies, and that’s our investment into the structure (House of Commons Culture Media Sports Committee 2011).

A respondent also made the same observation regarding the professionalisation of the football academies field. More specifically, he observed:

There is a general feeling that now we got academy coaches who have grown opinion...they don't espire to go on (meaning their aspiration is to remain in the football academy, not to become first team managers) ...But their main reasons is not to become the

first team manager. They see themselves as academy coaches they have trained to be there, they have been prepared, and they have been brought in, in an area where child protection measures and all kind of things, think about education, think about the holistic development of the players. Is very much quite truly on the agenda, that's good (Interview 1)

The described professionalisation refers specifically to the academy department of professional clubs. There is an increasing number of professionals, specially trained to work in the football academies field, not in football in general. They possess specific knowledge and need to go through specialised training in order to be licensed as coaches. These are a clear indication of a growing professional logic within the field.

4.6.4. A market perspective

The above quotes highlight the existence of elements of a market, a professional and a corporate logic. The high volume of investment in English football established the sport as a lucrative industry within which rules of market apply. Football clubs invest, so to attract the best possible players and expect a return on this investment in terms of results on the pitch, but also in terms of monetary returns. The same applies to the academy department of each club. There is an investment and clubs expect a return on this investment. In order to achieve these returns, clubs are organised as corporations of a typical industry and aim to attract professionals with specialised knowledge. The fact that Premier League clubs invested over 50£ million pounds in youth development just in 2010 (House of Commons Culture Media Sports Committee 2011) and that numbers of English players in the Premier League are declining (The FA 2014: 7) called for a unified approach to youth development policy and its organisation by professional and corporate standards, in order to achieve aims regarding return on investment in terms of number of players for the first team and numbers of players eligible for the National side.

4.6.5. A cultural-community perspective

However, football clubs are not typical corporations. The multiple “identities” of football clubs were also described in the Culture Media and Sports Committee:

“Football is our national game. As well as having contributed £970 million to the Exchequer in 2009/10, it is also a significant and high-profile national cultural institution that plays an important role in the community and supports wider initiatives in a number of fields such as education, health and social inclusion. Above all else, it generates strong emotional attachments that are hard to convey in statistics or on the pages of a Report but are nevertheless real and powerful” (House of Commons Culture Media and Sport Committee 2011b: 5).

From this perspective, football clubs can have a successful academy not only in market terms, but in terms of the bonds they build with their supporters, through homegrown players. As the then Chairman of the Football League and now Chairman of the FA set it:

Nothing excites the crowd like having a lad that grew up in the city and came up through the youth team making it into the first team. I still remember Emile Heskey, Gary Lineker; having one of your own you have seen in the bus queue actually playing for your local football league club is a great feeling, and I don't want to lose that (House of Commons Culture Media and Sport Committee 2011b: 89).

Therefore, professional football clubs need to fulfil their role as multimillion corporations, which aim to increased investment through employing professionals with specialized knowledge and at the same time they constitute cultural institutions with a distinct relationship with the community within which they operate as the chairman of the Football League described it:

Some clubs are good at developing talent. Middlesbrough are good at it, Southampton, Charlton, Crewe. If the economics of that proposition goes away so they can no longer afford to do it, you are forced into a model where a few clubs will develop our top talent. I believe it is better for the game that all clubs embedded in the community develop their talent (House of Commons Culture Media and Sports Committee 2011).

In contrast with corporations of other industries, football clubs have a unique relationship with their customers, in this case supporters, and more specifically with the local supporters. Football clubs are not typical corporations, which happen to operate in a particular place, but they are cultural institutions of a particular place, which represent the history, values and principles of local communities. In this sense, the unique relationship with the supporters can be enhanced when local boys, or even young players, who have been raised in the academy of the club, make it to the first team.

These homegrown players, apart from their sporting talent and their possible contribution to the success of the clubs, are perceived not only as professionals who are employed by a corporation to perform at a certain level, but as representatives of the local community and supporters. These players are perceived as more devoted to the values of the club, compared to a typical professional player who has not grown up with the values of the local community. From this perspective, academies apart from their roles, which are dictated by the market, corporate professional institutional logics and they also need to fulfil their role as dictated by a community logic. The unique association of the football clubs with local communities also raised by William Gaillard, an adviser to the President of UEFA:

Because in the end, the identity of a club is its own fans. When you have a foreign owner, a foreign coach and mostly foreign players, what is left that are local? The history, the spirit of the club

is based on its supporters and the identity of its supporters (House of Commons Culture Media Sports Committee 2011).

The focus of academies on intangible elements which cannot be quantified, measured, or evaluated in an auditing process, was insightfully described by a respondent:

I think we have a real family atmosphere, where everybody helps everybody. Me as the academy manager 7 days a week I stay until night every night. I know every age group, every moment, every dad every player, every brother every sister and so the other stuff here as well... It is not a football school, is not a regimented discipline environment, it's a real open environment player led, there is a lot of players led activities going on here, and I do believe if there is a boy from the local area, whom villa wants Leicester wants, if he comes here, I believe we have a chance of keeping him. People will like people who work here (Interview 4).

4.6.6. A Football Association perspective

The distinction among local players and the non-local players is also highlighted in the concerns raised about the role of foreign club owners in English football. More specifically, in the final report of the "Culture Media and Sports Committee" one can read "concerns were expressed that foreign owners, not appreciating the traditions of their club, would be more likely to take decisions that clashed with the identity of their club" (House of Commons Culture Media and Sports Committee 2011: 65). Hence, values of the local community are an essential element of professional football clubs, and the football academy has a central role in cultivating the relationship between the club and the community, by developing players for the first team.

Distinct football clubs represent local communities, but English football clubs also represent the English football and on the top of the pyramid of English football is the national side. The higher the quality of English players developed

in club-based football academies, the better the quality of the national side. In this regard, football clubs aside from being corporations operating according to the rules of the market, also constitute the sole source of players for the national side. Therefore, the quality of work done in football academies has a direct impact on the sporting level of the national side. From this perspective, the EPPP is not just a plan for better football academies, but a plan for a stronger English national football team. The importance and the connection of professional football academies and the Elite Player Performance Plan was recognised and highlighted in the report of the Culture Media and Sports Committee:

These changes will dovetail with the Premier League and Football League reform of the academy and centre of excellence structure within the clubs to deliver a player-focused, high quality and assessable conveyor belt of talent...Collectively we believe these developments represent a seismic leap in the ability of English football to bring forward the talent to deliver national team success (House of Commons Culture Media and Sports Committee 2013: 57).

4.6.7. Main critiques of the Elite Player Performance Plan

However, the perception that the Elite Player Performance Plan was developed to help the national team and English football in general has strong arguments against it:

“The whole thing is about the success of the England, right? we had this back in 1992 with the formation of the Premier League; it is always about the benefits of the English side. I don’t think that there is anyone than can seriously claim that the Premier League has added anything to the English side. With the setting of the academy system we have the same drawing again, as it is all about developing England. No, it is not, it is all about the Premier

League clubs getting better access to the best players in the country” (Interview 1).

The critics of the EPPP focus their arguments on 3 specific changes that the new system brings and are considered in favour of the so-called big clubs of the Premier League. The three changes to the English academy system which are still causing controversies among professional clubs are:

- The 4-tiers categorisation system
- The abolition of the 90-minute rule
- The fixed-tariff system for transfers of players under the age of 18

The 3 issues are interrelated and their combined effect results in a system which does not provide incentives for clubs to invest in youth development. West Bromwich’s chairman Jeremy Peach described it as a way for middle and lower-ranking clubs to invest millions to be somebody else’s academy (ESPN 2013).

4.6.7.1 Four tiers categorisation system

Since the introduction of the EPPP, there was a 2-tier category system (Academies and Centres of Excellence). Now, there is a 4-tier category system, and clubs are categorised based on the volume of the financial investment in the academy (Figure 19) and their evaluation from an ISO organisation based on 10 key performance indicators (Figure 20).

	Indicative Range of Overall Academy Costs/Year	
	Low Spend	High Spend
Category 1 Academy	£2.3m	£4.9m
Category 2 Academy	£1.0m	£1.8m
Category 3 Academy	£315k	£540k
Category 4 Academy	Entry level £285k	

Figure 19. Indicative costs of academies

(Premier League 2011: 102)

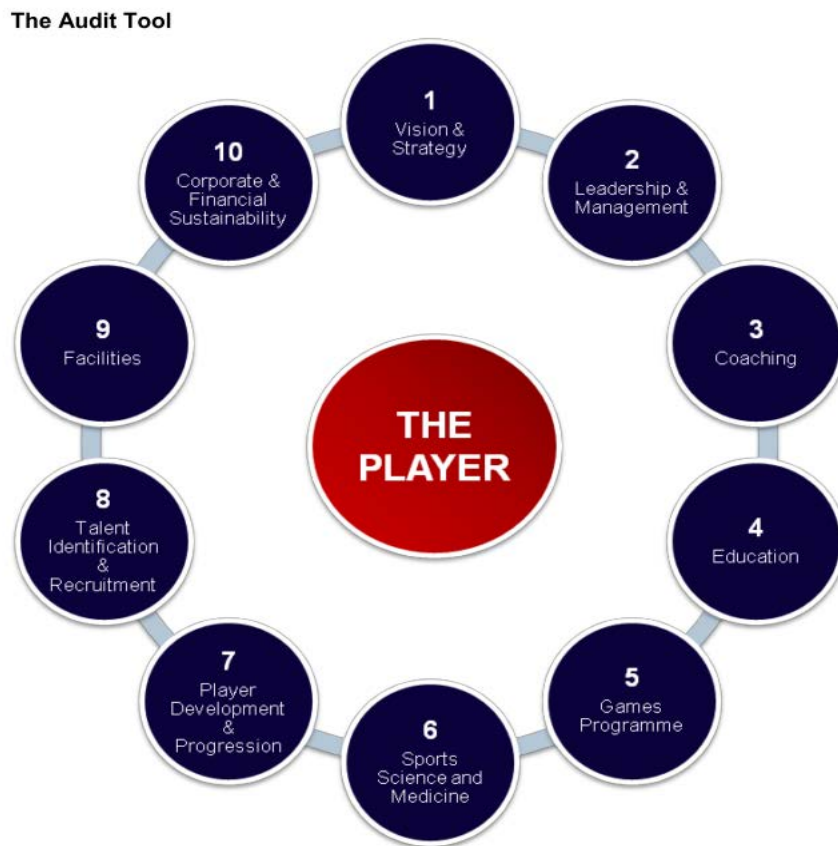


Figure 20. Key performance indicators of academies

(Premier League 2011: 28)

Monitoring of the academies was an issue that caused controversies between the FA the Premier League and the Football League, eventually leading to the breakup of the “Professional Game Youth Development Group” in 2009 (Green 2009: 122). Under the EPPP the issue was resolved by the appointment of an external International Standards Organisation. However, the problem with the categorisation is that it is based, among others, on the volume of the investment in the academy and that even clubs which have spent at least 2.3 million pounds and obtained a “category 1” academy license, have to allow in their training ground scouts from competing clubs. Therefore, their investment is not protected from competitors, who can buy players for a fixed fee. The fixed fees transfer system is the second issue that causes controversies.

4.6.7.2 Fixed fees system

Before the introduction of the EPPP, when 2 clubs could not agree on a transfer fee, which was the case most of the time, for an under-18 year's old player, an independent tribunal decided the compensation fee. The EPPP introduced a fixed-fee transfers system based on the category of the academy and the number of years a player spent in the academy as it is shown in Figure 21.

Age group of the Academy Player	Category of the Academy of the Training Club at the relevant time	Applicable Annual Fixed Fee
Under 9 to Under 11	All Categories	£3,000
Under 12 to Under 16	Category 1	£40,000
Under 12 to Under 16	Category 2	£25,000
Under 12 to Under 16	Category 3	£12,500

Figure 21. Fixed fee of transfers

(Premier League 2016: 452)

Moreover, the selling club receives an additional fee based on the appearances of the transferred player to the new club as it is shown in Figure 22. The system is criticised mainly on the premise that fees are very low and therefore do not offer financial incentives to smaller clubs to invest in youth development and eventually allows financially strong clubs to cherry-pick the best players in the country for a fixed fee (BBC 2013, BBC 2012, BBC 2011, ESPNFC 2013, Independent 2011, Somerset Live 2015, The Guardian 2011, The Youth Radar 2012).

Number of First Team Appearances	Divisional Status of the Club			
	Premier League Club	Football League Championship Club	Football League 1 Club	Football League 2 Club
10	£150,000	£25,000	£10,000	£5,000
20	£150,000	£25,000	£10,000	£5,000
30	£150,000	£25,000	£10,000	£5,000
40	£150,000	£25,000	£10,000	£5,000
50	£150,000	£25,000	£10,000	£5,000
60	£150,000	£25,000	£10,000	£5,000
70	£100,000	£25,000	£10,000	£5,000
80	£100,000	£25,000	£10,000	£5,000
90	£100,000	£25,000	£10,000	£5,000
100	£100,000	£25,000	£10,000	£5,000

Figure 22. Fees based on appearances

(Premier League, 2016: 454)

4.6.7.3 Abolition of the 90-minutes rule

Moreover, EPPP allows clubs with “category 1” academies to recruit players nationally. Consequently, all the big and financially strong clubs are no longer constrained by the 90 minutes rule. Hence, it became even more difficult for smaller clubs to sign young players, since the competition for young talented footballers is even more intense under the EPPP rules. The Independent’s Figure 23 (2011) explains analytically how the EPPP’s compensation system works.

Some materials have been removed from this thesis due to Third Party Copyright. Pages where material has been removed are clearly marked in the electronic version. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed at the Lanchester Library, Coventry University.

Figure 23. How the compensation system works

(The Independent 2011b)

Before the EPPP, clubs could sign a player under the age of 18 only if he lived within a 90-minute travel distance from the training facility. Under the EPPP “category 1” clubs are allowed to recruit players from 12 to 21 years old nationally. The 90 minutes rule was introduced to protect the well-being of young players by ensuring that they have enough time to focus on their school/academic responsibilities, but its abolition was an all-time demand of the Premier League and especially bigger clubs. Sir Alex Ferguson commented about the abolition that it was necessary since it had become impossible to find enough good young players because of it (BBC 2012). Everton’s academy director Allan Irvine stated that the abolition of the 90 minutes rule helps talented young players to improve, since it increases their chances to be recruited by the best academies across the country (The Telegraph 2011). On the other hand, a senior employee of a Championship academy described the abolition of the 90-minutes rule as madness and dangerous for the well-being of the players:

This is basically due to the welfare of players I think its madness. The 90 minutes, to be honest, is too much. We could see some of our players. They finish school at 3, and some of them had a 90-minute travel to make to training. Then they will not finish training until 7.00 and then another one 90-minute journey back home to look for whatever homework that may have (Interview 3).

4.7. EPPP and pressures to clubs

Yeovil Town FC justified its decision to close their academy on the basis that the EPPP is very prescriptive and expensive (SomersetLive 2013). In supporting these arguments practitioners, such as those interviewed for the research, all agreed that EPPP is a prescriptive system. This is due to EPPP’s precise and detailed rules regarding the operation of academies based on their respective category. Since all the academies are judged on predefined targets and have to fulfil specific criteria in order to obtain their academy status, it can be argued that the EPPP applies pressure on clubs who need to conform.

Conformity to the rules and fulfilment of the EPPP criteria results in the legitimacy of the academy. The more criteria a club satisfies, the higher its category; and the higher its category, the easier the access to resources. EPPP is a 4-tier system with category 1 being the highest category that an academy can obtain. In practical terms, the main difference between categories is in regard to access to young players and funding from the Premier League. A category 1 academy receives more funding and can recruit players nationally from the “Under 12 - Under 16” years old group while category 2, 3 and 4 clubs are allowed to recruit nationally only from the “Under 17 - Under 21” years old group and receive reduced funding compared to clubs with higher ranked academies.

Conformity to the demands of the EPPP results in an organisational environment in which academies face at the same time pressures both to be different and to be the same, in order to establish a competitive advantage. Academies should conform in order to have access to resources, in this case players and funding. On the other hand, the same category academies have the same access to the same resources. Therefore, academies should at the same time differentiate in the management of these resources in order to establish a competitive advantage. But because of the specific requirements of the EPPP, academies have specific options for differentiation and should share their practices with their competitors. A respondent described the EPPP as a very prescriptive plan, which makes differentiation quite difficult, while the issue of knowledge sharing has been identified and mentioned to the official EPPP document:

‘For this approach to succeed it will require staff in the clubs to work together with the Leagues and the FA to agree shared formats for comparison. It will be essential to develop these protocols in such a way that they can be communicated to all clubs whilst protecting the individual competitive advantage that each club seeks to establish in the preparation and development of players’ (Premier League 2011).

However, a respondent stated that 3 years after the initiation of the EPPP and knowledge sharing between clubs, now the focus is more on the competitive edge of each academy, rather than sharing of best practice. As 92 clubs operate an academy in England, this does not contribute to the aim of individual competitive advantage.

Richard Scudamore CEO of the Premier League stated that it is “odd” that there are 92 academies in England and that after Brentford’s F.C. withdrawal from the EPPP, more clubs will follow (The Guardian 2016). This statement indicates that the Premier League aims to reduce the number of the academies which operate under and are funded by the EPPP. Indeed, 4 clubs (Brentford F.C., Wycombe Wanderers, Yeovil Town F.C. and Crawley Town F.C.) have already withdrawn from the EPPP. All four of them mentioned the same reasons for their withdrawal: that the plan is very prescriptive and expensive. From this perspective, the claims that the EPPP favours the bigger clubs are justified. On the other hand, this is exactly why the plan was introduced, to create an elite environment for the best players and naturally bigger academies have the necessary resources to do that, so the plan focuses mainly on these academies.

The evolution of the professional football academies field started in 1997 with the Charter of Quality and resulted in the current Elite Player Performance Plan. Even though professional football academies have a crucial role in the pyramid of English football, and all the 3 main stakeholders the Football Association, the Premier League the Football League, contributed to the creation of the professional academies organisational field, the prevailing institutional logic emanates from the Premier League. However, as it is shown in the data analysis, the field consists of multiple logics, which allow academies to differentiate within an acceptable range, without losing though their legitimacy. Despite the fact that Football Association, the Premier League and Football League, were all involved in the development of the EPPP, the Premier League, as the main backer of youth development, introduced a prescriptive plan in

order to better organise and control football academies and ensure a return for its investment. Football academies from the 4th to the 1st tier of English football have to conform to the plan in order to have access to financial and eventually human resources. However, under the pressures of the plan, differentiation and competitive advantage over competitors are becoming difficult. Academies' strategic responses to institutional pressures vary from total conformity to the plan to withdraw from it, and these responses allow academies to create distinct constellations of elements of institutional logics, which is the main focus of this research.

4.8. Codes and Identified themes

Numerous codes and themes are identified in the Elite Player Performance Plan era, which covers the period from initial discussions about a new system of youth development to the actual implementation of the plan. Table 13 displays indicative codes and themes. These themes capture institutional logics and elements of logics, which characterise this specific period. Many of the codes and themes are similar to those of previous periods. This suggests that the evolution of the field does not follow an arbitrary order, but that each period “builds” on logics of its precursor.

Codes	Issues raised	Themes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of a common approach to youth development • Decisions were imposed upon “weaker” clubs • EPPP was agreed among members leagues • No common purpose in youth policy • Tensions among Premier League and Football League 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Stakeholders have their own agendas which are not compatible ✓ Premier League has the financial power to impose its will ✓ Stakeholders of the game have different objectives regarding youth development 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Multiple logics within the field 2. Premier League defines the dominant logics of the field 3. Different logics dictate different aims
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Football is an important cultural institution for community and fans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Football generates among fans strong emotional attachments ✓ Outsiders may not be in position to comprehend community attachments ✓ Football is more than results on the pitch and supports initiatives in many fields of local community 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. There are elements of football that cannot be quantified and measured. 5. Common values enhance the bond between community and football club

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foreign owners may do not understand the cultural importance of football • Football is important for local communities • Football clubs are embedded in local communities 		<p>6. Football clubs' investments do not always aim at monetary returns</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Football is highly commercial • Homegrown players are a low-cost solution for recruiting • Football clubs should invest in the right things • Football is a multimillion-pound business 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Professional football clubs are commercial corporations ✓ Investment in academy reduces costs of recruiting ✓ Investments of football clubs should be strategic 	<p>7. Football clubs operate according to the rules of the market</p> <p>8. Investment in the academy should have a monetary return</p> <p>9. Investment in the academic should have a strategic plan</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Premier League defined a new model of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Premier League developed the EPPP to organize academies in corporate governance principles 	<p>10. Football academies should be organised as professional corporations</p>

<p>academies' organisation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corporate governance best practice • Football is the worst governed sport in the country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Football has to change from the worst governed sport to a sport which follows best practices of corporate governance 	<p>11. Best corporate practices should be established for academies</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Football is the national game • Academies should be organised so as to offer players to the national team • Foreign owners may not appreciate the development of English football 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Football is the national sport of England, so there should be a strong national team ✓ Better organisation of academies results in a stronger national team ✓ Owners invest to create strong teams regardless of the nationality of players and not to contribute to the creation of a strong National side 	<p>12. A national approach to youth development</p> <p>13. Investment in academies should aim at a strong national team</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professionalizing coaching 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Academy coach in a distinct profession ✓ Professional coaches are graduates of a national school 	<p>14. Professionalization of academy employees</p> <p>15. Body of football academy specific knowledge</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of a national school of coaches • Coach licensing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Coaches license certifies their specialised knowledge 	16. Official licensing of coaches
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Football is highly commercial • Football is a multi-billion business • Football clubs should invest in the right things 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Football clubs operate in a market environment ✓ Football clubs are multi-billion pounds corporations ✓ Football clubs should make an investment based on market principles 	17. Market principles define the operation of football clubs

Table 13. Thematic analysis of the EPPP period

4.9. An overall description of the institutional logics of the professional football academies field

In this section, the identified themes of all periods of professional football academies are categorised. The detailed and descriptive EPPP built on aspects of youth development which were developed in the past and organised the field according to the principles of specific institutional logics. In this respect, the analysis of the periods before the EPPP was necessary in order to highlight the evolution, influx and rearrangement of institutional logics over the years. The main rationale for a club-based academy system was to allow clubs to train young players for an extended period of time. Hence, the emphasis moved from the National side to other logics. Over the years of the development of the field, more logics started to inform the operation of club-based academies. The EPPP specified the content of these logics by setting strict rules regarding the operation of football academies and monitoring the implementation of these rules. However, basic themes and organising themes of this section are a summary of all the basic themes of previous and not just from the EPPP period.

Basic themes with common meaning were clustered together and from each cluster a number of organizing themes were extracted. Finally, organising themes were linked to the interinstitutional orders as those were described by Thornton Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012). The interinstitutional orders were the global themes of the thematic networks. In total, 6 out of the original 7 institutional logics were found to be in play within the organisational field and to inform the actions of football clubs. In all the analysed documents and interviews there was no direct or indirect mention of religion, so this order was not considered relevant to the analysis. The thematic network for each institutional logic is depicted in the respective figure.

4.9.1. Corporation logic

Since the introduction of the club-based football academies system, the main objective was a development of a system which would encompass the key principles of corporate governance. According to this objective, academies

were conceptualised as the “research and development departments” of football clubs. The Elite Player Performance Plan set a hierarchy in the football academies field, according to which these entities need to report to higher order bodies, which are responsible for deciding about the market position of the academy in the field. Moreover, there is a hierarchy within academies, in which senior managers and not employees have the power of decision making, and also a hierarchy among academies, with the higher status academies to possess a higher position in the hierarchy of the field. The evaluation and categorisation of academies are not arbitrary, but based on 10 predefined and specific key performance indicators (see figure 20), while the performance of academies against these indicators is officially recorded and audited. From this perspective, the administrative system which governs football academies can be described as bureaucracy. Academies are distinct departments of the football club, which are organised as corporations. The aim of the organisation of academies in corporate standards is to contribute to the overall success of the football club. Figure 24 depicts the thematic network of the corporation logic.

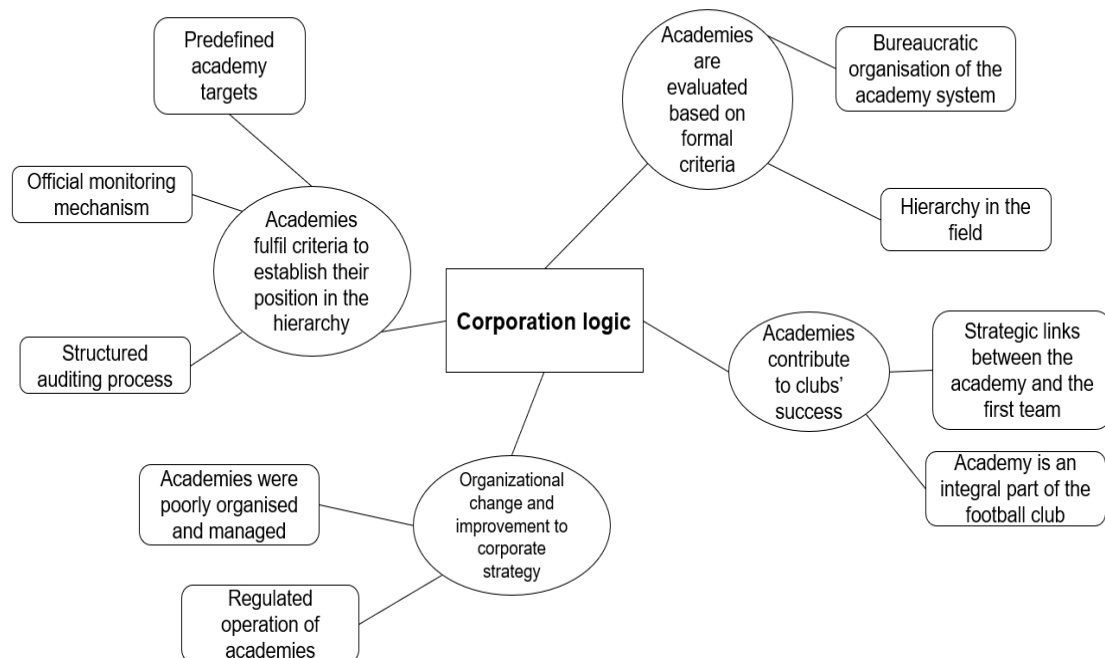


Figure 24. Corporation logic thematic network

4.9.2. Professional Logic

The organisation of academies in corporate standards required the professionalisation of employees working in the academy. The Elite Player Performance Plan set specific minimum qualifications for working in an academy, especially for coaches. Football governing bodies are responsible for “educating” football professionals, based on specialised knowledge regarding football academies. In order to be a licensed professional of the football academies field, one needs to take on specific courses. The higher the professional qualifications of an employee the higher their status within the professional field of football academies. In this regard, academies which seek to be established as operating by strict professional standards, seek to employ professionals with the highest possible qualifications. Figure 25 depicts the thematic network of the professional logic.

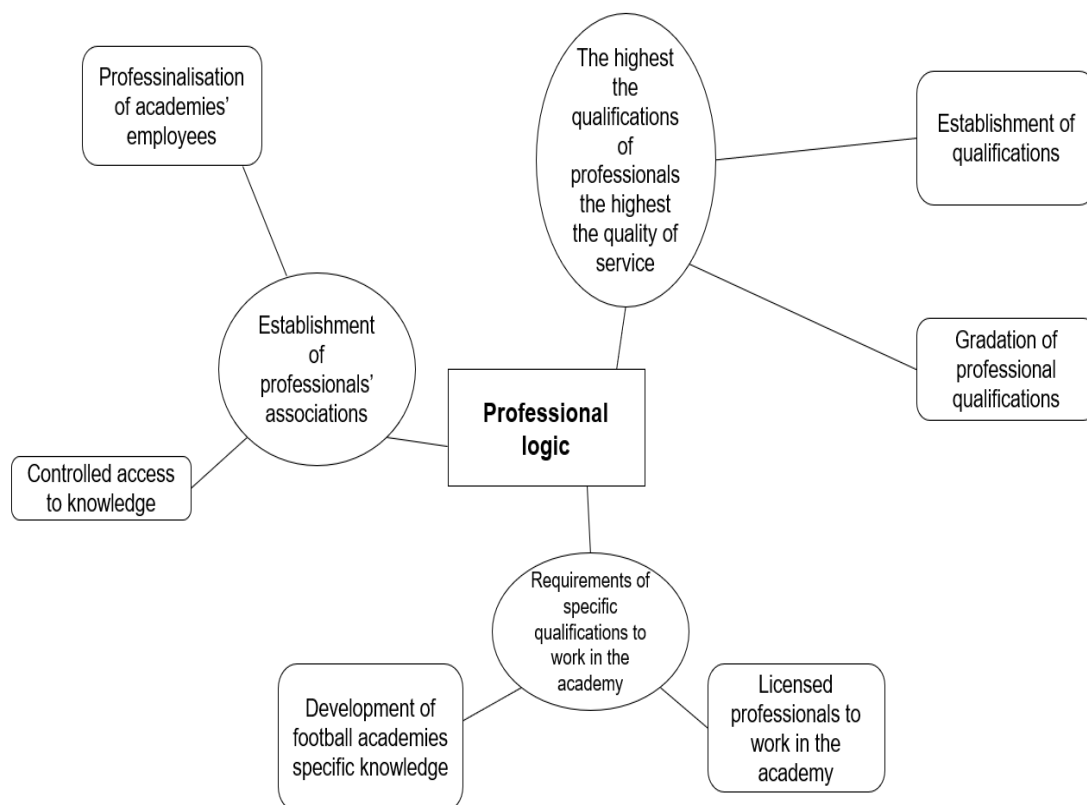


Figure 25. Professional logic thematic network

4.9.3. Family logic

Despite being organised as corporations and working in professional standards, football academies have the moral responsibility to take into consideration the needs of individual players and their families. Academies operate in a multi-billion environment, but at the same time their operation is mainly focused on minors and their families. The fact that academy players spend a considerable amount of their time within the academy renders academy employees responsible not only for the sporting development of the players but also for their personality development. In this regard, football academies need to encompass family values. This means that minors are considered not just players, but also members of a family, with the professional employees of the academy being also members of the same family. Academies can build a reputation as “families”. Academy as a family aims to increase its honour by developing players for the first team. Figure 26 depicts the thematic network of the family logic.

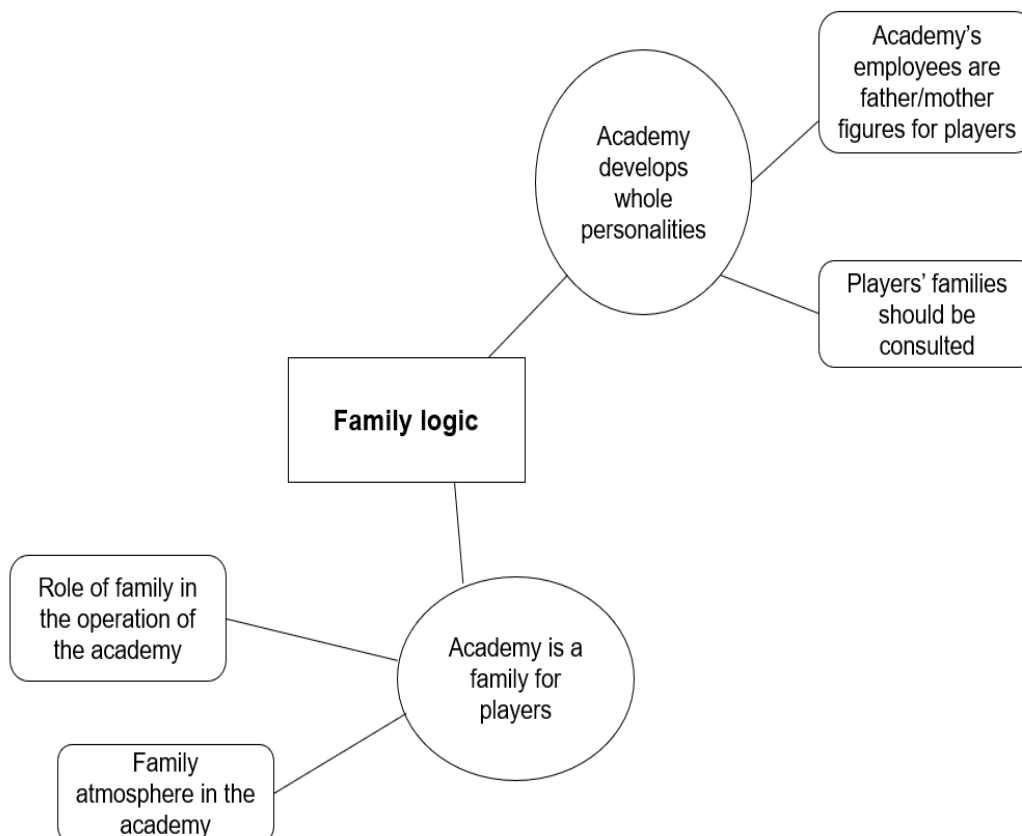


Figure 26. Family logic thematic network

4.9.4. National side logic

Youth development in football was explicitly linked to the national team before the era of club-based academies when the Football Association had the responsibility to fund and support the training of the best young English players in the “Football Association National School” in Lilleshall. As the name suggests, the aim of the school was to develop the best players to play for the national side. Even in the EPPP period though, in which academies are funded by professional clubs, there is a mutual relationship among participation in football, funded by Football Association’s program, club-based academies and the national side. Increased participation of young English boys in football, results in a bigger pool of available talent for professional club-based academies, and the better the quality of English home-grown players in the academies, the bigger the pool, and the better the quality of available players for the national team. From this perspective, there is a clear National side logic in the field. The Football Association funds grassroots football, so that everyone has the opportunity to participate and enjoy the benefits of football, while professional football clubs have a moral obligation to satisfy the fundamental right of English players to achieve their full sporting potential and reach the highest level of the football pyramid by playing for the national side. Figure 27 depicts the thematic network of the National side National side.

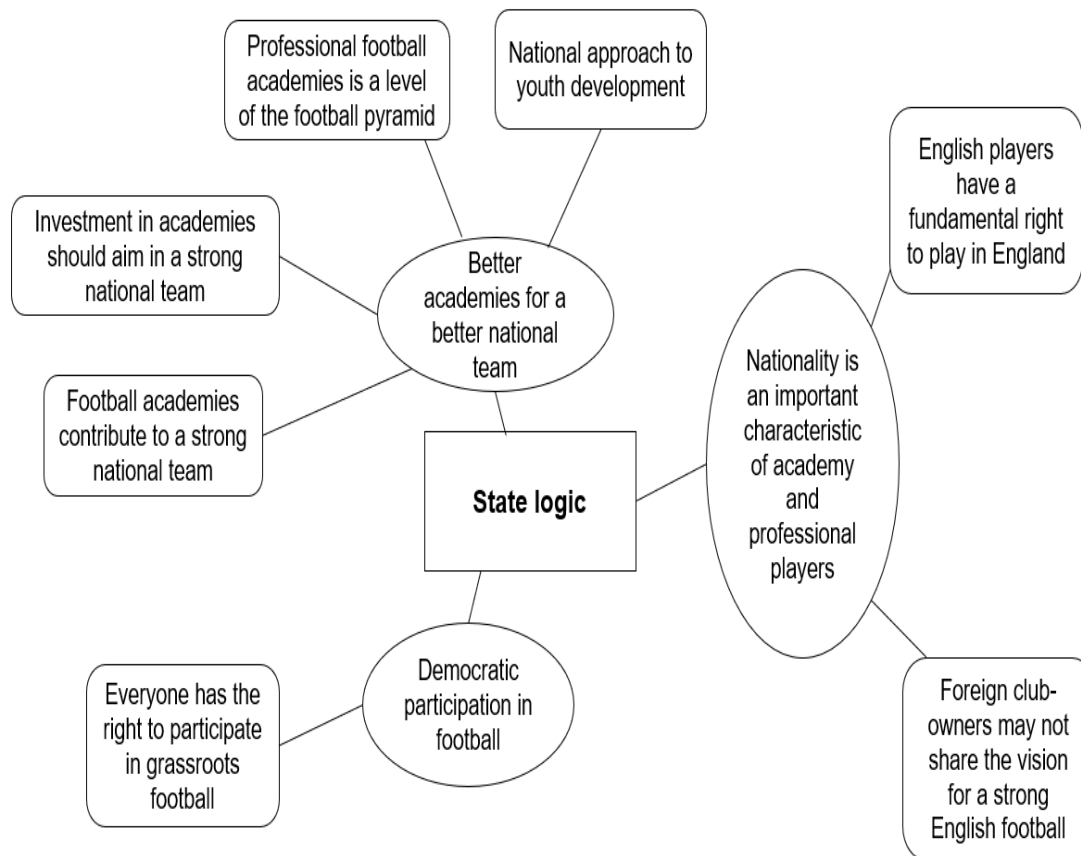


Figure 27. National side thematic network

4.9.5. Market logic

Club-based academies operate in a free market environment. In this environment, academy players have a monetary price and can be “transferred” from one club to another. Following from this, the academies’ strategy is to increase their efficiency by making a profit from their operation. In general, profit can be either from fees paid for the transfers of home-grown players or by the reduced cost of transfers, by developing home-grown for the first team. Therefore, a successful academy is the efficient academy in market terms. That is, an academy that has increased returns on investment. Figure 28 depicts the thematic network of the market logic.

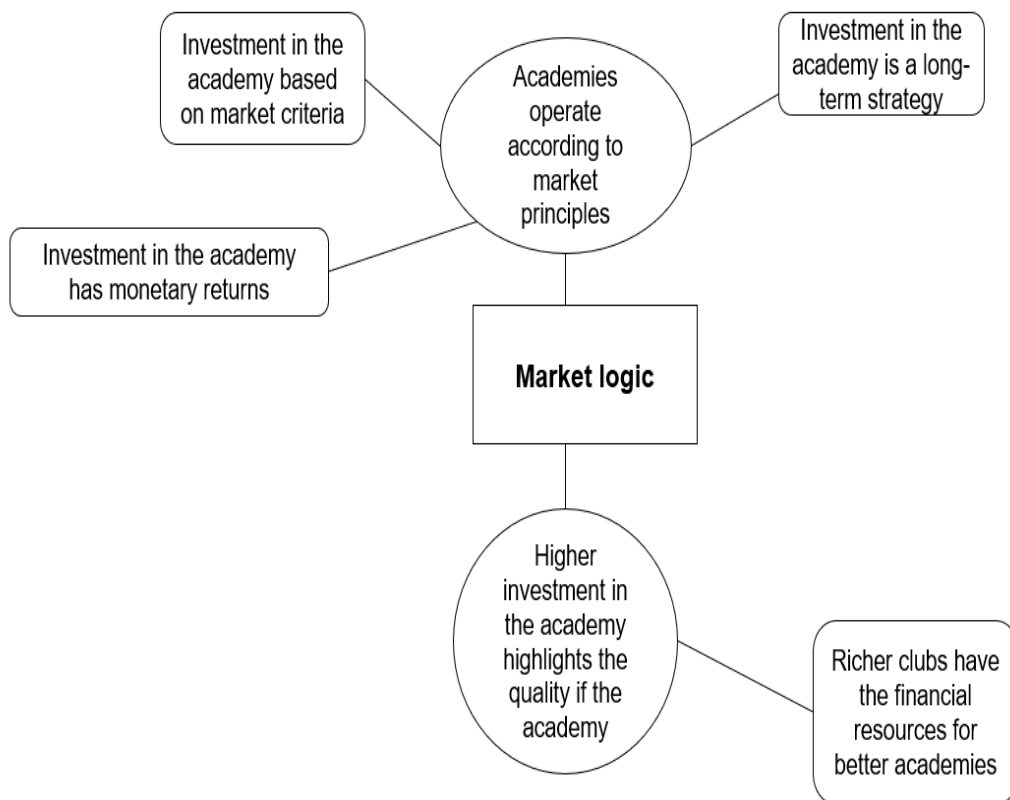


Figure 28. Market logic thematic network

4.9.6. Community Logic

Professional football clubs are not typical corporations, while supporters are not typical customers. There is a unique bond between football players and supporters, which assumes that players and supporters share the same values and principles. A homegrown player, who has grown with the values of the football clubs, is locally based and probably is a supporter of the club, is considered by the fans “one of them”. Supporters are excited when homegrown players find a place in the first team, as there is an emotional connection among them, based on the feeling that these players represent the local community. In this regard, football academies have the special role of developing homegrown players for the first team, in order to cultivate and invigorate the bond between the local community and the club. Figure 29 depicts the thematic network of the community logic.

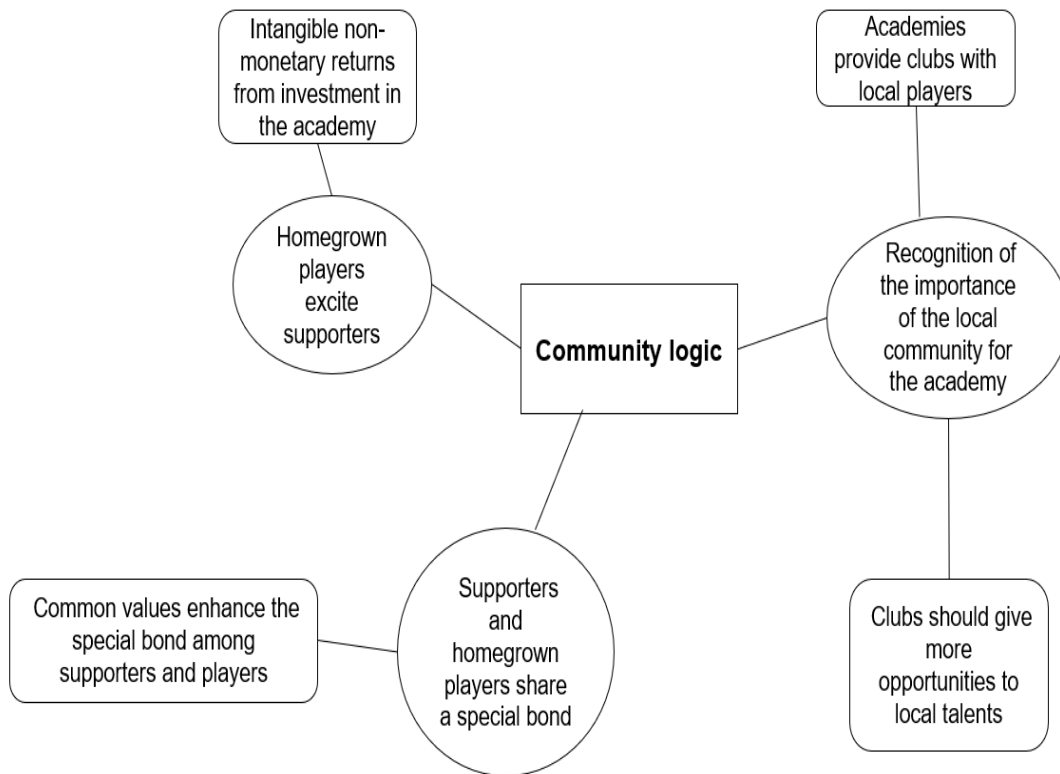


Figure 29. Community logic thematic network

4.9.7. Role of multiple logics

Despite the fact the Premier League due its financial power exerted the main influence on the evolution of the professional football academies field, the development of the EPPP was the result of the consultation among various stakeholders of the game. As such, it encompasses various institutional logics, which suggest different interpretations of the football academies and different ways of practice. The existence of multiple logics, even under the highly prescriptive and detailed rules and regulations of the EPPP, allow football academies to decide which logics and elements of logics will inform their operation. One of the executives involved in the development of the auditing process of the EPPP commented about the freedom of clubs:

That's how we influence the clubs to improve themselves, and they are really open to define what is relevant for them into the model Every club has its own identity and culture, that is very important, but the EPPP has its own of guidance rules and

regulations, let's say minimum standards you need to have for a certain academy. But I said before, on top of that, on every dimension, there are a lot of criteria, optimum standards. And it is up to the club to decide are we going for that criteria or not. so, we don't oblige them to do it. The club is quite flexible in the EPPP. But of course, you need to have minimum standards for every category (Interview 8)

Therefore, academies need to satisfy minimum standards, so as to be perceived legitimate, but since they become legitimate, they have the agency to decide about their organisation and operation.

4.9.8. Institutional logics of the field and their building blocks

Following Thornton's, Ocasio's and Lounsbury's (2012) who depicted the seven interinstitutional orders and their elemental categories in a multi-level X-Y axis, the thesis depicts the institutional logics of the field and their elemental categories in a similar way (Table 1). As in Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, the matrix serves as a didactic example and not as a predetermined representation of the football academies field. As Thornton Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) suggest, the elemental categories highlight what is essential about the phenomena under investigation and specify organising principles that shape organisational preferences. The development of elemental categories is grounded in the conventional nomenclature of social science.

In this case, elemental categories are inferred from the analysis of first-and-second-hand data. As is mentioned in the discussion and conclusion section, the thesis does not imply that these logics and elements are the only at work within the field of professional football academies. These elements are the most obvious within the context of the questions asked and issues raised during data collection. To facilitate the research objective of specifying the significance of elements of logics for competitive parity and competitive advantage, the elemental categories are connected with the social judgements of legitimacy, status and reputation. To facilitate the research objective of specifying the

significance of elements of logics for competitive parity and competitive advantage, the identified elemental categories are connected with the social judgements of legitimacy, status and reputation. By applying the suggestions of the resource-based theory on the 6 logics and the selected elemental categories, the significance of the specific elements of logics for competitive parity and competitive advantage is justified.

In the seminal work of Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012), the authors presented 3 cases in which the matrix was employed to present how social actors segment and blend elements of logics. In these cases, while there were references to logics as a “whole”, the focus was on just some specific elemental categories, which were considered relevant to the analysis (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012: 108).

The thesis adopts the same approach to institutional logics and their elemental categories in order to create a depiction of the institutional logics of the field, and the elemental categories on which clubs focus in order to create a competitive advantage (Table 14). While elemental categories are abstract concepts, their content is specified using established concepts of the organisational literature. Hence, the element of legitimacy is interpreted as the equivalent of the social judgement of “legitimacy”, the element of “sources of identity as the equivalent of the social judgement of “reputation” and the element of “basis of attention” as the equivalent of the social judgement of “status”. Finally, the element of the “basis of strategy” is interpreted as the strategy organisations employ to create a constellation of logic which contributes to competitive advantage. These interpretations are not arbitrary.

The elemental categories are not a predetermined representation of the interinstitutional system but abstract concepts. The conceptualisation of institutional logics as resources which can be exploited though, required a specification of the elemental categories to the field-level, so their resource-qualities to be revealed. Indeed, the results of the data analysis contributed to a description of the elemental categories of the specific organisational field

which resembles the original description of the elemental categories and more importantly allows the evaluation of the strategic importance of specific elements of institutional logics.

Y-axis: Elements of logics	X-axis: Institutional logics					
	Corporation	Profession	Family	National Side	Market	Community
Root metaphor	Academy as corporation	Academy professionals as relational network	Academy as family	Academy as pool of players for National side	Transaction of commodities/players	Common boundary among supporters and homegrown players
Sources of legitimacy	Academy's position in the market of academies	Legitimacy through personal professional expertise of employees	Unconditional loyalty to values and principles of academy	Academy players in National side	Monetary price of academy	Belief in reciprocity among homegrown players and supporters
Sources of identity	Reputation through bureaucratic categorization of academy	Reputation through professional reputation of employees	Reputation of academy as family	Reputation through contributing to national youth development	Faceless	Reputation through developing players from the local community
Basis of attention	Status in hierarchy among academies	Status of academy derives from status of professional employees	Status as academy/family	Status of academy through players developed for the national side	Status as an academy with market principles	Status as an academy which invests in local community
Basis of strategy	Increase size of academy	Increase reputation through hiring of professionals	Increase honor academy/family	Increase nation good by developing players for the national side	Increase efficiency/profit of academy	Increase status of community through operation of the academy

Table 14. Identified logics and elements for competitive advantage

Chapter 5. Second stage of the data analysis. Institutional logics and competitive advantage

The second stage is devoted to specific cases and aims to identify elements of logics which have a significance for competitive advantage. The thesis does not imply that these are the only logics and only elements which inform the operation of each academy, but these were the most visible elements of logics in relevance to competitive parity, competitive advantage and positioning, according to the analysis of the first and secondary data.

5.1. Case 1-Brentford FC academy

Brentford is a London based club currently competing in the Championship. The key figure of the club is its owner Matthew Benham, a supporter of Brentford himself, who first invested in Brentford FC in 2009, to become the owner of the club in 2012. Benham is also the owner of the Danish club FC Midtjylland, a strong proponent of analytics / analytical approach to decision making and also owner of two companies in the gambling industry “Matchbook” and “Smartodds”. Matchbook is a betting exchange platform, while Smartodds provides statistical research and sport modelling for predicting results. The use of analytics for predicting results has influenced the management of Brentford FC since Benham took over. Alan Steele, the assistant manager of Brentford’s B team, describes the restructure of the academy as the toughest thing, but he also emphasises that Brentford academy has to be “innovative and come up with ideas that no one else is doing” (BBC 2019). Hence, in order to differentiate, Brentford’s B team recruitment strategy focuses on two types of players. Players rejected from other academies, and undervalued overseas players who see Brentford B team as their path to the English professional football. As Brentford’s FC Director of Football, Rasmus Ankersen explains, they employ analysts to identify the best players for the B team. “There is no player I have ever recruited at Brentford without data having its say” (Bleacherreport 2017). Moreover, they have developed a statistical tool to identify undervalued talent around the world and compare relative quality of football clubs. The use of analytics explains the reason why in recent years, the club enjoys success in identifying undervalued players, sign them, and after a

certain point sell them for a profit. 11 of the most successful Brentford's signings in the last 5 years had a cost of £6,7 million pounds and the club managed to sell them for £71,3 million pounds. As it will be discussed, the same approach is currently being applied to the B team of the club, which replaced the category 2 academy of Brentford FC. Brentford FC has withdrawn from the EPPP, despite being a club keen to youth development, with significant investment to its academy for a club of its size. In the pre- EPPP era and until 2010 the club operated a "Centre of Excellence", the second tier of the then academy system. Its approach to youth development changed when the club's owner decided to invest and upgrade to "Academy" level (GetWestLondon 2016) despite the fact that the club was a "League 1" club at the time of the decision. The club's strategy of investing in youth development continued in the EPPP era when the club decided to bid and eventually achieved to obtain a "category 2" status. By doing so, in 2013 the club became the first "League 1" club with a "category 2" academy. The fact is indicative of the club's approach to youth development.

It was a huge step. But to be honest, the reason we went for "category 2" was because the "category 1" was a bit of a step too far. We always wanted to be the best. Our first thought when EPPP came out was how we could be a "category 1" club and stripped away the requirements and the essentials to find out. Financially it would be a bit of a challenge, but at the time we were very well supported by the owner (Interview 3).

The "Director of Youth Development" of the club, when the "category 2" was officially announced, stated that the improved academy would help the club to achieve its long-term strategy of developing players for the first team (GetWestLondon 2013). However, things dramatically changed in May 2016, when the club decided to close its academy and completely withdrew from the EPPP. The club's approach to the EPPP moved from planning to invest and become a "category 1" academy to closing the academy and focus on just one elite group of young players and withdraw from the EPPP.

5.1.1. Brentford's FC academy in the EPPP era

Brentford academy's approach to the EPPP is divided in 2 periods. The first period covers the time from the introduction of the plan until 2016. In this period the academy was supporting the plan and striving to find its competitive edge while being a "category 2" academy. The second period started in May 2016 when the club announced its withdrawal from the EPPP and its attempt to find a competitive edge outside the EPPP. From 2012 and the introduction of the EPPP, until May 2016 when it withdrew from the EPPP, the club operated a category 2 academy despite the intense competition from neighbouring academies.

We had to face challenges. People didn't want to come to this small club in West London instead of going to Fulham who were recently in the Premier League..... So you've got Fulham recently in the premier league, you've got QPR recently in the premier league, you've got Chelsea, one of the biggest clubs in the world and then not a million miles away, you've still got Arsenal, you've still got Tottenham, you've got West Ham United, you've got a club within this 90 minutes footprint. You've got all these challenges to face to ensure young players want to come (Interview 3).

According to an academy's employee though,

"The weak brand-name of the club, sometimes was considered as an advantage for the academy, because there were parents who felt that in Brentford there were significantly more chances for their son to play first team football, compared to neighbouring academies" (Interview, 16).

That was why, as a senior academy employee describes, the academy never lost a player to bigger clubs.

From that aspect, the fact is that we didn't lose a player and that says enough about us. We didn't lose players because the players

we involved, were informed about what we were trying to achieve, see the pathways that were open to them, the opportunity open to them, not just for the games programme, but we also had a college programme. So, we gave them a lot of opportunities and also had some players make first team appearances, and that's the biggest carrot you can dangle. Because, how many times do you see that at Chelsea? Yes, go to Chelsea, they have massive resources, but how many times do you see that an academy player is making a 1st team appearance? (Interview 3).

However, the same employee acknowledges that under EPPP a competitive edge is possible only for "Category 1" academies and that, it is impossible to get a competitive edge over any "Category 1" academy. The reason for that is, that there is nothing you can "physically do" to stop bigger clubs from buying a player they want:

If they want a player, they will get a player. You cannot stop it, and there is nothing you can physically do, to actually stop that. You can try your best but that is all you can do. So, from that aspect, no there is not the competitive edge (Interview 3).

The thesis suggests that the fact that the academy decided to fully comply with multiple institutional logics placed the academy in direct competition with stronger academies of the area. While the importance of being legitimated from various logics concurrently has been described from Kraatz and Block (2008) as a possibly positive organisational feature, in this case, it hindered the academy's attempt to find a competitive edge. While the existence of multiple logics has been suggested to allow the organisation to make clear commitments and differentiate from competitors (Ocasio and Radoynovska 2016), multiple commitments to logics even if not contradictory, they might also put organisations in direct competition with stronger competitors who have made similar commitments to logics. They also require financial and human

resources to be “scattered” in various aims, instead of being more focused. This is why the club in its second approach to the EPPP adopted an entirely different institutional strategy.

5.1.2. Reasons for withdrawal and Brentford’s FC academy current approach to the EPPP

In May 2016 the club issued a statement announcing its withdrawal from the EPPP. The decision was justified for 2 reasons. The first reason was because of its geographical position; the club is facing strong competition for the best young players and under the EPPP cannot sufficiently differentiate to attract talents. The second reason was that from a business perspective, the club could not develop value through its academy since Premier League clubs can sign the best young players before their graduation from the academy (Brentford F.C. 2016). As the club’s Head of Football Operations at the time, Robert Rowan commented: “We were spending £2 million a year on something that simply wasn’t producing enough players for the first team” (The Sun 2017). Hence, the strong focus of the academy on a market logic and the operation of the academy to business standards were among the main reasons for the withdrawal. One of the academy’s employees at the time of the restructuring, offers a more nuanced explanation for the decision to withdraw.

“Behind the scenes there was a dispute between the head of the academy at that time and the top management of the first team. The reason was the low productivity of the academy which was not supporting the business plan of promoting players to the first team and then sell them for a profit. The key moment was the appointment of the new director of football, who preferred just a B team consisted mainly of players dropped from Premier League academies. The straw though that broke the camel’s back was when we lost two of our top talents for peanuts. Ian Carlo Povedo to Manchester City and Josh Bohui to Manchester United. At that point everyone in the academy knew that something needed to be done, something to change drastically to protect our work and investment” (Interview, 16).

An experienced football professional involved with the academies in England justified the decision to withdraw:

“Brentford clearly made this decision on the base that why do all that work and not have players playing in our first team. We might go as well and scout players that we know that they will not play first team football at other clubs. But they are going to be good enough for Brentford and we think we can make them better players and therefore have a real value when they come to the market. I cannot blame them, I think they made a great business decision. They cut down costs of the academy. It is all because of the compensation system which allows players to move at the 18 years old of age. If you don't want to stay at Brentford, you can go to another football club and all Brentford can do is to take the compensation money for the development process” (Interview, 22).

Therefore, the academy changed its institutional strategy and withdrew from the EPPP. To achieve that, the academy chose to make focused commitments to elements of logics, while avoiding others. Rasmus Ankersen, the current director of football of Brentford FC describes their strategy in competing with stronger academies:

“For David to beat Goliath, he needed to use a different weapon. If David had used the same weapon, he would have lost the battle. You've got to find your weapons. That's what Brentford is about... If we play the same game, we're not going to win. We need to play another game... Brentford can't win by outspending the competition so we have to outthink them. And the question that comes from that is how can we be different? How can we do things in a different way? So, what are the inefficiencies in the system in football, and how can we exploit those?” (Bleacherreport 2017)

As Kraatz and Block (2008) describe, institutional logics are the rules of the game. As Brentford's director of football describes above, the academy was

struggling to find the right game to play, because of the rules which place it in direct competition with stronger academies. Hence, by avoiding pressures from logics of the EPPP, the academy managed to change its position within the field and to avoid strong competitors. Therefore, achieved lower level of competition. From this position of lower level competition, the academy sought to establish a competitive edge by creating close links among the elite squad and the first team, as well as a clear pathway into the first team and make a profit through transfers of academy graduates to other clubs. Hence, even if the academy's aim remained the same, the strategy, or the approach to institutional logics has changed. The academy is now focusing on an elite squad of just 18 players aged from 18 to 23 years old. The new approach according to the director of the academy:

Allowed far more flexibility on how we do that because we are not as restricted by regulation or rules. It was the most sustainable and effective option (The Guardian 2017).

Even though the academy remained within the same organisational field, it sought for more flexibility regarding the implementation of the strategy for creating a competitive advantage through its operation. The first step was to avoid the stronger competitors. In the official statement of the clubs it is written:

A cornerstone of that evaluation process was that the Club must strive to find ways to do things differently to our rivals, in order to compete and progress as a Championship football club. We cannot outspend the vast majority of our competitors, therefore, we will never shy away from taking the kind of decision that can give us a competitive edge (Brentford F.C. 2016).

5.1.3. Elements of a corporation logic

The academy managed to avoid competitors by withdrawing entirely from the EPPP. In this regard, the academy avoided to seek legitimacy through the academy's position in the "market" of academies and also avoided to seek

status through a hierarchy among academies. However, this does not mean that they avoided the corporation logic in total. In the official announcement, it is stated that:

The new Development Squad will benefit from close links to the senior squad and a clear pathway into First Team football. We intend that this clear commitment to the development pathway will stand Brentford apart as a stand-out option for the most talented young players (Brentford F.C. 2016).

Therefore, the academy still seeks to establish a reputation as a corporation which offers the opportunity to its employees, in this case, players, to go through the levels of hierarchy. According to the club's officials, this reputation will attract more players, which is also an advantage compared to competitors who do not offer clear pathway through hierarchy either because they choose "ready" players from the market, or because neighbouring Premier League clubs cannot offer many opportunities for first team football to young players due to the high level of competition in the Premier League (Interview, 16). The Head of Football Operations comments that the aim of this approach is:

To create the most effective pathway into the first team of all English clubs... now we've had one year of a very good games programme and a very efficient pathway which means we can clearly present how we develop players and the opportunities we can provide (The Guardian 2017).

Withdrawal from the EPPP does not affect the academy's legitimacy as a corporation. The academy is not officially audited in order to gain a certain status and be legitimated through that. However, it is still organising friendly matches against academies which participate in the EPPP, as well as matches against the top academies around Europe (BBC 2019). This acceptance from legitimate members of the EPPP, and

the reputation it built around Europe as an academy with an innovative approach to youth development (BBC, 2019) allows the academy to be perceived as a legitimate academy according to a corporation logic.

5.1.4. Elements of a market logic

Ultimately though, the aim of the effective pathway from the academy to the first team is not just to increase the number of homegrown players. As it is stated in the official document, the academy aims to differentiate and create a competitive advantage based on a market logic. Hence, as it is explicitly described:

Moreover, the development of young players must make sense from a business perspective. The review has highlighted that, in a football environment where the biggest Premier League clubs seek to sign the best young players before they can graduate through an Academy system, the challenge of developing value through that system is extremely difficult (Brentford F.C. 2016).

In this new structure of elite development, the academy complies with market logic and considers players as commodities that have a specific monetary value in the market. Thus, the academy establishes its legitimacy by determining the monetary value of operating an academy. According to the market logic, the primary criterion for the operation of the academy is the increased efficiency and profit. In this regard, employees of the academy, as well as players are just a means to fulfil this strategy. For example, the Head of Football operations explains that the academy chooses players who are undervalued in other markets, without taking into consideration other characteristics, than their sporting ability and their underestimated value, which can both contribute to the increased profit of the academy:

It's a lot easier in those undervalued markets to take a player and put him into our environment for the longer term. Our job is

improving the understanding of all the markets that are out there and trying to identify potential stars (The Guardian 2017).

The academy strives for a reputation within a market logic as a corporation in which characteristics like the nationality of players, or their origin from the local area are not considered important unless they contribute to increased efficiency or profit. Players who are recruited to the B team are aware of this approach, and describe it as an attractive feature:

“Since day one in the B team, you got the feeling that you are in a team with a very clear and straightforward aim, that is to become first team player, help the club achieve its aims, get exposed, increase your value and possibly get transferred to another club. Actually, you feel that first team football is one step away, so that gives you motivation to try harder. In a Premier League academy, things are not like that. The level of the first team is very high, there is a lot of money at stake, and you know it won't be easy to make it. From this perspective, you have very good reasons to accept to become a member of Brentford's B team” (Interview, 16).

Also, the academy pursues to establish a status according to a market logic by employing directors with a clear business orientation. As the Head of football operations described it: “The fact that our directors of football have expertise in business means probably we are more process-driven than your average club” (The Guardian 2017).

5.1.5. Elements of a professional logic

Regarding employees in the academy, the club also complies with some of the elements of the professional logic. More specifically it seeks to be legitimate through the personal expertise of the academy employees:

The new Elite Development Squad will be given a strong football education, learning the same playing style and philosophy as the

First Team. They will be ably supported by dedicated specialists from the sports science, medical and analysis teams (Brentford F.C. 2016).

Moreover, academy builds a reputation as an academy which employs professionals with an expertise in statistical modelling.

“Before I joined Brentford, I heard that there is, let’s say a “Moneyball” program in process. That they focus too much on numbers. When I became member of the B team, I saw it myself. It was not just the typical measurements you have in almost every club these days, neither was it the typical staff. They knew details about you, they knew numbers that you didn’t think matter, and the employees there, some of them, they were more like the type of professionals you meet in a stock broker company” (Interview, 16).

This reputation of the unique approach to youth development and the focus on just an elite squad has spread across Europe, as the German match agent Gerald Prell states: “It has become word of mouth that every game against them is good. They are unique for having just one youth team but they have created a team that can compete with Bayern Munich and many others” (BBC 2019).

5.1.6. Field position and commitments to logics

This case reveals the crucial role of field position regarding organisational responses to institutional logics. In their seminal work Leblebici, Salancik and Copay (1991), suggest that new practices within a field are most likely to be introduced by peripheral organisations, who are seeking to realise value from transactions because these organisations are newer and/ or less powerful and experimentation is less costly. More recently, Greenwood *et al.* (2011), also propose that peripheral organisations face a lower level of institutional pressures and hence lower levels of complexity. Therefore, according to the authors, peripheral organisations have a greater breadth of responses to

institutional logics compared to central organisations. In this case though, despite the fact that the academy is not one of the perceived big Premier League clubs, was keen to endorse the EPPP fully. From this perspective, it could be considered an academy of the centre of the field. Its aim was to achieve the highest possible status within the field, and indeed it managed to become the first academy of its level with such a high status, according to the official evaluation process. While positioned in the centre of the field, the academy managed to overly change its responses to institutional logics and actually to challenge the established norms of the field, while being positioned in the centre of it. From this perspective, it was not the field position that defined organisational responses, but organisational responses that defined field position. Because of the change in organisational responses, the academy is not considered part of the EPPP. In this regard, it can be conceptualised as an organisation in the periphery of the organisational field. The academy intentionally altered its strategy, by creating a distinct constellation of logics in order to move to a field position where there is no intense competition from stronger competitors.

5.1.7. Summary

To summarise, the club restructured its academy, by focusing and complying with specific elements of institutional logics. This change of focus was justified on the basis that the club needs to create a competitive advantage. Something that according to Brentford's FC director of football was not possible while being member of the EPPP (Bleacherreport 2017). The logic that mainly informs the new approach is the market logic with its explicit aim to be, the increased efficiency and profit. Elements of corporation and professional logics are also present in the constellation, but only to the extent, they facilitate the ultimate aim of the market logic. For example, the academy's close links with the first team were Brentford's competitive edge even before its withdrawal from the EPPP.

But the academy's sole focus on just an elite squad instead of a full academy structure means that more resources will be available for the chosen academy

players. Hence, the elite squad with its clear pathway to the first team serves the aim of increased efficiency and profit and also is a tempting option for players who may have been rejected from bigger clubs or who are not yet considered well enough for category 1 academies. Therefore, the club can have players in its academy without paying money for their development. In contrast to the period when the academy fully complied concurrently with all the logics of the field, the academy now has a more focused approach to institutional logics and their elements. To conclude, Brentford FC academy responded to institutional logics, by creating a constellation which places it in the periphery of the field and seek to create a competitive advantage based on the lower level of competition, the attractive set-up of the B team for dropped players from Premier League academies and foreign players, as well as, on the increased level of decision-making regarding academy management.

Table 15 depicts the elements of logics present in the academy

Elements of logics	Institutional logics			
	Corporation	Professional	Market	Community
Root metaphor	Academy is a corporation		Academy as a means for transactions	Academy has a common boundary with the local community
Sources of Legitimacy		Legitimacy through professional expertise of employees	Legitimacy through monetary value	

Sources of Identity	Reputation of the academy as a corporation		Reputation for applying market principles	
Basis of Attention			Status as an academy with market principles	
Basis of Strategy			Strategy of the academy is to increase efficiency/profit	

Table 15. Brentford's FC academy constellation of logics

5.2. Case 2-Everton FC academy

Case 2 refers to Everton FC academy. Everton FC is a Premier League club which is considered as one of the most successful for developing home-grown players in English football. According to official data, 6 out of 11 players who have made their debut in Premier League at the age of 16, has been developed from this club (The Telegraph 2012). Hence, before the introduction of the EPPP, the academy had the reputation for developing home-grown players.

“When David Moyes, our manager at the time, told me that the aim is to challenge for European qualification I thought, what should I do with the head of youth? So, my answer to that was, we are going to create a world leading environment for elite player development. This was before the EPPP and it is that arrogance to suggest that should we develop a world leading or a world class environment? And my answer to the people that asked that, was no...Now any team that aspires to be on the top seven of the Premier League, which will get you in to European

position which is what David Moyes wanted, has to develop world class players. And to develop world class players you need a world class environment to do that. So, if we needed to develop one player a season, we had to make sure that our program would develop world class young players. Did we succeed? Yes. We developed the best players that the country ever produced and Wayne Rooney (Interview, 14).

The academy's approach to the EPPP was defined by its aim to enhance its status and reputation, hence it aimed and achieved a category 1 status. In general, following Oliver's (1991) categorisation of strategic responses to institutional logics, the club's response to the new plan was to acquiesce by complying with its rules and accepting its norms. An academy's senior employee described the club's approach to the new plan as prescriptive:

Interestingly, the club chose to be quite prescriptive in the way that they implemented the full-time academy model subsequent to the logic of the EPPP and the category 1 status, it was actually something that I was in the process of undoing and in the process of building a more flexible and more balanced player development environment (Interview 7).

The academy, hence, had a clear strategy to acquire a category 1 status and had to comply with the main rules of the plan, but at the same time, was seeking to be flexible in the interpretation of these rules. More specifically, the academy was looking to establish its own philosophy regarding the implementation of the plan, within the limits of the EPPP though and in agreement with the governing bodies:

They were very clear that any club that had different ideas, as long as they could justify what they were doing and why, would likely be supported in doing that. In fact, many of the better academies, as I saw them, have stepped away from the prescribed nature of

the EPPP and have adopted a very club specific philosophy (Interview 7).

5.2.1 Elements of a corporation logic

The club's academy in the EPPP period is organised in corporate standards meaning that the academy is not considered a separate department, but an integrated part of the club, which aims to contribute to an increment in the size of the club. In this corporate structure, there is a clear hierarchy from the lowest level of the academy to the top level of the first team as well as predefined requirements to reach from one level to another.

One of the things we were in the process of doing `was trying to define, what the requirements of playing 1st team football really look like. What that looks like, and if we are actually creating a player development system that delivers players to that level of play with a very well-understood and definable set of attributes that we can pass on, to the Under 23's manager to the 1st team manager... (Interview 7).

By implementing the plan and complying with its rules, the club achieved a category 1 status. This status within the categorisation system of the EPPP granted legitimacy to the club's academy. According to the academy manager Alan Irvine at the time, the academy sought to exploit its legitimacy, by using it as a factor to attract young players:

When we try to attract players to the club, we are delighted to be able to say that we have Category One status. We are one of the leading academies in the country, and on top of that, there is a pathway to the first team. That is a very important selling point for us because everyone can see the opportunities that talented young players are given here. Over the years we have had a lot of young players come through and been given a chance, and that is not always the case at the big Premier League clubs. We wouldn't

like that to be undermined by the fact that we weren't Category One (Liverpool Echo 2012).

The clear corporate hierarchy and structure of the academy is considered crucial for attracting talented players.

“So, if a boy is wanted to be signed by Everton or Liverpool or Manchester United or Blackburn, why should he come to Everton? And the answer is simple: It is not bricks, it is not playing fields, it is not tours abroad, or giving them money. It is culture. It is a methodology. The way of doing things” (Interview, 14).

According to the rules of the corporation logic, as these expressed in the official document of the EPPP, the status of clubs' academies segregates academies in groups, in a hierarchical order, with the highest status group to enjoy unique benefits, in terms of access to players and funding. The category 1 status was an important element of the club's constellation of logics since it allowed it to differentiate from various competitors as an academy's senior employee stated:

I think that there is certainly a marketing element to it. OK. So, having category one status says you are among top tier academies in England. However, more practically and probably much more functionally, what it really means is that we have greater flexibility in our recruitment radius. We have the ability to offer things that category 2 and category 3 and 4 clubs cannot offer. And I think that allows us to attract and entice players...” (Interview 7).

The most important element though, that according to the senior employee contributes to a competitive advantage over direct competitors is the reputation of the club, of having an academy, which actually provides opportunities to young players to fulfil their potentials and reach the highest level of professional football. This reputation differentiates the club from competitors who have the

same category 1 status, and offers an advantage to the club, in persuading young talents to join the academy:

I think it relies on a history, which is a bit inflated, of providing a viable pathway into the first team. The fact that we can demonstrate that, allows us to say, by contrast, to let's say Manchester City, which may have a very different competitive advantage to us, but we are able to say and demonstrate very clearly to parents and players, look we actually put... we have evidence to show you, that players that come from our academy can and do make it to our first team or into the professional game..... All the other stuff related to things that are called out in the EPPP I don't think are necessarily elements of competitive advantage that can be clearly demonstrated in the short term..." (Interview 7).

Indeed an assessor of Everton's academy confirms that, in the world of football, Everton's academy has a better reputation for providing opportunities compared to some of its main competitors.

Pathway is very important. And probably if you have the opportunity to go to Chelsea or to go to Everton, then obviously Everton has a better reputation to give young kids an opportunity. Obviously in the past they had Rooney but more recently Barkley, Calvert Lewin, Holgate all those players (Interview, 15).

The club has an explicit focus on developing and maintaining a reputation of being an organisation that actually has a productive system of developing players and a philosophy of giving opportunities to academy players for playing in the first team. Actually, in the 17th September 2017 the academy achieved the impressive record of providing the first-team with at least one academy graduate for 1,000 consecutive matches. The critical aspect of this element is that the club can highlight it at any time since it is based on past performance

of the club, which is considered as an indication of what will happen in the future. In contrast to other elements which require a certain amount of time after their implementation to deliver results. The reputation of an academy which traditionally provides opportunities to its players, provides easier access to talented players, since it reassures their parents about the increased chances to get an opportunity to play professional football.

Ok, I am a toffee to the bone, but when I had to decide about which academy my son would attend, there were more important issues to think about. I think one of the main reasons for choosing Everton, was that over the years we have seen many academy graduates get their chance to play at the first team. When you know that there is this massive drop-out rate of academy players in the Premier League, you want to make the choice that will increase your chances, even slightly, to become a professional. So, Everton tick that box (Interview, 19).

The focus of the academy in the corporation logic is manifested in its strategy to contribute to the overall sporting success of the club. The aim is not just to develop players, but to develop players with specific characteristics, which will allow them to perform at the first-team level and contribute to the success of the first team:

Everton has always considered the development of home-grown players to be a key element of its football strategy. Together with an effective senior recruitment operation, the Academy plays an integral role in the future success of the Club by producing players capable of winning games at the highest levels of the Premier League (Everton FC n.d.)

A key aspect, which allows the academy department to implement its corporate strategy, is that it has the necessary financial support of the board of directors. In this regard, the investment in the academy is justified by the number of players, who are developing through the system and reach the first team level,

as a corporation logic suggests, and not, for example, from the increased profit that the club has, through its investment in the academy, as a market logic would suggest. Sean London, Head of Academy Coaching highlights the willingness of the Board to support the operation of the academy:

This is not a club paying lip-service to developing footballers. Everton's Academy is the lifeblood of the place. The Club has significantly backed the Academy throughout my time here. I have never known them to say 'no' to anything we have asked for, which is a massive stimulus for us (Everton FC n.d.).

5.2.2. Family logic

Within the academy, employees consider themselves responsible not only for the sporting characteristics of players but also their overall personality. From this perspective the academy is considered a family, within which employees and players are members of the same family and need to care for each other. Academy's manager Joel Waldron highlights the importance of the family logic for the academy:

Academy's culture, with its four principal tenets, focus on family, ambition, determination and authenticity. "The values underpin the day-to-day workings of our Academy: how we behave, how we represent our Club across the world of football and how we look after each other (Everton FC n.d.).

The club seeks to gain a reputation as a family, by actively involving the parents in the operation of the academy and highlighting that there is a mutually beneficial relationship of the family of the player and the player himself with the academy. As a result, they should all be loyal to the principles of the academy so as to achieve the best possible results, as it is highlighted in the two different quotes below:

And this is the piece that at Everton we were working to build a holistic environment that very purposefully and very strategically connected with parents in a way to help them become part of the process (Interview 7).

The club purposefully and strategically seeks to maintain its reputation as a family by embedding family principles in the day-to-day operation of the academy, as the academy manager Joel Waldron maintains:

Everything we do is geared towards the development of boys to play professional football – in each area, technically, tactically, physically and psychologically. But there remains a focus on not losing our family feel and being personable (Everton FC n.d.).

By developing and maintaining a family reputation, the club aims to establish a competitive advantage over competitors of the same category status, by highlighting, especially to players' parents, the family values of the academy, which can ensure the well-being of academy players.

My son had offers from other academies also, good category 1 academies. So before taking our decision, we went to visit all of them, not to check the facilities or the quality of the pitches, these are important, but more or less you get them in all category 1 academies. We wanted, if possible, to feel what the environment is like. Who are those people, with whom was my son going to spend hundreds of hours? So, after these visits, we discussed together and we both agreed that we felt better with people from Everton. Maybe you think I was biased because I am an Evertonian, but I will say that not me, not any parent, will ever put his kid in an environment for which they are not 100% sure that it is the right environment (Interview, 19).

Even parents whose sons played against Everton academy and they were just visitors got the feeling of a family environment.

I will give you an example. Everton had a very friendly and family environment from the minute you got into the training ground; the people in the car park, the people in the cafeteria, everything about it was a much more welcoming environment (Interview, 24).

By doing so, the club seeks to convince parents about the suitability of the academy environment, for developing overall personalities, and induce them to sign with the club. As the academy's senior employee described:

The club has made the commitment to engage with parents, very strategically and very transparently, who will ultimately make the decision of whether their son will come to Everton or Liverpool, or Man United or Man City... We felt like that could have offered a very modest but probably some level of competitive advantage compared to other clubs (Interview 2).

5.2.3. Professional logic

To support its corporation logic and to enhance the reputation of the family logic, the academy has a wide range of experienced and qualified employees. Under the EPPP rules, the club has to have specific numbers of qualified employees, in order to gain and maintain the category 1 status of the academy. From this perspective, the academy is legitimated through the professional expertise of its employees, the academy director Joel Waldron states:

As staff, we all recognise we play a leading role in the boys' football development – and a supporting role in their wider development, with their parents, schools and friends (Everton FC n.d.).

However, the club further focuses on the professional logic. More specifically, the club seeks to create a competitive advantage by employing higher numbers of professionals compared to its direct competitors. Martin Waldron, who was

the Head of Everton Academy Recruitment for 24 years, describes the Everton academy's network of scouts as the most extensive in the country:

It's a huge operation now and, in terms of scouts, we're probably the biggest in the country. Locally, we have around 235 scouts who cover the North West within an hour's radius of here. Nationally, we've got 90 professional scouts who go around all of the professional clubs around the country and report back to us (Liverpool Echo 2016).

The scouting network was not developed during the EPPP era. The academy has been investing in the talent identification and recruitment area for the last two decades. A high level employee, who had been working in the academy for more than 2 decades, explains that the scouting network which started with 3 scouts, now runs in global scale.

The scouting network at Everton developed in a very, very elementary view. When I started, we had 3 local scouts, that's all, and the department grew when we started adding areas around the northwest of England, then more in to England, then in to Ireland, then in to Scotland, then in to Wales. Now it is gone from that little seed to being global. You know there is a full-time scout in France, a full-time scouter in Germany, in Holland, and so on. There is a full-time scout in North America and South America, who are employed full-time by the club, but also identify youth players. It is massive. I employed the first video analyst at Everton, to work with our youth team coach and he came from John Moores University Liverpool. We now have something over forty performance analysts and video technicians just in the academy. When I started, we run on a budget of about seventy thousand pounds and that included my salary, which is now over 7 million a year (Interview, 14).

One of the assessors of the Everton academy acknowledges the importance the scouting network has and the advantage it provides.

I can assure you that they have a competitive advantage there. Like I said, I did their full assessment, a few years ago, but I know quite well how they operate in recruitment and yes, it is a very clear advantage. So, they have a big network, but again it is how they do things. For example, they know the best 3 players in every single age group in every single professional academy. So, they would know the 3 best players in Coventry, probably better than the staff from Coventry... and they have exactly those Depth-Charts for every single age group in every single academy in the professional leagues. So, 92 academies. It is unbelievable (Interview, 15).

The extensive network of scouts, alongside with the professionals in the academy who have the expertise and specialised knowledge to analyse data about potential academy players, constitute an advantage for the academy. This network of professionals provide the academy with a very detailed insight into the potential young footballers, which allows it to recruit the best available young players, particularly from the local area. This extensive network of professionals not only has an obvious impact on the daily operation of the academy, but also during the course of the years created the reputation of the academy as operating in professional standards.

5.2.4. Community logic

To support its corporate strategy of developing players for the first team, the club focuses on the local community to identify potential academy players. Sean Lundon, Head of Academy Coaching at Everton, highlights that employees of the club recognise that there is a common boundary amongst supporters and club employees as they share common values and principles.

We have a clear philosophy which we created together as a staff. It is rooted in what we felt was the club's way, from looking at players who historically have come through and Everton as a club. A lot of the staff are supporters of the club and have a real feel for

the Club and its culture and the demands of the fans (Everton FC n.d.).

As the Academy Director until 2014, Alan Irvine emphasises, the club has a status of investing in local talents and developing them to the level of the first team:

We want the best local boys. We want Rodwells and Rooney coming from the Under 9s into the first team. It's part of the culture here (The Telegraph 2012).

During the years of the operation of the academy, and by identifying, investing and developing local talents, the club has built a reputation as a club which develops players from the local community. The Chairman of the Club Bill Kenwright recognises the importance that home-grown players have for the local community and for supporters in general.

Evertonians love nothing more than seeing 'one of their own' pull on the famous royal blue jersey and run out at Goodison Park. A local young footballer progressing through the ranks and playing for the club in the Premier League is something that makes us extraordinarily proud, and thankfully we've had plenty over the years (Everton FC n.d.).

An Everton supporter and parent of Everton's academy player describes that there is a special feeling when you see an academy graduate playing in the first team.

Every time you see an academy graduate playing in the first team, you are thinking, oh my God, one of us have made the dream come true, and you know that this guy who was a ball-boy at Goodison Park a few years ago and he spent all these years in the club, he knows the feeling. He knows what it means to be an Evertonian. Obviously, if you play for

Everton you are one of us, but when you are a home-grown player then it is a different story (Interview, 19).

By providing the local talents with the opportunity to play in the first team, the club establishes a unique and strong bond with its supporters. This bond can be by itself a competitive advantage. For example, an established community reputation may result in supporters being more willing to spend money on watching their club, or that they support the club even in periods of bad results. However, it is beyond the scope of this research to identify the positive impact of a strong bond between supporters and their respective football club.

5.2.5. Case summary

The case refers to a category 1 academy of a big Premier League club which traditionally focuses on youth development. The financial power of the club as well as its strategic choice to have a well-organised academy, resulted in the organisation of the academy in corporate standards. In the EPPP period, the academy chose to comply with the main rules of the plan fully, in order to acquire and maintain a category 1 status for its academy. The compliance to the rules granted legitimacy to the academy, while the category 1 status of the academy, established it among the top academies in the country, according to the categorisation system of the EPPP.

The main focus, though, of the academy is on developing and maintaining during the years, a reputation as an academy which has a productive system of developing home-grown players and also as having a philosophy of giving opportunities to academy graduates to play in the first team. This reputation is justified by the previous success of the academy in developing players and more clearly in the number of academy players who actually played in the first team during the years. By highlighting this reputation, the academy seeks to establish a competitive advantage over competitors, by enticing young players and their family to choose this academy. The academy is considered a family, and its members care for the well-being of each other. By focusing on the family aspects, the academy seeks to persuade, especially parents, that its priority is

the well-being of young players and the overall development of players' personality. The academy in order to accomplish its aims has a workforce of qualified professionals. According to a professional logic and in order to maintain the category 1 status, the academy gains legitimacy by the number and qualifications of its employees, and it goes one step further by focusing on specific expertise of employees in order to establish a competitive advantage. More specifically, it employs a high number of scouts, so to have an advantage over competitors, in identifying talents, mainly from the local area.

A community logic complements the corporation and the family logic of the academy. While the academy's explicit aim is to develop players for the first team, they seek to do that by focusing on the local community. Not only the academy identifies and gives the opportunity to local talent, but also many of its employees share common values with fans since they are supporters of the club themselves. By focusing on local talents and employing supporters, the academy develops a strong bond with the supporters and the local community, which by itself might be a source of competitive advantage. Table 16 below highlights the logics and their elements present in the academy

Elements of logics	Institutional logics				
	Corporation	Profession	Family	Market	Community
Root metaphor	Academy is a corporation		Academy as a family		Academy has a common boundary with the local community
Sources of	Position of the academy	Legitimacy through professional	Legitimacy as a family by		

Legitimacy	within the market of academies	expertise employees	involving parents in the operation		
Sources of Identity	Reputation of the academy as giving opportunities to reach higher levels of hierarchy				Reputation as an academy which develops local talents and employs supporters
Basis of Attention	Category 1 status of the academy attracts players	Status as an academy which employs high numbers of specific professionals	Reputation as a family, by embedding family values in the academy		Status by identifying and developing local talent
Basis of Strategy	Club seeks to develop players capable of performing at the highest level				Strategy to recruit local talents

Table 16. Everton's FC academy constellation of logics

5.3. Case 3-Birmingham City FC academy

Case 3 refers to Birmingham City's category 2 status academy. As May (2019) describes, in the last decade the club has been facing financial problems, due to the poor planning of its previous owner Carson Yeung, which had a negative impact on the sporting performance of the first team. Birmingham City FC were relegated from the Premier League in 2011 and since then they have competed in the Championship, the second tier of English football. During these years of financial struggles, the club have sold many first team players and replaced some of them with academy graduates. From this perspective, the academy fulfils one of the main aims of each academy: to provide players to the first team. It is not within the scope of this thesis to analyse the reasons why these academy graduates were promoted to the first team, but instead to focus on the logics to which the academy commits in its attempt to gain a competitive advantage. Moreover, the fact that since 2011 the club has remained in the second tier of English football, means that these academy graduates have contributed to club's attempt to avoid relegation, which as Gillett and Tennent (2018) suggest is a unique factor which characterises what the authors call the elite sport logic. Indeed, an academy director with many years of experience in one of the most successful Premier League academies recognises the quality work of Birmingham City FC's academy, even within the context of the poor financial management of the first team.

Birmingham is a fantastic example of a successful academy that knows exactly what it wants and how to get what it wants and doesn't, even constrained by the perception of external factors. The biggest challenge Birmingham has is its owner model and leadership, it impacts the club. But within the context of the academy, the success they had with the development of players, like Demarai Gray and Jude Bellingham, the way in which you see the creativity of Birmingham academy to achieve results with limited resources, is a great example for how it can be achieved, in spite of the difficulties the club has (Interview, 23).

As it was discussed in a previous chapter, the EPPP was not willingly accepted by all Football League clubs. However, this academy, according to a senior academy employee considers the new plan as an opportunity to improve the overall organisation of the academy:

The EPPP brought all the departments together from the bottom to top perspective but also across the ranges of different areas of sport science, medicine your coaches your technical staff your administrators and there is a real understanding now of what goes in to the development of players and how all the departments work together, is not just the balls on the park (Interview, 6).

The academy complies with the requirements of the plan because it considered them as opportunities to improve its operation. While it achieved a category 2 status, the academy compromises and negotiates the implementation of some requirements, which are contradictory to the beliefs and values of the club. An academy's senior employee, involved in the day-to-day operation of the academy, labels the academy's approach to the requirements of the plan as flexible:

So, there are lots and lots demanding what you do, but at the same time, there is flexibility within it. Where you can tweak to an extent... There are some things that we have to do. Most things we do, we believe in them. Some things the EPPP forced us to do, but we believe them. There are some things that we don't believe in, but we can't say no, no I am not going to do that. Obviously, we want these things, we want to get our category status. So, we have to bend our values a little bit... if there is something that is really different and really the opposite of our philosophy and what we believe in, then we would not do it, and we would say no we don't do that because we do this and explain why we don't do it (Interview, 6).

The above quote highlights the flexibility of the academy in deciding about the commitments to various institutional logics. Furthermore, it showcases that organisations have the capacity to choose among elements of logics, even in highly institutionalized organisational fields where there are coercive pressures for compliance. The EPPP requires compliance with at least minimum standards in order to gain legitimacy and achieve a certain status. The academy recognises the potential benefits of certain academy status. On the other hand, it identifies its disadvantages compared to its competitors. More specifically, the academy does not have the financial power to invest in state-of-the-art facilities, so instead chooses to focus on creating a highly specialised team of professional employees and also a well-organised corporate structure, as the current academy manager highlights:

There is obviously a lot being made over the previous years in the investment clubs have been made up and down the country on multi-million pounds facilities. We are not in a position where we can do that (Birmingham City Football Club 2013).

Therefore, the academy instead of competing directly with financially stronger clubs which have the resources to invest significantly more, chooses to focus on less costly, but equally important features in order to differentiate and create a competitive advantage.

5.3.1 Elements of a corporation logic

As mentioned in the introduction of the case, the academy -through compliance to the requirements of the EPPP- improved the organisation of departments and the co-operation among them to serve the overall aim of developing players for the first team. By complying to and fulfilling the requirements of the plan, the academy gained legitimacy. Moreover, this compliance allowed the academy to achieve a category 2 academy status, establishing its position in the field. The academy manager maintains that the corporate organisation under the EPPP improved the overall operation of the academy:

There is a real understanding now of what goes in to the development of players and how all the departments work together (The Whitehouse Adress 2014).

Despite the fact that the academy is not considered a top academy in terms of investment and has a category 2 status, it manages to create a reputation for developing players through its organised pathway from the academy to the first team. The reputation is based on the official productivity ranking of academies, in which the academy had the fifth place in the country in 2016. As the academy manager explains

“It's part of the audit process for the EPPP that clubs have to go through for categorisation, which operates on a three-year cycle...Every three years your productivity scores are provided by the governing body. It's an anonymous provision of data which allows you to track your progress in relation to where you are in relation to other clubs...And if you looked at the data over the last three years we're fifth in the country.” (Birmingham City Football Club the 2016).

As the academy's manager emphasizes, the academy seeks to exploit this reputation by retaining its best players, so they will not choose to transfer to another academy, and by attracting new talents, who will choose the academy because of the opportunity it offers for playing football at the professional level. The academy manager states that despite the financial difficulties of the club, the academy does not face problems in attracting and retaining players.

We haven't had any problems in retaining players who have been courted by other clubs, and we haven't had any issues in recruiting players who have been courted by other clubs. So, from that perspective, we're really pleased with our product, if you like. And what you have got to do is keep improving it and keep developing it (Birmingham Live 2013).

In this regard, the reputation of a clear pathway from the academy to the first team can be considered as a competitive advantage. Indeed, one of the senior employees of the academy described this reputation as their big advantage.

I think it is the productivity, so we had a lot of players getting into the first team, lot of players going to the first team and then going to bigger and better teams, England call-ups, playing in the Premier League etc. So that is the big one (Interview 6).

As mentioned in the introduction of the case, understanding the reasons why academy graduates are promoted is not within the scope of the thesis. However, the quality of the work in the academy and the pathway to the first team helped the club to overcome some of its difficulties when it had to sell top first-team players.

It is important to note that elements of logics do not work in isolation of each other, but their effect is based on their interrelation. In this case, the academy indeed has established a reputation for developing players through its corporate structure. However, this would not be possible if professionals in the academy would not have accepted to serve the strategy of the corporate logic and would not have committed to a creative approach in the implementation of the EPPP.

5.3.2. Elements of a professional logic

As is explicitly stated in the official announcements, the academy mainly focuses on a highly specialised professional workforce and especially coaches.

The Club's vision and strategy centre around, providing a first-class coaching environment for all of the young players registered in its system (Birmingham City Football Club n.d.).

The academy appreciates that the essential element is not the perception of how "big" a club is, or how much a club invests in academy facilities, but the professional status and expertise of the academy staff

However, the detail is not certainly in how big the club is and how good the facilities are. The detail is how good the coaches are and how good the staff are (Interview, 6).

A football professional previously working as assessor for EPPP academies and currently as consultant for the Premier League highlights the quality of coaching at Birmingham and the process for creating a player-specific curriculum.

Their coaching in Birmingham is very productive. If you are a player in Birmingham, you have a very detailed plan how to get better and what you have to do. A little bit like at school, if you are not performing well in certain subjects. Birmingham has the same approach, a very detailed, granular... what a player needs to do to become a better player. (Interview, 20).

According to the rules of the EPPP, an academy has to have a minimum number of professional staff in order to be considered a legitimate academy. In this case, the academy not only complies to these minimum requirements, but it goes a step further and seeks to differentiate based on the status of its professional staff, as well as through the distinct way in which coaches deliver coaching sessions. The EPPP requires training sessions and matches to have a particular game format. However, the academy adjusts training sessions so its players develop their decision-making ability under different scenarios. One of the coaches highlighted the academy's differentiated approach to coaching:

The games programme is one of the major's issue we have in the country. We don't provide them different scenarios... we sought to instil a more varied games programme, alternating different formats (9v9/11v11) and changing the space of pitches to offer

different tempo's and force different decisions... so we can prepare them for the future game (The Whitehouse Adress 2014).

The academy's innovative approach to the implementation of the EPPP contribute to an enhanced reputation regarding the professional staff of the academy and their ability to think outside of the box. An academy manager with more than 20 years of experience in one of the big-six football clubs in England supports that Birmingham's academy manages to make EPPP work for them.

What they got right is that they have to be innovative, creative and not just stand on what the rules dictate to them how to do their job. How can you make the EPPP work for you, rather than against you (Interview, 22).

A senior auditor who was involved in the latest assessment of Birmingham City's academy confirms its reputation as an academy with a creative approach to youth development which differentiates the academy from competitors.

Actually, Birmingham is a very good example. Because I did their assessment. Birmingham is finding more creative ways so, with a lesser budget, they find more creative ways to go about things and put in place things which don't cost money, which are processes, which are how we are going to do our reviews, do we have to do reviews? That part of the EPPP, but how are we going to do those, what are we going to focus on, are we going to give some ownership with the players? Are we going maybe to do something creative with it and that's exactly what Birmingham was able to do... So they were more putting their focus and more thinking about how they are going to achieve things, whereas maybe category 1 academies, because they have so many staff and so much more resources, they feel lesser need to maybe think about creative ways. So, I think in that way, that's a way to achieve differentiation (Interview, 15).

According to a high-level employee of the academy this innovative approach constitutes the competitive edge of the academy.

If you got a clear philosophy and you got good staff always looking outside the box and always trying to develop individually and collectively and trying to be better, then I think you can get a competitive advantage by being better, by working harder, by doing things a little bit differently. By thinking about things, a little bit deeper I think you can get a competitive edge, definitely (Interview, 6).

Academy's staff seek to deliver its innovative approach to the implementation of the EPPP, within an environment which allows the academy players to develop their personality alongside their sporting ability and parents to have direct access and information to their sons' development.

5.3.3. Elements of a family logic

While the academy manager recognizes the importance of an innovative approach to the implementation of the EPPP in order to overcome some of the financial issues, he also highlights the importance of an environment that will help the academy to retain its players.

The importance from our perspective we have always try to operate in the same way. That is if you provide what the boys need and give them an environment where they want to come to, why would they want to go anywhere else? (Birmingham City Football Club 2013)

A high-level employee of the academy maintains that a competitive advantage of the academy is the family environment.

I think an area we can claim we have a competitive advantage, or at least we want to have an advantage is the environment of the academy. We want to create a family feel. So, we want to create an environment where the club is like a second home for the kids

and the parents. To come and enjoy. To love being here, because they get on with the coaches, they get on with the staff (Interview 6).

A parent of an academy player confirms that the environment was a major influence for him and his son to choose Birmingham City academy.

I am not the biggest football fan, so I am not one of these guys who can tell you details about the story of each club, or what system a club is playing etc. I am a father though, so I know about the importance of a family environment and I can tell if an environment is right. Whether it is a school, a football academy, my son's group of friends or a café. So, when we got the offer, the club had all these problems with the owner and from this perspective it was not looking as the best choice, we also had heard that the academy manager is a really nice guy. So, we came here talked to the manager, talked to coaches, and it was like we knew them for years. Young professionals, always a smile on, willing to answer any question. So, went back to the car, I had my opinion already, but asked my son, how do you feel about it? And he says, if you have some time I would like to go and play even now. That was it, the decision was taken and after these years, I can tell you, it was the right decision, because I know, that all these years my son is happy, because of the way he feels while in the academy (Interview, 11).

From this perspective, indeed the family reputation attracts and convinces players to attend the academy. Taking into consideration that neighboring academies have more financial resources, it is important for Birmingham City academy to find alternative processes for attracting, retaining and developing academy players.

5.3.4 Elements of a market logic

The priority of the academy is to develop players for the first team (Interview, 6). However, the academy also commits to elements of a market logic, since as the assistant academy manager suggests when academy graduates, after having played for the first team, are sold to other clubs, the academy has a return on the investment has made for developing these players.

Nathan Redmond joining his local club, going to an enjoyable youth development programme, playing for his local team and then the club recouping some of the costs of the programme through his sale is a win-win for everyone isn't it? (Skysports 2018a)

By enhancing its reputation for developing players who are becoming saleable assets, that the club sells, the academy attracts players and their parents who see an opportunity for a career in professional football. A parent of an academy player admits the prospect of a big contract is definitely a motivation for choosing an academy.

I assure you, by the time your son gets an offer from a professional football club, especially if this club is in Championship or the Premier League, you think about all these money figures you hear about. I am not saying that this is your main concern, but you definitely think about it. So, when there is an academy, and you know that this academy in recent years, developed a number of players who afterwards got big contracts, then you think why not my son? Think about it, a very good academy, a good environment, for whatever reason promotes players to the first team, they are getting exposed to the most lucrative championship in the world and then, they get a big contract. Ok if the environment was not right, we would never have chosen Birmingham, but the environment

was there, so I will be honest with you, the possibility that this choice will may end with a big contract played its role (Interview, 11).

As May (2019) describes, due to financial problems during 2011, 2012 and 2013 the club sold many first team players and promoted academy players to the first team, in order to cover these openings in the squad since it was a cheaper option compared to buying ready players. From this perspective, the academy also contributed to the club's attempt to raise funds in order to overcome some of its financial difficulties. However, it is not within the scope of this thesis to analyse how an academy may serve the broader aims of a football club, but to identify the strategic significance of institutional logics.

5.3.5. Case summary

Three of the most famous Birmingham City's academy graduates are Natham Redmond, Jack Butland and Demarai Gray. They all went through Birmingham City's academy, made more than 200 combined appearances for the first team and were then sold in multi-million-pound deals. For a high-level employee of the academy, cases like the above summarise the ideal outcome for the academy.

We want to help as many of them achieve and become a professional player at Birmingham City. If not here, then other clubs and if we can get them to the first team and sell them for profit, obviously even better (Interview 6)

Birmingham City's academy seeks to gain an advantage in the process of developing players for the first team by making commitment to elements of corporate, professional, family and market logics. By acknowledging its disadvantages due to the recent financial difficulties of the club, the academy compromises on the logics of the field and finds creative and innovative ways to implement the requirements of the EPPP. Despite the

financial issues of the club, the category 2 status means that the academy must invest a certain minimum amount of money annually. From this perspective, the academy operates in a stable financial environment. Within this financial environment, the academy seeks to differentiate through its investment in professionals with innovative approach to coaching and creativity in implementing the processes that are required from the EPPP. The productive coaching of the academy develops players at a level which allows their promotion to the first team. This established pathway and the provision of opportunities for playing first-team football makes the academy an attractive choice for talented players and their parents. The academy supplements the corporation logic with elements of a family logic. The aim of the academy is to establish an environment which contributes to the overall development of players and reassures parents about the welfare of their children. This environment attracts new players and also “protects” from losing current players to other academies, since as the academy manager claims “if the kids are happy in our environment then they will not choose to leave” (Birmingham City Football Club 2013). Ultimately, by promoting players to the first team, the club aims to achieve a return on its investment on the development of these players through possible sales to other clubs for a profit. Table 17 below depicts the elements of logics present in the academy.

Elements of logics	Institutional logics			
	Corporation	Profession	Family	Market
Root metaphor	Academy is a corporation		Academy as family	
Sources of Legitimacy	Position of the academy within the market of academies	Legitimacy through professional expertise of employees		

Sources of Identity	Reputation of producing high volume of homegrown players through a corporate structure	Reputation of innovative and creative approach to coaching		Reputation for developing players who become saleable assets
Basis of Attention	Category 2 status of the academy attracts players	Status as an academy which employs qualified professionals with an innovative approach to coaching		
Basis of Strategy	Club seeks to develop players capable of performing at the level of the first team or individuals to work in professional football			

Table 17. Birmingham's City FC academy constellation of logics

5.4. Case 4-Wigan Athletic

The case refers to Wigan Athletics' academy, a former Premier Club currently competing in the Championship, which never had a strong focus on the youth development. An experienced academy manager states that the owner of the club was not seeing any value in the youth program

When they were in the Premier League they were not investing in the youth program and they had no aspiration for their youth program and the owner at the time didn't see the value of the youth program (Interview, 23).

In the pre-EPPP era, despite being a Premier League club, it chose to operate a Centre of Excellence and not an Academy. Their approach to youth development was to sign academy players over the age of 16 who were dropped by other Premier League clubs (Interview 2). After the introduction of the EPPP, though, the club applied for a category 2 status academy, but the application was unsuccessful and, since then, the club operates a category 3 status academy. In August 2019 and while this thesis was about to be submitted, the academy managed to fulfill the requirements for a category 2 status. This thesis covers the period when the academy had a category 3 status and organised its strategy based on this status.

The fact that the club in the Premier League operated a Centre of Excellence but as a Championship club decided to invest and apply for a category 2 academy highlights a change in the approach to youth development and proves that, under the specific and strict requirements of the EPPP, the club identified an opportunity for investment in youth development.

The academy did not achieve a category 2 status, though, due to a lack of an indoor training dome. As category 3 status academy, it is striving to prove its differentiated approach compared to other category 3 academies, by making commitments to elements of logics which result in a distinct constellation. The academy had to comply with the requirements of the plan to be successful in

its strategy. However, since the result of the auditing process categorised the academy in the third status group, it had to compromise and negotiate the implementation of some of the rules as will be discussed below. In general, the academy seeks to gain legitimacy by being a member of the EPPP and complies with rules even if it does not agree with them, exploits the elements which it considers best suited to its strategy and finally, negotiates the implementation of some rules to be established as a differentiated category 3 academy. A respondent summarised the club's approach to the EPPP:

With the prescriptive side of it, I would say that we are doing things we don't believe in to get points. That's wrong... There are areas of youth development that you don't believe in, but you have to still progress with to gain points to tick the boxes as they say. I think the balance is trying to make sure you invest heavily your time and money on the things that you do believe in to produce players, and you don't in areas you don't believe, but it is very prescriptive and does make differentiation quite difficult (Interview 2).

5.4.1. Elements of a corporation logic

Even though the academy did not achieve its aim of gaining category 2 status, compliance to the rules of the EPPP granted legitimacy to the academy as an academy that operates under the rules of an established organisational field. While the auditing process classified the academy to the third tier of the EPPP, the compliance to the rules facilitated a better organisation of the academy and a structured approach to youth development:

I think it brings a consistent level of work and development... What it does though, is the consistency. It does provide consistency. It stops clubs from saying they are doing certain things when they don't. It stops clubs of receiving funding and investing into the wrong areas of the business (Interview 2).

Therefore, the EPPP facilitated the club's attempt to build a more structured academy system. Before the EPPP, the club was mainly taking academy players over the age of 16. The corporate strategy now is to try and progress players through, from the lowest level of the 9 years old, all the way up to the Under-23 team and ultimately the first team:

The outcome is still the same we want to develop homegrown players, we want to increase our match-day squad with homegrown players, and we have 2-3 now... we want to try to build that up to about 25% and to sell homegrown players (Interview 2).

However, the category 3 status of the academy is not considered as an element that facilitates the implementation of the corporate strategy. The club is currently playing in the Championship, while a few years before it was competing in the Premier League. From this perspective, the aim of the academy is to develop players for at least the Championship level, if not Premier League level. However, matches against category 3 academies are not considered competitive enough to contribute to the development of players capable of performing at the highest levels of the professional game. Moreover, the category 3 status is not regarded as a tempting option for young players who have the ambition to play at the highest possible level. Since, at the time of this research, the club did not plan to invest in an indoor dome facility, which would have upgraded its category status and consequently its match program, the academy had to find ways to differentiate to be perceived as a higher-level academy than it is. A high-level employee of the academy articulates their attempt to differentiate and create a competitive advantage:

What we decided to do, because our games programme is not as competitive as we wanted to be, we came out of the reserve league, the category 3 league and now play good competitive friendlies against top clubs. Now we have a bespoke programme for our under 23s. We are able to organise our own friendlies, it is

not a league programme but it is against good teams. So, our players have the opportunity to play against players who they might face when they will play Championship football. This is our competitive edge with the games programme. And from my point of view, we have got to be seen as the best category 3 academy in the country so when players dropped from category 1, category 2, they will come to us for the competitive programme and maybe back to first-team football (Interview 2).

As a current consultant of the Premier League clarifies, the academy participates in the category 3 academies league but it enhances its match-program by organising matches against higher level academies.

They do participate in that league. But they also have bigger games programme. So if you are a 12 year old, you will play other clubs in that league, in the category 3 league, but because it is Wigan and they are traditionally a better club, they will be able to attract Manchester City, Manchester United to play them as well. So, they have an enhanced games programme. They are right, but it is not that they do not participate, it is they a much more enhanced programme (Interview 20).

Given that the academy faces difficulties in upgrading its status through the construction of the necessary facility, but it is still investing as much as category 2 status academies, it created a bespoke match programme against higher status academies. This strategy allows the academy to be considered equivalent to higher status academies. From this perspective, it can be argued that the academy upgrades its status in the field, through the acceptance and willingness of higher status academies to play against it. By focusing on upgrading its status, the academy managed to avoid being categorised within a group of academies which are perceived of lower quality. Moreover, the “unofficial” upgrade contributes to attracting players, and especially those who have been released from category 1 and category 2 academies. The academy aims to attract these players, who will choose to play in a category 3 academy

that competes every week against top academies in friendly matches rather than a category 3 academy that only participates in the perceived lower quality official league. A head assessor of EPPP academies confirms that a bespoke match program of a category 3 academy contributes in attracting players

England only start from under-16. So, even a so-called league game is still a friendly game. So, it could be a competitive advantage. If you are Wigan and you have Shrewsbury down the road and Shrewsbury plays all the other category 3 academies and Wigan plays against category 2, so they play against Birmingham, they play against category 1 academies, young player may choose Wigan because they play more attractive games, even if you know that they are only friendly games. (Interview 15).

An ex-member of Wigan Athletic FC academy explains the importance of the match program in choosing an academy

There is a huge drop-out rate of professional football academies, and I was also dropped from category 1 academy. When something like this is happening, you have two options, you either stop trying to become of professional footballer, or you try to find you way back. So, when I found myself in this situation and had offers from some category 3 academies, I chose Wigan just because I knew they organise their own match program. So, I thought this is my chance to prove myself and got a second chance (Interview 9)

By implementing this strategy of the bespoke match program, the academy differentiates its status from other category 3 academies and at the same is considered an equivalent to higher status academies, without directly compete with them. According to a high-level employee of the academy this differentiation allows the academy to claim that its match program is the competitive advantage

We do have what we believe as an advantage. Our match program against top academies. Kids compare and see that. So it is easier for us compared to other category 3 academies to have attract players (Interview 2).

5.4.2 Case summary

In this case, the plan does not categorise the academy as a category 2. Consequently, according to the rules of the EPPP, the academy cannot compete in the “Professional Development League”, the league for all the clubs which operate a category 2 academy, but in the less competitive league for category 3 academies. The reason for that is that the academy, regardless of the volume of its investment in youth development, does not have an indoor football dome which is a requirement for category 2 academies.

Nonetheless, the academy seeks to establish a competitive advantage while operating under the EPPP rules, by choosing to balance between compliance to the requirements and negotiation of some of the rules. Therefore, the academy, without withdrawing from the EPPP, differentiates compared to other category 3 academies through its bespoke match programme. The academy created a competitive match programme for the Under-23 squad, so to prepare their players in the best possible way for first-team football. Compared to other category 3 academies, Wigan Athletics’ academy attracts players by offering them the opportunity to showcase their skills against academies operated by Premier League and Championship clubs, instead of playing in a regional academy league.

Moreover, the bespoke match programme appeals to academy players who have been rejected from higher ranked academies, since it offers a way back to top-level football. Since the EPPP allows academies to create their own bespoke match programme without consequences in terms of reduced legitimacy or decreased funding, the academy attempts to establish a competitive advantage by creating a distinct constellation of logics.

On the one hand, the academy differentiates from category 3 academies, so it has advantageous access to players. On the other hand, the “unofficial” upgrade of its status allows the academy to be considered equivalent to higher level academies, but without the need to fulfil the same requirements and also directly compete with stronger clubs. Table 18 is a depiction of elements of logics present in the academy.

Elements of logics	Institutional logics	
	Corporation	Professional
Root metaphor	Academy is a corporation	
Sources of Legitimacy	Position of the academy within the market of academies	
Sources of Identity		
Basis of Attention	“Unofficially” a high-status academy	
Basis of Strategy	Strategy to upgrade the status of the academy through differentiated match program and develop professionals from the	

	academy to the first team	
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Table 18. Wigan's Athletic academy constellation of logics

5.5 Case 5-Coventry City FC academy

After spending 34 years in the first tier of English football Coventry City FC were relegated from the Premier League to the second tier of English football at the end of season 2000/01. At that point, the club was financially struggling since it had a debt of £60 million which resulted in changes to the business operation of the club (Cleland *et al.* 2018). One of the major impacts of this financial situation was that the club became a tenant to Ricoh arena, a facility which originally was planned to be built as Coventry City's owned stadium. An even more severe consequence of the financial and management issues the club was facing, were tensions with the owner of the stadium that lead to the move of the Coventry City FC, 35 miles away from the Ricoh Arena to Northampton's stadium Sixfields for the season 2013/14. Coventry City FC stayed away from Coventry's Ricoh arena for 503 days and played 59 games at Sixfields until its return at Ricoh Arena in the beginning of season 2014/15. Cleland *et al.* (2018), describe the impact on Coventry City fans' feeling of belonging had the move to Sixfields and how fans' collective actions influenced the return to Ricoh arena. However, Coventry City FC had to move at Birmingham City's St. Andrews for the season 2019/20, after failing to reach an agreement with Ricoh Arena's owners. Despite though these moves to Sixfields and St. Andrews stadiums, the academy never moved out of Coventry. Since 2004, the academy rents the facilities of the Alan Higgs Centre, while the financial issues of the first team have not unsettled its operation. Even during periods in which there were discussions whether to continue or not its operation, the board decided to continue the funding and invest £500,000 a year (Gilbert 2016: 69). Actually, the introduction of the EPPP helped the academy to avoid financial issues and secure its annual funding

“Obviously, the academy has to rent a facility, and there are the financial issues, but I think EPPP might helped because ringfenced some of the

money. If you want to be a category 2, you had to spend that amount. You cannot escape from that” (Interview, 17)

Hence, the academy traditionally invests in youth development and develops players for the first team. The academy is the cornerstone of the club’s recruitment and business model while producing local talent is at the heart of clubs’ strategy (Coventry City Football Club 2016a, 2016b). Indeed, in the past 10 years, the club has invested more than £4.5 million in the academy and generated more than £10.85 million from transfer fees of home-grown players (Coventry Telegraph 2016). In recent years, transfers of academy graduates to other clubs have contributed Coventry City’s attempts to overcome some of its financial difficulties. For example, Steven Pressley, Coventry City’s manager from 2013 to 2015, admits that in 2014 the club survived on the sale of academy’s graduate Callum Willson (Gilbert 2016: 236) In the pre-EPPP era the club was operating an academy, the highest status of a youth set-up of that period, despite the financial and organisational problems that the club was and still is facing.

The EPPP’s introduction to English football in 2012 coincided with the club’s relegation to League 1. Even under these circumstances, the club applied and achieved to obtain a category 2 status for its academy, which it still maintains. The funding of the EPPP and the fact that the academy wants to retain its category 2 status, allowed for better organisation and increased volume of personnel, despite the overall difficult financial situation of the club

“EPPP improved Coventry, because they had to take more staff. Because of the situation, there was no chance to take these staff, coaches, sports scientist etc. The facilities and the environment also. EPPP help to account for these things. When the EPPP introduced we were 7 and now there are over 20 staff in the academy. There is more investment. A lot of that funding comes from the Premier League for all the clubs, so if you do not do the things that are requested then you are definitely in a disadvantage” (Interview 17)

The history of the academy showcases that since the introduction of the academy system, it aims to operate a youth set-up of the highest possible level for its financial standards, to provide opportunities to local talent to play for the first team and when possible to sell players for a profit. Despite the fact that the first team is competing in the third tier of English football, the academy is considered among the top in the country in terms of productivity. More specifically, the academy was ranked fifth among all Football League clubs, and tenth across all clubs, with Premier League clubs, included (Coventry City Football Club 2016c).

The academy's distinct constellation of logics highlights important antecedents of the successful operation of the academy. The academy creates its unique constellation by fully complying with the requirements of the EPPP, and by seeking to exploit all the positive features that the new plan offers to clubs. A senior employee of the academy described the club's approach to the EPPP:

Football doesn't keep with modern trends; I do not mean around the game. I mean around leadership, around accountability. So, I think the EPPP was required at the time; it was needed. Some people may say not, but for us, it works... Me personally, we are into it, we embrace the EPPP. We run the program correctly; we run it for the benefit of our footballers, everything we do here is for the benefit of our players (Interview 4).

5.5.1 Elements of A corporation logic

The above quote not only highlights the academy's approach to the plan but also emphasizes the reasons the academy embraces the plan. The academy by complying to the plan is organised in corporate standards by adopting corporate strategies of accountability and leadership as the plan dictates. The reason is, that academy's corporate strategy aims to provide the highest possible numbers of players to the first team since due to financial problems the club is not in a position to sign players from the market.

And if you look at the team of Saturday for example, 5 academy graduates at the starting eleven 6 by the end of the game. So how does the club manage it? The club sees an importance to it because we get boys to our first team, cheap, and ultimately that's the way it has to be because there is no money (Interview 4).

In this regard, there is also an element of market logic, as it will be discussed in a following section. By fully complying to the corporate logic gains legitimacy and more importantly achieves a "status" which allows the academy to compete in a level playing field with its main competitors a respondent explained:

Because if the academy doesn't carry the status it carries, in the world of youth football, if you look where we are, Leicester City category 1, 20 miles on the road, Derby County category 1, Aston Villa category 1, West Brom category 1, Wolverhampton category 1, Birmingham City a strong category 2, so we are surrounded by high performing, highly investable football academies. And if we don't offer the same type of service, we don't keep the players... I think from a business point of view the football club has to be part of it, to maintain and retain the young players (Interview 4).

Therefore, the academy seeks to exploit its status so to be in a level position with its direct competitors and also to avoid losing talented young players who would have chosen higher status academies in the local area. The academy though mainly gives emphasis on its reputation as one academy which actually develops professional players and offers them the opportunity to join the first team

First, we offer opportunity. You know when we are talking to young players and parents, we can put in front of them a picture of an 18 years old boy who has been at the club since 6 and now is playing for our first team and I can put in front of them a 19 years old boy

who has been at the club since 6 who has a half million pounds offer and earns 10 thousand pounds a week (Interview 4).

The reputation of offering opportunities which can be justified by the number of academy players who actually became professionals, allows the academy to convince parents of young talents to sign with the club. Also, the reputation of providing opportunities to academy graduates to play first team football makes the academy an attractive choice for young players and their families

“If you see players that came through the Coventry system, James Maddison, Callum Wilson, Tom Bayliss, they were all given first team football, really young. This is a great selling point for the academy” (Interview, 17)

The club has to promote academy players to the first team due to a lack of financial resources. From this perspective, the academy's proven track of promoting academy players to the first team offers to the academy an element of competitive advantage. Young talents, who seek an opportunity to become professional football players, have a well-documented reason to choose this academy, while talented players already in the academy have a well-documented reason to stay in this academy, even if a financially stronger club offers them a place. The academy hence differentiates by creating a justifiable reputation of an academy which offers the opportunity to academy players.

So, if I go facility versus facility against Leicester or West Brom, we come second, and Villa we come second and Wolves if we go budget versus budget we come second, if we go additional resources or trips abroad we come second, but I don't come second in the environment we create and result at the end of it. Players in the first team (Interview 4).

In the above quote the “environment” in the academy, refers to family logic elements, which is also present in the constellation of logics.

5.5.2 Elements of a family logic

The academy commits to elements of family logic, in order to create a player-friendly environment, within which the members of the academy feel like members of the same family. Despite the fact that professional football clubs are multimillion pounds corporations in a market environment, their respective academies work with minors and adolescents whose needs are different compared to adult professionals who play for the first team. Therefore, academies need to create an environment which satisfies all the developmental need of their members, and not just their sporting ability. According to an academy's senior employee, employees' personalities and interest in the well-being of players, create a family atmosphere, which constitutes an advantage over competitors:

I believe our environment as a football club, with the people we have, is better than the clubs around us. I think we have better personalities; I think we have greater care for young players, I think we have a real family atmosphere, where everybody helps everybody. Me as the academy manager 7 days a week I stay until night every night. I know every age group, every moment, every dad every player, every brother, every sister, and so the other stuff here as well (Interview 4).

Despite being an extremely competitive corporate environment in which players actually compete with each other for a position in the team, individual performance is the result of the team-work. Therefore, the academy seeks to improve individual performance, team performance and eventually, the academy's operation, by creating an environment which strengthens the bonds amongst its members.

“As an academy player I think the advantage of Coventry City academy was the people there, the coaches. If you enjoy the place where you are and the coaches, and you think it is a nice environment that can improve you that is important. The values” (Interview, 17).

Hence, the academy focuses on building status as an academy which commits to family values. For example, at the time when this thesis was written, the academy director had been in his position for 12 years, indicating that the academy is operating with the same principles, whilst also providing a stable environment for its employees and players. This continuity of operation in the same principles, allows the academy to emphasise its family reputation. According to a parent of a Coventry City's academy player

As a parent you always want the best for your kid, you want him to be in a nice and safe environment. So, it is very important when you know all the coaches and the staff there and they talk to you. You know them, you know who they are, some of them are born and raised in Coventry, so you even know their families. It is crucial to know that your kid is a protective family environment" (Interview, 13).

5.5.3 Elements of a community logic

Due to lack of financial resources the recruitment policy of the academy is focused on local talents. This focus though became an essential element of the club's recruitment policy and business model in general:

The Academy is not only the pride and joy of club's football fans but also a cornerstone of the club's recruitment and business model (Coventry City Football Club 2016a).

The focus of the academy on local talents, and the opportunity to become first team players, eventually created a strong bond among the supporters and the football club and even though, the relationship among the fans and the owners of the club is disturbed, this bond, relieved the tension. Despite the fact that the results of the first team were mainly negative in recent seasons, the then Coventry's academy manager emphasises that the supporters were delighted to see local boys play in the first team:

Throughout all of the football club's battles that have been well documented, the supporters have been unbelievable for the academy boys... I think they have used the academy as something to be proud of and positive about. When one of your own boys gets into the team, I think you feel it. They certainly feel it. They know what they are going to get. A boy who will try hard and give it all he has got. A local boy gets a bit more grace from the fans too, because he is one of us (Skysports 2018b).

Therefore, the academy commits to elements of a community logic. The investment in the local community though was out of necessity due to lack of financial resources. For example, through an initiative called "Sky Blues in the Community" the academy identifies local talents

"Our everyday work in local schools, holiday courses and our Player Development Centres provide an opportunity for CCFC to identify the most gifted and talented players in the local area...Our player development centres themselves have over 500 young players taking part each week, whilst we run 14 teams in a regional league. In the five years that the development centres have been running over 200 players have had trials with the Academy and over 55 players have progressed from our development centres in to an Academy (Sky Blues in the Community n.d.)

The result of this investment in local talent is that the academy has gained legitimacy according to a community logic since there is a shared belief that homegrown players and supporters share the same club and community values. Also, the academy has developed a status of an academy that actually invests in and provides opportunities to local talents to become professional football players. Finally, the continuous flow of local talents from the academy, to the first team, over the years, allowed the club to establish a reputation according to a community logic. As it has been highlighted though, the focus on developing players for the first team, as well as, on the identification of talents

from the local community, was the result of the lack of financial resources. From this perspective, elements of market logic are also included in the constellation.

5.5.4. Elements of a market logic

While the operation of the academy is mainly informed by a corporate logic strategy of developing first-team players through the academy, the academy also incorporates elements of a market logic. More specifically, the primary rationale of developing players for the first team, is that it is considered a financially efficient way of “building” a first team, meaning that the cost of developing a first team player through the academy is less than the cost of a transfer of a “ready” player. Moreover, through its market strategy, the club seeks to have a monetary return on investment in the academy.

They see a consistent return on their investment. Whether it is 34 debutants in 10 years that the football club had, so 34 players from the academy, so they fetched in 12 million pounds maybe over 10 years (Interview 4).

From 2006 until 2016, the club invested around £4.5 million into their academy, and during the same period they generated at least £10 million from transfer fees of academy players (Coventry Telegraph 2016). Therefore, the financially efficient recruitment of first-team players, as well as generation of profit through the sale of academy players, are both aims of the academy, which it can be argued that are dictated by a market logic strategy.

5.5.5 Case summary

In conclusion, the academy embraces the EPPP and achieves a category 2 status, not only because the plan improves the quality of its youth set-up but also because of the competition it faces from neighbouring academies. The academy conforms to the EPPP and commits to elements of corporate, family, community and market logics.

Interestingly, explicit references to a professional logic have not been identified. The academy though has a category 2 status, so it has to employ professionals with certain qualifications. The over-emphasis though to the family environment and the conceptualisation of academy professional as members of a family may have concealed the professional logic. The issue of an over-emphasis of an institutional logic has been also raised by Morrow (2015) who observed that the over-emphasis of commercial logic in Scottish football left supporters feeling marginalised. In this case though the over emphasis on the family logic does not mean that professional logic is undervalued, family and professional logic of the constellation reinforce each other in order for the academy to provide a player-centered approach.

The academy is organised according to a corporate logic and commits to the continual development of academy grown players for playing first-team football. Through its commitment to the elements of corporation logic, the academy seeks to create a competitive advantage by providing opportunities to as many academy players as possible to play first-team football. The reputation of continually providing opportunities facilitates the academy to retain current academy players and attract new. The academy also commits to a family logic and seeks to create a family atmosphere which also entices, players and especially their parents to choose this academy over competitors and so to assist its strategy for developing homegrown players.

The corporate strategy of the academy of developing homegrown players is based on a recruitment strategy which is focused on the local area. The recruitment of local talent and subsequently their promotion to the first team, creates a strong bond among supporters and players. This has helped the club to overcome some of its organisational problems, particularly the troubled relationship of fans with the owners. Finally, elements of a market logic complement the corporation, family and community elements. The main rationale of investing in the academy is the increased financial efficiency of players recruitment and if possible, a profit through transfer fees. Indeed, last 10 years 34 academy players played for the club's first team while the club has

invested £4.5 million and received more than £10 million in transfer fees of academy players. The interrelation of the elements of logics and the way through which inform the operation of the academy is vividly described by a respondent in the quote below:

For me, the boy we sold in Norwich it's the perfect model for me. Comes in at 6, he spent all his youth set-up here, goes in the first team at seventeen he plays 40 times for our first team and then he goes for £2.5 million. The academy done its bit, the fans have seen him, and then he goes to extend his career (Interview 4).

The success of the Coventry academy model is also recognised by an academy director who also held high positions in the Youth Development department of the Premier League

Ok Coventry produces players for the first team out of necessity, equally they had success of players going on from the academy and succeeding elsewhere. So, whether it is James Maddison or Cyrus Christie you can see that they haven't just developed players for their own team at a lower level. They developed players who have been able to a high level. That shows that the quality of their work must be at a high level because that wouldn't have happened otherwise (Interview, 23).

Table 19 is a depiction of Coventry FC academy constellation of logics.

Elements of logics	Institutional logics				
	Corporation	Professional	Family	Market	Community
Root metaphor	Academy is a corporation		Academy as family		Common boundary among supporters and players

Sources of Legitimacy	Position of the academy within the market of academies		Loyalty to the values and principles of the family/academy		Players and supporters share the same values
Sources of Identity	Reputation as an academy which constantly develops homegrown players for the first team		Reputation as an academy which embraces family values		Reputation of constantly developing local talents
Basis of Attention	Category 2 status of the academy		Status as an academy with family values		Status as an academy which invests in local community
Basis of Strategy	Strategy to recruit as many as possible first-team players from the academy			To increase financial efficiency of recruitment and make a profit	

Table 19. Coventry's FC Academy constellation of logics

Chapter 6. Discussion

Based on the analysis of a single professional football club, Gillett and Tennent (2018: 246) propose a new type of logic: the professional sport logic. This professional sport logic is constructed from elements of four logics of the original Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury's framework (2012) -namely family, community, profession and corporation- with the addition of a new element, namely, the requirement (that professional clubs face) to avoid relegation. From this perspective, the professional sport logic is actually a constellation of logics, a concept that has been discussed extensively in the literature review. This thesis extends the work of Gillett and Tennent (2018) by focusing on the professional football academies field and identifies the logics and elements that professional football academies employ to build their constellation of logics. From an institutional theory perspective, the fact that football academies do not face the requirement to avoid relegation highlights a difference that exists between the first team and the academy of a football club and justifies conceptualizing the football academies field as distinct from a broader professional football clubs' field.

The first part of data analysis describes the evolution of the professional football academies field. This historical analysis identifies the institutional logics of specific periods and highlights the introduction of new logics. Furthermore, it emphasises the change of the field from being mainly influenced by a National side logic, to the current period when six logics are in play. This analysis concludes with a thick description of the six institutional logics of the field. This description set the institutional context for the second part.

The second part of the analysis highlights the strategic significance of institutional logics for a more comprehensive definition of competitive advantage. Competitive advantage is a widely used term in strategic management but it is poorly defined (Ma 2000: 15) This thesis suggests that institutional logics not only set the "rules of the game" (Kraatz & Block, 2008) but also circumscribes what could be considered a competitive advantage according to these "rules of the game".

The logics of the football academies field, identified in the first part of the analysis, and the elements of logics, identified and discussed in the second part of the analysis as having a significance for competitive parity, competitive advantage and positioning, are depicted in table 20. The thesis does not imply that these are the only logics and elements of the professional football academies field. These are the logics identified from the analysis of first- and second-hand interviews. Hence, table 20 represents the most visible logics within the context of the collected data. In a similar approach, Carlsson-Wall, Kraus, and Messner (2016: 51), in their analysis of institutional logics of a Swedish football organisation, justify their focus on 2 logics by commenting that they “do not claim that these are the only institutional logics at work in the football club. Some decisions within the club may indeed be influenced by demands that cannot be subsumed under either of these logics. However, the sports and the business logics are the most visible ones within the organization”.

Y-axis: Elements of logics	X-axis: Institutional logics	Corporation	Profession	Family	National Side	Market	Community
Root metaphor	Academy as corporation	Academy professionals as relational network	Academy as family	Academy as pool of players for National side	Transaction of commodities/players	Common boundary among supporters and homegrown players	
Sources of legitimacy	Academy's position in the market of academies	Legitimacy through personal professional expertise of employees	Unconditional loyalty to values and principles of academy	Academy players in National side	Monetary price of academy	Belief in reciprocity among homegrown players and supporters	
Sources of identity	Reputation through bureaucratic categorization of academy	Reputation through professional reputation of employees	Reputation of academy as family	Reputation through contributing to national youth development	Faceless	Reputation through developing players from the local community	
Basis of attention	Status in hierarchy among academies	Status of academy derives from status of professional employees	Status as academy/family	Status of academy through players developed for the national side	Status as an academy with market principles	Status as an academy which invests in local community	

Table 20. Institutional logics and elements of the professional football academies organisational field

The logics of table 20 alongside their elements constitutes the building blocks of football academies' constellation of logics. Football academies create their distinct constellations of logics by combining the various elements. As discussed in the literature review, organisations have the agency to strategically respond to logics (Oliver 1991), to play in two or more games at the same time (Kraatz and Block, 2008), to use different logics to their advantage (Friedland and Alford 1991), and to employ them as strategic resources (Durand *et al.* 2013). Table 20 is a visual representation of what Deephouse (1999: 152) describes as the range of acceptability for organisational differentiation without losing legitimacy. Multiple combinations of logics and elements result in differentiated institutional strategies, however the same logics and elements set the limits of the available combinations. The multiplicity of logics alongside their multiple building blocks allow for an explicit explanation of isomorphism, as well as differentiation of organisations of the same field. When multiple logics are available in a field, they provide organisations multiplicity of strategic responses and offer opportunities for differentiated commitments to various logics and their elements, concurrently. Organisations can adopt practices consistent with only one logic, or the practices of different organisational units can reflect different logics (Waldorff, Reay and Goodrick 2013). Based on the data analysis, the thesis extends this proposition by suggesting that organisations in their attempt to differentiate and create a competitive advantage can simultaneously adopt multiple logics and multiple elements of logics in order to create a distinct constellation of logics (Goodrick and Reay 2011), without segregating logics to various organisational units.

The differentiation of organisations, based on their commitments to logics, reveals points of interrelation between institutional theory and the resource-based view. The theoretical framework of this thesis suggests that organisations do not only respond to compact institutional logics, but also to specific elements of institutional logics. Even in cases where organisations are

legitimate under a specific logic, they do not necessarily commit to more elements of the same logic. This conceptualisation allows for a deeper explanation of heterogeneity amongst organisations of the same field. Even under the influence of the same institutional logics, organisations still have the capacity to differentiate. Through their commitments to elements of logics, organisations implement their strategy for competitive parity and competitive advantage

This chapter discusses the significance of the strategically chosen logics for a comprehensive definition of competitive advantage, the significance of the specific elements of logics for competitive parity and competitive advantage, and the significance of the chosen logics for positioning within a field.

Before proceeding, it is important to clarify that the analysis and discussion refer explicitly to the logics and their elements per se and do not seek to analyse the content of each logic and element for each academy. This thesis emphasises the organisational discretion in interpreting the available institutional logics and committing to elements of logics in order to gain competitive parity, differentiate and create a competitive advantage, but it is beyond its scope to analyse the content of these interpretations. By doing so, this research contributes to a deeper and more practical understanding of the interrelationship between institutional theory and resource-based view theory. It also provides an explicit account of how some elements of institutional logics apply isomorphic pressures but also contribute to competitive parity, and at the same time how other elements allow for differentiation and creation of competitive advantage. Hence, this thesis advances the discussion of the paradox of embedded agency in organisational fields (Creed, Taylor, and Hudson 2019, Delbridge and Edwards 2013, Greenwood and Suddaby 2006, Seo and Creed 2002).

6.1. Institutional logics and their significance for the definition of competitive advantage

Ma (2000) observes that competitive advantage is context-specific, that means whether or not a firm's particular attributes render competitive advantage

depends on the competitive context. The thesis extends this line of reasoning and suggests that competitive advantage is also institutional logics-specific. Kraatz and Block (2008) describe institutional logics as the rules of the game. From this perspective, a multiplicity of logics can be conceptualised as a multiplicity of games in which organisations can participate, and a multiplicity of rules to which they should comply in order to be successful. In this regard, organisational commitment to a logic can be interpreted as commitment to a specific course of actions in order to gain competitive advantage. Jay (2013) states that some outcomes may be successes through the lens of a particular logic, but failures through the lens of another. Hence, commitment or denial to commit to a specific institutional logic influence what can be defined as success and eventually as competitive advantage.

As the analysis suggests, Birmingham City FC academy acknowledges its disadvantage in terms of financial resources and facilities compared to competing academies. It recognises that in the specific context, commitment to logics, which results in a specific approach to the operation of the academy, also results in a differentiated definition of competitive advantage. Whilst the aims of Birmingham City academy are similar to those of other academies, the commitment of the academy to a professional and a family logic allows the academy to claim that it has an advantage according to these logics. Based on the analysis, the commitment to the professional logic, manifested in the innovative implementation of the EPPP, is the main point of differentiation. The academy seeks to avoid the comparison with other academies in terms of volume of investment, and instead is highlighting its approach to coaching and the opportunity it offers to academy players to play first-team football. These commitments allow the academy to claim it has a competitive advantage in specific features of its operation.

Similarly, because of its financial situation, Coventry City FC academy seeks to identify alternative ways to face the intense competition from neighbouring academies, which include among others the academies of Leicester City , Derby County, Aston Villa, Wolverhampton Wanderers, West Bromwich Albion

and Birmingham City. Its commitment to a family logic and a corporation logic allows Coventry City academy to claim that its family environment and its clear pathway to the first team constitute its competitive advantage, compared to neighbouring academies with better facilities and more financial and additional resources. In contrast to Birmingham City academy, which faces similar financial constraints but highlights its commitment to the professional logic, Coventry City academy emphasises its commitment to the family environment as its point of differentiation. This differentiated approach to institutional logics highlights the agency that logics allow organisations in their attempt to create a distinct constellation of logics.

The fact that academies may commit to similar logics and elements does not imply isomorphism or inability to achieve a competitive advantage based on these commitments. Rather, it points out the agency of organisations and organisational actors to interpret logics and organise their actions accordingly, and the significance of logics for organisations to create a distinct constellation of logics.

In the above two cases, the main reasons mentioned for looking for alternative competitive advantage were the financial power of competitors. However, even academies that do not face financial issues may seek ways for alternative competitive advantage compared to other academies of the same context. Brentford FC, the first League 1 club with a category 2 academy, withdrew from the EPPP in order to seek alternative ways to build a competitive advantage through the operation of its academy. The academy, due its geographical position in the London area and the intense competition from multiple neighbouring Premier League clubs, as well as financial pressures for a more efficient way of operating, explicitly commits to a market logic and seeks to develop financial value from its operation. The academy acknowledges it is not attractive for young talented players compared to its neighbouring competitors. This is why it has created an organisational structure which facilitates a competitive advantage from a business perspective. Indeed, the academy commits to logics which allow it to make claims that it has a competitive

advantage from a business perspective. Everton FC academy, with a category 1 status, that means an academy which satisfies the highest possible standards of the EPPP, seeks to define its competitive advantage on a “bit inflated story” (interview 7) of providing a viable pathway to the first team by committing to a corporation logic. That comment from the then director of the academy indicates that, irrespective of the context or availability of resources, commitment to specific logics allow academies to make claims and define competitive advantage in a specific way.

The above cases do not prove that academies that claim to have a certain competitive advantage actually have it. Rather, they are indicative of the significance that commitments to institutional logics have on the definition of competitive advantage. From this perspective, the multiplicity of logics within a field allows for multiple definitions of what can be defined as competitive advantage. The existence of multiple competitive advantage within the field of professional football has been described, from a different perspective, by Dolles and Söderman (2013: 372). Based on their framework (figure 30), a football club has 8 products to offer to 6 different customers’ groups. Academy players are among the products which can be offered to all customers’ groups and capture value which can result in a competitive advantage. This thesis extends this line of inquiry and suggests that in order for the academy to satisfy specific customers’ groups and capture value, it has to commit to specific logics. Hence, since specific commitments to specific logics satisfy specific customers’ groups, then the significance of commitments to logics for a more comprehensive and inclusive definition of competitive advantage becomes apparent.

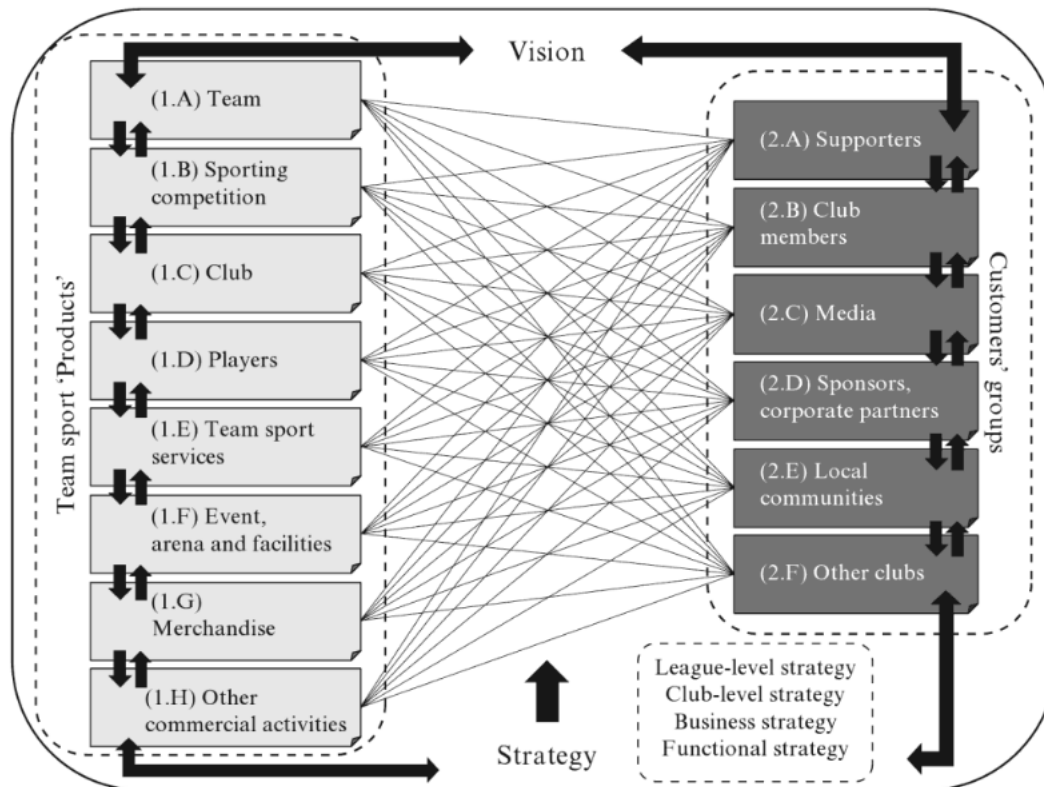


Figure 30. Network of value captures

(Dolles and Söderman, 2013: 372)

6.2. Significance of specific elements of logics for competitive parity and competitive advantage

This section concludes about what the strategic significance of institutional logics and their elements is by correlating the social judgements of legitimacy, status and reputation, which have been previously identified in the organisational literature as influencing competitive advantage, to elements of institutional logics, respectively source of legitimacy, source of identity and basis of attention. According to the analysis, these are the elements of logics that organisations employ in their attempt to build a constellation of logics in order to achieve competitive parity and create competitive advantage. It describes the distinct contribution to competitive parity and competitive advantage of each specific element of the constellation, by incorporating features of the resource-based view theory.

6.2.1. The significance of source of legitimacy for competitive parity

Legitimacy is a critical concept in institutional and strategic literature. While in institutional literature legitimacy is a set of beliefs which determine how an organisation is built and run (Suchman, 1995), in strategic tradition legitimacy is a resource which organisations can extract from their environment to achieve their goals. While the thesis conceptualises legitimacy as a necessary resource for competitive parity, it does not distinguish it from institutional legitimacy. Practically, institutional and strategic legitimacy are descriptions of the same concept from a different perspective. As the data analysis suggests, the organisational field of football academies is constituted of multiple logics. If legitimacy was just a resource, then organisations would have the option to be legitimate under a certain logic of the field, and not legitimate under another and still be considered legitimate members of the field. However, if organisations have the absolute discretion to define their source of legitimacy, then the concept of organisational field is meaningless since every organisation can be a legitimate member, just by extracting legitimacy from its preferred sources. In this regard, the central proposition of institutional theory, that institutional logics influence organisational action, would be practically cancelled since all organisations could choose the institutional logics from which they want to be influenced. Moreover, if legitimacy is just a resource, as the strategic tradition suggests, it would be practically a valueless resource, since all organisations could have it, just by extracting it from logics that best suits their interests.

On the other hand, if legitimacy is just a set of beliefs which determine organisational actions, as the institutional theory tradition suggests, then the questions of who developed these beliefs, how these beliefs were developed, and why organisations seek for legitimacy if there is no justifiable value for it, cannot be answered.

Hence, the thesis suggests that in fields within which multiple logics are in play, there is not a single field-level institutional legitimacy, but there are as many “legitimacies” as institutional logics. Organisations commit to the element of the

legitimacy of a particular institutional logic, based on who is judging. As the network of value captures (figure 30) of Dolles and Söderman (2013: 372) suggests, there are at least six groups of customers to which the academy product is offered, supporters, club members, media, sponsors and corporate partners, local communities and other clubs. But customers of an academy also include potential players and their families, since all academies aim at attracting the most talented football players. Hence, in order for the academy to capture value from its potential customers' groups and possibly create a competitive advantage, it has to be legitimate according to the logic of the potential customer group.

This suggestion extends the notion of Adams, Morrow and Thompson (2017) who suggested that football clubs do not require to commensurate all of the interests of their social worlds. These authors describe football clubs as existing in a landscape of tensions, in which boundary management practices contribute to an ongoing and fluid process of managing multiple tensions.

For example, Coventry City FC academy, in its attempt to build a competitive advantage based on its corporate standards of operation and its family environment, commits to legitimacy according to a corporation logic and also to legitimacy according to a family logic. When it interacts with other organisations of the field or seeks to prove its clear pathway from the academy to the first team, it employs a corporate logic legitimacy. On the other hand, when it interacts with players and their parents in order to convince them of its family environment, it employs a family logic legitimacy. Similarly, Everton FC academy, in its attempt to build a competitive advantage based on its productivity, commits to the legitimacy element of the corporation logic. Concurrently, it commits to a family logic legitimacy in order to be in position to communicate with players' parents to convince them about the supportive environment of the academy. As the analysis suggests, all of the academies commit to legitimacy elements and some of the times to similar legitimacy elements. Brentford FC academy adopts a unique approach to the organisation of its operation. However, despite its withdrawal from the EPPP that was

justified on the basis that the academy seeks alternative ways to gain competitive edge over its competitors, it still commits to the legitimacy elements of specific logics as the rest of the academies. This is an indication of the strategic significance of the sources of legitimacy.

Based on the analysis, the strategic significance of legitimacy is that it contributes to competitive parity amongst organisations. Organisations are either legitimate and can exploit the benefits of being members of an organisational field or are not legitimate and are not considered equal members within the field or are not considered members of the field at all. As the analysis of the development of the academies field suggest, there were 22 clubs which voted against the implementation of the EPPP and even some clubs which voted in favour of it were actually against it. Ex-chairman of Crystal Palace Simon Jordan (The Guardian 2011) and director of football of Peterborough United Barry Fry (BBC, 2011c) stated that clubs were blackmailed by the Premier League to accept the plan, while Burnley's Chief Executive Paul Fletcher mentioned that the Premier League put a gun on the heads of smaller clubs (BBC, 2011b). Still, they had to play the game to remain legitimate and all of them introduced an academy following the principles of the EPPP. Hence, even academies which do not support the EPPP have to commit to logics of the professional football academies field in order to be considered equal members of the field. In this regard, legitimacy does not differentiate organisations, but still it is a resource that contributes to competitive parity among organisations. For example, the assistant academy director of Birmingham City FC academy states that while there are certain aspects of the EPPP in which they do not believe, they cannot deny doing them in order to avoid jeopardizing the legitimacy and status of the academy.

Competitive parity is an essential feature in order for the organisations to compete. In this regard, legitimacy is a precondition for competitive advantage since, without this attribute, organisations cannot compete on a level playing field or build from this position to try and create a competitive advantage.

This conceptualisation of legitimacy as a resource which facilitates competitive parity contributes to the explanation of the partial isomorphism of academies within the organisational field. As suggested in the analysis (interview 15, interview 20), the EPPP sets the minimum standards and requirements that clubs need to fulfil in order to be considered members of the professional football academies field. Since most if not all of these academies possess the same resource, that is legitimacy, then some of their features are isomorphic. The fact that academies are legitimate or not-legitimate does not imply that legitimacy does not refer to a specific logic. Academies are legitimate members of the professional football academies field and employ the appropriate “legitimacy” depending on the situation they face. For example, when a football academy wants to justify its financial contribution to the club, it needs to employ its market logic legitimacy, while if the same academy wants to showcase its family values in its operation, it needs to employ its family logic legitimacy.

In general, legitimacy is a necessary organisational resource since, without it, organisations are not considered members of the field or members of the field with the same benefits as their legitimate competitors. Therefore, organisations need legitimacy not to differentiate, but to gain competitive parity, and from this point to seek to create a competitive advantage, by adding more elements to their constellation of logics. In this regard, legitimacy per se cannot contribute to competitive advantage. Since all organisations need to be “legitimate”, they need to fulfil the same legitimacy requirements, a fact that explains partial isomorphism of organisational fields. On the other hand, without legitimacy organisations cannot achieve competitive parity which is a precondition for differentiation and competitive advantage (Barney and Mackey 2016). According to the data analysis, academies focus on specific elements of logics to gain competitive parity and subsequently to attempt to establish a competitive advantage. More specifically academies seek and include legitimacy in their constellation to be considered equally legitimate members of the field as their competitors. As the Brentford FC academy case indicates, even in situations where academies do not comply with “official” legitimacy requirements, they seek and gain legitimacy from alternative sources. Hence,

legitimacy as a resource has the capacity to contribute to competitive parity among academies.

6.2.2. The significance of basis of attention-status for competitive parity and competitive advantage

Academies which have established their legitimacy within a field can add further elements to their constellation of logics, in their attempt to create a competitive advantage. Data analysis suggests that academies focus on and seek to enhance their status under certain logics. As the definition of status suggests, it is an intersubjective agreed-upon and accepted ordering or ranking' of social actors (Washington & Zajac, 2005: 284), based on the esteem or deference that each actor can claim by virtue of the actor's membership in a group or groups with distinctive practices, values, traits, capacities or inherent worth (cf., Benjamin & Podolny, 1999; Weber, 1946). Hence, status is judged against some specific standards and creates a hierarchy in which high-status organisations enjoy more benefits, due to their status, compared to lower status organisations.

As the data analysis suggests, organisations make claims about their status under various institutional logics. However, when organisations, focus on the status of the same institutional logic, then this element differentiates organisations only if there is an explicit evaluation system which categorises organisations in status groups.

In this regard, claims about status need to be based in an explicit ranking of academies according to specific standards, in order for possible status-related benefits to be exploited. From this perspective, status according to a specific logic needs to be correlated with distinct benefits in order to provide a competitive advantage. This is the case with the categorisation system of football academies, based on the EPPP rules and regulations. For example, category 1 status academies can recruit young players nationally, while lower status academies can only recruit locally. By definition, this difference creates a clear advantage for category 1 academies over lower level academies.

National recruitment means larger pool of available talented players. Therefore, academies need to focus not on any “status” but on the status that can be measured according to the predefined standards of the EPPP.

In the case of English football academies, the status of the academy under the corporate logic can indeed differentiate academies and provide distinct benefits to higher-status academies. However, since status categorises academies in groups, that means that academies of the same status group enjoy the same benefits. Hence, status differentiates academies of different groups, but contributes only to competitive parity among academies of the same group.

A category 1 academy has an advantage over a category 2 academy, in terms of access to players. It does not, however, have an advantage over other category 1 academies. In conclusion, status has the capacity to contribute to the creation of competitive advantage, but only when there is an explicit categorisation system based on organisational status, and only between organisations of different status groups.

From this perspective, status contribute to the conceptualisation of organisational fields as heterogeneous but constituted of homogeneous clusters. In more detail, since academies of different status groups need to fulfil different requirements in order to gain their status, then these organisations operate in different ways. On the other hand, academies of the same status group share common features due to their compliance with the same status requirements. Therefore, status contributes to differentiation between groups and hence to a heterogeneous organisational field, but also to isomorphism amongst organisations of the same group. Figure 31 is a depiction of the heterogeneous professional football academies organisational field, which is constituted of homogeneous subfields. Homogenous subfields refer to the 4 categories of academies according to the EPPP categorisation system, while peripheral actors refer to the Brentford FC academy after its decision to withdraw from the EPPP.

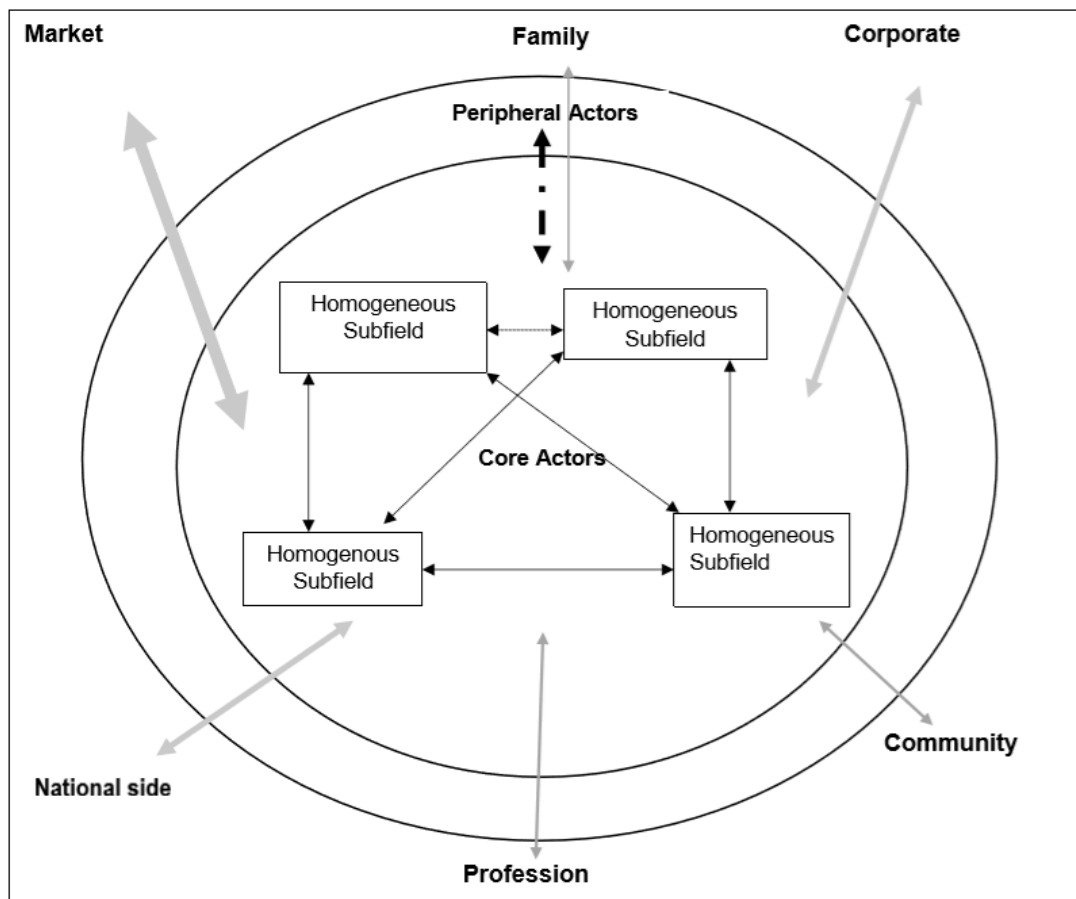


Figure 31. Professional football academies organisational field

The fact that academies seek and gain status under the corporation logic does not preclude them from seeking and gaining status under other logics too. As the data analysis suggests, academies establish their status under a corporation logic and concurrently focus on status under other logics. While status under the corporation logic is explicitly correlated to distinct benefits, status under other logics enhances the possible benefits that an organisation may have due to its status. For example, Birmingham City FC academy has a category 2 status under the corporation logic, but also seeks to establish a status under a professional logic, and by doing so, to attract and recruit innovative professionals.

Organisational decisions about status can be restricted due to lack of necessary resources, for example, Wigan Athletic FC academy could not have a category 2 status due to lack of an indoor dome. Hence, the academy focuses on

alternative way of gaining a certain status. Instead, of investing on the indoor dome, the academy organises a bespoke competitive match-programme for its under 23 team against higher status academies. This approach allows Wigan FC academy to be perceived as better option for players compared to other category 3 academies. The matches against higher status academies can be interpreted as acceptance of the Wigan FC academy to a higher status group. According to the academy manager (interview 2) the bespoke match program improves the playing standards and also attracts players who have been dropped by category 1 and 2 academies. On the other hand, the Brentford FC academy case suggests that decisions about status are not just a matter of availability of resources but are also affected by organisational strategy. Despite the fact that the status of Brentford FC academy cannot be justified based on an explicit categorisation system, since the academy has withdrawn from the EPPP, it still facilitates the strategic objective of the academy to differentiate. Under current circumstances, this academy is the only one which focuses solely on a market logic to establish its status in the field of professional football academies. From this perspective, its status differentiates the academy from the vast majority, which gain their status from a corporation logic.

Given that academies have gained competitive parity, they seek to differentiate through their status according to the requirements of various logics. For example, Everton FC academy makes the necessary commitments to gain the highest possible corporate status, so to differentiate from the vast majority of competitors. Similarly, Wigan Athletic FC academy seeks alternative ways to upgrade its status, so to differentiate from organisations of the same official status. They achieve that through their strong commitment to a corporation logic and more specifically to committing to the status element of the corporation logic. This commitment allows Wigan FC academy to be perceived as a higher status academy compared to other category 3 academies.

In summary, academies can exploit status as a resource, only in cases in which it is evaluated based on predefined criteria. When academies establish their status under a specific logic, which is correlated to distinct benefits, then the

status of additional logics enriches the organisational constellation of logics and enhances the possible benefits they enjoy. On the other hand, in cases, in which there is no explicit correlation between status and specific benefits, then the contribution of status to differentiation and competitive advantage is unclear.

6.2.3. The significance of sources of identity-reputation for competitive advantage

According to Deephouse and Suchman's (2008: 59) literature review on social judgement, reputation is defined as: "A generalised expectation about a firm's future behaviour or performance based on collective perceptions (either direct or, more often, vicarious) of past behaviour or performance (cf., Ferguson, Deephouse, & Ferguson, 2000; Fombrun, 1996; Rindova *et al.*, 2005)".

The data analysis reveals that when academies' managers were asked about the competitive advantage of their academy, they highlighted and emphasised reputation elements. The common issue among all cases was that there is a clear focus on establishing a reputation for providing opportunities to academy players to play for the first team, hence to get promoted from a lower level of the hierarchy (the academy), to the higher level of the first team. This focus on hierarchy is interpreted as a reputation according to the corporation logic. This is the case based on Thornton Ocasio and Lounsbury's (2012: 55) comment, that according to a corporate logic the person becomes an employee and is under the control of managers, and knowledge and expertise is embedded in the routines and capabilities of a hierarchy. In the academy context, a reputation according to a corporation logic can be described as the opportunities the academy provides to players, when players fulfil the requirements of the academy managers. In addition to corporation logic reputation though, each club also emphasized reputation according to other institutional logics. It is not within the scope of the analysis to answer why and how academies choose and commit to reputational elements of institutional logics, but to identify the strategic significance this element has for competitive advantage, irrespective of the institutional logic to which it refers.

The strategic significance that reputation has for academies is highlighted by the fact that all the academies, irrespective of their status or other tangible resources, make claims about and seek to establish a reputation which will differentiate them from competitors. Even in cases, like the Everton FC academy, where there is an abundance of tangible resources, it is the reputation element according to a specific institutional logic, which is emphasised as a source of competitive advantage. For example, the academy manager of the financially strong Everton FC academy and the academy manager of Coventry City FC which faces financial difficulties, both stressed the family environment of the academy as an element of competitive advantage. Birmingham City FC assistant academy manager (interview 6) claims that the advantage of the academy is the innovative and creative approach to the implementation of the EPPP, especially the coaching. Indeed, the assessor directly involved to the assessment of Birmingham FC academy confirms that Birmingham is “finding more creative ways to go about things and put in place things which doesn’t cost money, which are processes” (interview 15). In this regard, tangible resources, such as state-of-the-art facilities and high volume of investment in the academy, are maybe not enough in order to create a competitive advantage, since they can be imitated by competitors and may be common within a given status group. These elements are essential for competitive parity among organisations, and possibly provide an advantage over some competitors (e.g. from a lower status group). On the other hand, the reputation element of the constellation of logics, has the capacity to differentiate organisations and create a competitive advantage since academies can build a unique reputation based on their past achievements.

It is not the “reputation” under a specific logic though, which contributes to a competitive advantage. Academies have the discretion to choose the institutional logics on which they will build their reputation. The multiplicity of available institutional logics within an organisational field means that there are multiple reputational elements to which academies can commit to try and build a competitive advantage.

Reputation claims can serve as an element that contributes to competitive advantage. Galbreath (2005: 984) finds that reputational assets are the most significant contributors, overall, to firm success and that logically a good reputation leads to positive performance, both financially and socially. However, there are limitations too. Academies are scrutinised by various stakeholders of the field regarding their operation, and in some cases, as in the case of the EPPP academies, are officially categorised in status groups. Membership to a status group means that academies fulfil predefined criteria and have specific characteristics which are common to all members of the same group. King and Whetten (2008: 192) state that reputation is a perception that organizations are positively distinctive within their peer group and that organizations have good reputations when they are viewed favourably relative to the ideal standard for a particular social identity. From this perspective, reputation claims can be made about any logic which is included in the constellation of logic of each academy.

Reputation as a resource can be exploited by all organisations of the field, since it is a resource that an organisation creates based on its characteristics. Even low-status organisations with restricted resources can differentiate and create a competitive advantage through their reputation according to an institutional logic. Similarly, higher status academies with an abundance of resources, also highlight their reputation as an element which differentiates them from competitors and contributes to competitive advantage. For example, Birmingham City FC academy claims and these claims are confirmed by the auditing process that its competitive advantage is its innovative approach to the implementation of the EPPP and especially the coaching requirements.

6.2.4. The strategic significance of the elements of institutional logics according to the resource-based theory

Interpretation of elements of logics as resources, and the fact that the element of reputation is emphasised as a source of competitive advantage, do not imply that academies need to focus just on their reputation according to a distinct

institutional logic to create a competitive advantage. All the elements are equally important parts of a constellation and complement each other. For example, an academy cannot establish a reputation if it is not considered legitimate. Similarly, a high-status academy cannot differentiate enough for competitive advantage, if it does not also create a distinct reputation. It is the combination of the elements of institutional logics which results in a differentiated academy strategy that can create a competitive advantage. By applying Barney's *et al.* (2012: 121) categorisation of resources regarding their contribution to competitive parity and competitive advantage (figure 32 below), to legitimacy, status and reputation, the thesis provides an evaluation of the significance of elements of logics for competitive parity and advantage.

RESOURCES				Competitive implications	Performance
Value	Rareness	Imitability	Organization		
NO	–	–	NO	Competitive disadvantage	Below normal
YES	NO	–	YES	Competitive parity	Normal
YES	YES	NO	YES	Temporary competitive advantage	Above normal
YES	YES	YES	YES	Sustainable competitive advantage	Above normal

Figure 32. VRIO Framework

(Barney *et al.* 2012: 121)

Legitimacy is a valuable resource for competitive advantage since stakeholders will not engage in transactions with illegitimate academies. Legitimacy though, is not a rare resource within the organisational field since all the members of the field are considered legitimate academies. Therefore, legitimacy is essential for competitive parity, which according to Barney *et al.* (2012) is a necessary prerequisite for competitive advantage.

Status is valuable for competitive advantage, and since it is ordinal, the higher the status, the more enhances competitive advantage. However, status is only partially rare. Academies are differentiated based on their status, but academies in the same status group cannot be differentiated based on that.

Also, status is imitable. It tends to attach to self-aware cliques and groups, but lower status academies may attempt and achieve to fulfil the requirements to be accepted to a higher status group. Finally, status is not a substitutable resource since it refers to self-aware groups with specific characteristics, and these groups enjoy specific privileges because of their distinct status, academies cannot change their status for another strategic resource and still enjoy the same privileges.

Reputation according to a specific logic is a valuable resource for competitive advantage, since it contributes to the achievement of the strategic goals of academies. Reputation facilitates access to resources and support from stakeholders. Also, it is a rare resource. Reputation is unique for each academy and refers to a unique characteristic that differentiates from other academies. It is inimitable because it involves extrapolation from past performance to future behaviour. Therefore, competitors cannot imitate or replicate it, since it is based on the unique past of each academy. However, in contrast to legitimacy and status, reputation allows for strategic choice. For example, an academy may enjoy easier access to talented coaches because of a reputation of being a good place to work, while a competitor organisation may enjoy the same access to same resources because of a reputation of paying high salaries to its coaches. Since, reputation is judged based on past academy performance and not on predefined norms and criteria, as legitimacy and status, an academy is free to choose on what attributes will build a reputation.

6.2.5. The significance of commitments to logics for positioning

The availability of multiple logics provides academies with the discretion to commit to their preferred logics in order to achieve their aims. Commitment to specific logics defines the strategic aim of the academy. The practical value of a multiplicity of logics to organisations is that it enables the discretion to make multiple commitments to logics and elements without losing their legitimacy as members of the organisational field.

In their attempt to differentiate, academies seek to create constellations of logics that contribute to a differentiated strategy and result in competitive

advantage. In the case of Brentford FC academy, the academy implemented an organisational restructuring in its attempt to differentiate from financially stronger competitors and create a competitive edge. To achieve that, the academy withdrew from the EPPP. Indeed, its withdrawal and the explicit avoidance of logics of the field moved the academy from the centre to the periphery of the field. In general, it has been suggested that core organisations face more intense pressures to conform to institutional logics than peripheral organisations which due to the lower intensity of pressures can more easily differentiate and introduce new practices (Greenwood *et al.* 2011). In this case, though, the academy avoided institutional pressures for conformity while being in the centre of the field. The strategic importance of this repositioning is that it allowed the academy to avoid competing with stronger competitors in the same field. In this regard, the strategic significance of avoidance of and commitment to logics is that by repositioning the academy, they lower the level of competition, and hence make differentiation and creation of competitive advantage easier to achieve.

From this perspective, the thesis suggests that field position does affect the academy's responses to institutional pressures, but also that academy's responses define the position of the academy in the field. Field position of the academy is a relevant and abstract term, while strategic responses are specific and observable behaviours. What is considered a core and peripheral position in a field depends on the strategic responses of field actors. Core organisations, in general, conform to the practices institutional pressures prescribe, and this conformity works to reproduce these standards (Lawrence 1999). In other words, when an organisation produces a product that meets customers' standards, it actually reproduces these standards. Therefore, the conformity to standards defines the core and periphery of the field. However, what is considered core today may become periphery in the future, due to a change in strategic responses to institutional pressures. If more academies follow the example of Brentford FC and chose to avoid pressures by moving to the periphery, then this avoidance will start to reproduce these standards. The more organisations will avoid pressures, the bigger the periphery will become, and

eventually a change in the field will be initiated which will change the perception of what is core and what is periphery.

On the other hand, strategic responses are not an abstract term, but observable actions. What is avoidance or compliance today to specific pressures, will be avoidance and compliance in the future also, irrelevant to the field position of an organisation. From this perspective, and since strategy can impact the perception of field position but the position itself cannot impact the perception of strategy, the thesis argues that field position is the result of commitments to specific logics and contributes to organisational differentiation and creation of competitive advantage. To conclude, the strategic importance of commitment to specific logics is that they place the academy in a distinct field level position and have the capacity to contribute to the avoidance of stronger competitors. Hence, they can lower the level of competition and facilitate the creation of competitive advantage. In order to deliver results, strategic commitments to elements of logics should be complemented by strategic avoidance of other elements. Therefore, a distinction should be made between strategic avoidance of elements of logics and unintentional lack of commitment to elements of logics. Strategic avoidance preconditions that organisations have the ability to commit to an institutional logic, but they avoid it, because organisational actions stemming from this commitment do not contribute to the accomplishment of the organisational aims. Non-commitment to an existing logic does not imply strategic avoidance but may be the result of organisational inability to identify the logic, or lack of necessary resources to commit to the logic, even in situations where organisations want to commit.

Chapter 7. Conclusion and contribution to theory

The aim of this thesis was to identify the significance of institutional logics and their elements for competitive parity, advantage and strategic positioning.

The first part of data analysis describes the evolution of the professional football academies field. This historical analysis identifies the institutional logics of specific periods and also highlights the introduction of new logics. Furthermore, it emphasises the change of the field from being mainly influenced by a National side logic, to the current period when six logics are in play. This analysis concludes with a thick description of the six institutional logics of the field. This description set the institutional context for the second part.

The second part of the analysis, and the case study analysis of 5 academies, highlights the strategic significance of institutional logics for a more comprehensive definition of competitive advantage. Competitive advantage is a widely used term in strategic management, but it is poorly defined (Ma 2000: 15). This thesis suggests that institutional logics not only set the “rules of the game” (Kraatz & Block, 2008) but also circumscribes what could be considered a competitive advantage according to these “rules of the game”.

Based on the analysis of a single professional football club, Gillett and Tennent (2018: 246) propose a new type of logic: the professional sport logic. This professional sport logic is constructed from elements of four logics of the original Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury’s framework (2012) -namely family, community, profession and corporation- with the addition of a new element, namely, the requirement (that professional clubs face) to avoid relegation. From this perspective, the professional sport logic is actually a constellation of logics, a concept that has been discussed extensively in the literature review. This thesis extends the work of Gillett and Tennent (2018) by focusing on the professional football academies field and identifies the logics and elements that professional football academies employ to build their constellation of logics. From an institutional theory perspective, the fact that football academies do not face the requirement to avoid relegation highlights a difference that exists between the first team and the academy of a football club and justifies

conceptualizing the football academies field as distinct from a broader professional football clubs field.

In recent institutional theory literature, there have been calls for a refinement of institutional logics theory, by connecting it to strategic reasoning and decision making (Durand 2012). While the seminal work of Oliver (1997) regarding the combination of institutional theory and resource-based view theory was published 20 years ago, more recent work suggests that more progress and cross-fertilisation exists between the two lines of inquiry (Durand 2012). For example, Ocasio and Radoynovska (2016) combine institutional and strategy literature by focusing on how institutional pluralism and complexity contributes to organisational heterogeneity value creation and capture. Furthermore, Barney, whose seminal article (Barney, 1991) is considered pivotal in introducing the resource-based view theory, comments that the theory could give practical advice and guidance about whether a resource contributes to competitive advantage only when this resource is evaluated within a specific organisational context (Barney and Mackey 2016). The theoretical framework presented in this thesis provides a practical solution to this suggestion. By conceptualising organisations as first responding to logics, it identifies the significance of logics in allowing organisations to choose the “rules of the game” (Kraatz and Block 2008). In general, the thesis is informed by institutional theory and resource-based theory and at the same time contributes to the refinement of elements of both. Furthermore, it provides a practical description of points of rapprochement between the two bodies of literature. More specifically, the thesis contributes in:

- Highlighting the significance of commitments to logics for strategic positioning within a field
- Indicating the significance of logics for a more inclusive definition of competitive advantage
- Identifying the significance of specific elements of institutional logics, for competitive parity and competitive advantage

The Brentford academy case is indicative of the significance of commitments to logics for strategic positioning. The analysis highlights how the academy moved from the centre of the field to the periphery, by altering its commitments to logics. When the EPPP introduced the academy sought an advantage by becoming the first League 1 club with a category 2 status academy, through its multiple commitments to logics. The loss of talented players to higher status academies triggered a change to the academy's approach to the EPPP. The academy now focuses strongly on market logic and is organised accordingly. This new approach and the change to the commitments to logics, resulted to academy's withdrawal from the EPPP and its move to the periphery of the field, where the level of competition is lower. Regarding, significance of logics for a more inclusive definition of competitive advantage, the analysis of all cases highlights that there is not a single definition of competitive advantage. As it is described in the analysis of each case, academies define their competitive advantage in relevance to their commitments to elements of institutional logics. Commitments to different logics result in different definitions of competitive advantage. Hence, the thesis concludes that a more inclusive and accurate definition of competitive advantage requires a clarification of the logics and elements of logics to which this advantage refers. For example, a competitive advantage according to a family logic, is different and requires different strategy than competitive advantage according to a market logic. The thesis extends this argument and highlights the significance of elements logics for the institutionally defined competitive advantage. It identifies elements of logics to which academies commit in order to gain competitive parity and subsequently competitive advantage and analyse their characteristics that have the capacity to contribute to competitive parity and advantage.

It is important to highlight the distinction this thesis makes among the institutional logics and the elements of logics. Studies which conceptualise logics as strategic resources (e.g. Durand *et al.* 2013, Ocasio and Radoynovska 2016, Pache and Santos 2013) tend to focus solely on the logics without suggesting what is the significance of logics for competitive advantage or identifying the elements of logics which have the capacity and the

characteristics to contribute to competitive parity, advantage and positioning. This is a gap in the literature that the current thesis addresses by distinguishing between logics and elements of logics. More specifically, the thesis suggests that commitments to logics have the capacity to influence the definition of performance, competitive advantage and also the organisational position within a field, but it is specific elements of logics that subsequently contribute to competitive parity and advantage.

7.1. Significance of commitments to logics for strategic positioning

One of the basic premises of institutional theory is that institutional logics impose demands on organisations and organisations have the discretion to respond to these demands (Battilana and Dorado 2010, Oliver 1991, Pache and Santos 2010). According to institutional literature, these responses are the result, among others, of organisational field position (Greenwood *et al.* 2011, Leblebici *et al.* 1991). This thesis contributes to an alternative explanation of the relationship among field position and organisational commitments to logics. It provides an explicit account of how institutional logics contribute to change of organisational field position. More specifically, it highlights the role of commitments to logics, in locating organisations in distinct strategic positions within the field, where the level of competition is lower, and creation of competitive advantage is easier. In this regard, it extends the literature about the significance of institutional logics, by highlighting how organisations have the capacity to identify advantageous positions within the organisational field and move there by strategically choosing institutional logics and elements of logics to commit.

7.2. Significance of institutional logics for defining competitive advantage

One of the main critiques of the resource-based theory is that in its attempt to explain competitive advantage it does not look beyond properties of resources and does not examine the social contexts within which resource selection is embedded (Oliver 1997). Barney and Mackey (2016) agree that resource-based theory cannot offer a general theory of value creation but can provide practical and critical guidance about whether a given resource can create value

within a context. On the other hand this thesis clarifies and at the same time enriches the conceptualisation of performance and competition as institutionally defined (Durand 2012). Kraatz and Block (2008), broadly define institutions as the “rules of the game” and the organisations confronting institutional pluralism, as playing in two or more games at the same time. From this perspective, since organisations have the agency to strategically respond to logics, that means they have the agency to choose in what game they want to play and by what rules. Different games, with different rules, means different ways to define success, performance and competitive advantage. Therefore, in cases where there are multiple logics within a field, there are also multiple definitions of performance, competition and consequently of what constitutes a competitive advantage. By committing to elements of institutional logics, organisations become participants to the game they want play, what rules to follow, and eventually and ultimately what constitutes a competitive advantage, according to their interpretation and commitments to institutional logics. Subsequently, these commitments define what the necessary means to compete and perform are and also guide organisational strategy for competitive parity and competitive advantage.

7.3. Significance of specific elements of logics for competitive parity and competitive advantage

Institutional logics have been conceptualised in institutional theory literature as strategic organisational resources which can contribute to competitive advantage (Durand *et al.* 2013, Ocasio and Radoynovska 2016, Oliver 1997). The thesis extends this literature by adopting the conceptualisation of institutional logics as constituted from elemental building blocks (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012) to which organisations commit, and evaluates these elements according to the prescriptions of the resource-based theory. Commitment to elements of institutional logics is the result of organisational responses to institutional logics. The thesis contributes to a practical description of the significance of specific elements of institutional logics by combining institutional theory with the resource-based theory. The combination of the institutional and strategic literature has provided suggestions regarding how

institutional logics contribute to competitive advantage (Martin 2014, Ocasio and Radoynovska 2016, Oliver 1997). This thesis extends this line of inquiry by identifying the significance of specific elements of institutional logics, for competitive parity and competitive advantage.

Chapter 8. Limitations and future research

The current thesis identifies logics through the analysis of qualitative data and analyse the significance of elements of logics for competitive parity and competitive advantage. A future research could adopt a bottom-up approach and focus on the individual level and examine how social actors create the meaning of logics and how this meaning informs the actions of organisations.

From an institutional strategy perspective, future research could also focus on how organisations of the same organisational field differentiate their actions based on commitments to the same logics. This type of research has the capacity to highlight how the actions of individuals inform organisational action and infuse logics with value. Again, addressing the calls for an integration of organisational strategy and institutional logics literature, future research should analyse how and why organisations commit to logics and how and why they choose reputational elements of logics to create their competitive advantage. Moreover, instead of focusing only on interpretations of members of a specific organisation, future research could ask organisational actors of a specific field to describe the advantage of their competitors. This approach will provide a more accurate analysis of logics within an organisation and an informed correlation between logics and their elements and competitive advantage.

As the data analysis suggests social actors interpret logics differently and organise their actions accordingly. Hence, institutional logics research could focus on how actors create the meaning of logics, and how this meaning subsequently influences organisational action. This thesis identifies and describes the content of the six institutional logics of the field, based on the collected data. Hence, future research could include in the analysis social actors' interpretations regarding the presence and content of various institutional logics. One of the main premises of the institutional theory is that social actors interpret logics. Subsequently these interpretations influence actions of social actors. On the other hand, institutional researchers identify and interpret the logics of an organisational field and then involve the actual social actors in the analysis, by seeking to explore and explain how the identified

logics influence their actions. Future research will enrich the institutional logics analysis by asking the social actors of a specific field, to identify and describe the institutional logics of the field and then the researcher to focus on the impact of the identified logics on social actors. From this perspective a future research could involve the actual social actors of an organisational field in the identification and interpretation of field-level logics and then proceed to an analysis of the relationship amongst social actors and institutional logics.

This point reveals another possible route for future research. This thesis identifies institutional logics of the field and analyses organisational actions through the lens of the institutional theory. From this perspective, the actions of social actors allowed the interpretation of the presence of various institutional logics within the field. However, social actors may take decisions out of necessity, experience and convention, not because they recognise courses of actions based on various institutional logics. By seeking to identify logics through observation of organisational action, the analysis conceptualises social actors as defining the content of institutional logics and does not take into consideration, their pre-existing "institutional identity". Social actors' decisions are not based only on the circumstances they face on a specific organisational field, but also on their already existing commitments to logics as actors of other fields. For example, an academy coach who is also parent, may interpret the family logic differently to another coach, who is not a parent himself and may not identify the logic at all, or may interpret it in a different way. Indeed, the abstract conceptualisation of institutional logics hinders an explicit articulation of each logic's content, even at the field level where logics have greater specificity. Therefore, future research could focus on the same social actors' actions but in different organisational fields. Through the comparison of the two situations, this research could identify and describe logics more accurately. Using the above example of coaches, if the coach/parent identifies a family logic in the football academies field while the coach/not parent does not, then the family logic may not be a characteristic of the field. On the other hand, if both coaches, with different institutional identities, identify the same family logic, then the research could provide a richer and a more in-depth analysis of the content of the logic.

Finally, from a sports management perspective future research should examine how football academies serve the broader aims of a football club and if and how football clubs use the academy as a sub-unit to compartmentalise their institutional identity and satisfy specific field level institutional logics that cannot be satisfied through the operation of the first team.

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