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**HANDELSHØJSKOLEN**  
SOLBJERG PLADS 3  
DK-2000 FREDERIKSBERG  
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**BREWING ORGANIZATIONAL RESPONSES TO INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS**

PhD Series 27.2013



**Copenhagen  
Business School**  
HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

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**Lærke Højgaard Christiansen**

Doctoral School of Organisation  
and Management Studies

PhD Series 27.2013

# **BREWING ORGANIZATIONAL RESPONSES TO INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS**

LÆRKE HØJGAARD CHRISTIANSEN

Department of Organization

Copenhagen Business School

Lærke Højgaard Christiansen  
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Lærke



## ABSTRACT<sup>1</sup>

This dissertation examines how the multinational brewer Carlsberg Group responds to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’, expressed in its work with the focus area of ‘responsible drinking’ (RD). RD is associated with different initiatives aimed at reducing the misuse of alcohol, e.g., youth drinking, binge drinking (i.e., drinking to excess), and drunk driving. The issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ is not a new issue, but public perception of the issue has changed in the direction of emphasizing health and lifestyle; rather than simply being a question of a few alcoholics, ‘alcohol-related harm’ has recently become a question of a more general health risk. As a result, brewers and other alcohol producers are increasingly expected to engage in solving the associated problems of ‘alcohol-related harm’, while making sure that they do not amplify the problem via potentially problematic product launches and inappropriate advertisement campaigns. In 2010 Carlsberg Group initiated the development of a new strategic approach to responsible drinking that differed from the previous orientation, in which each subsidiary had its own approach (or non-approach) to the issue. The call for an integrated approach has given rise to multiple ways of tackling the issue, both at headquarters and subsidiaries, all of which represent the unification of a social and a commercial dimension (the social responsibility logic and the market logic). This dissertation examines the concrete conceptualizations of organizational responses to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’, focusing on the different actors involved and, specifically, on the construction of the interplay between the social and commercial aspects. The question guiding my research is therefore: *How does Carlsberg Group handle multiple institutional logics in its responses to the complexity related to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’?*

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<sup>1</sup> A Danish resumé has been included, see p. 235.

More generally, Carlsberg Group's engagement with the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' provided an opportunity to study the construction of organizational responses to institutional complexity. This dissertation's primary focus is on the construction of interplay between the social responsibility logic and the market logic; two logics that are sometimes perceived to be irreconcilable, while at other instances perceived to create synergies. Consequently, this dissertation draws on the existing literature that deals with interacting logics and on the construction of organizational responses to complexity.

Empirically, I have followed the conceptualization of the organizational responses (which manifest in their 'responsible drinking' initiatives), with a focus on the involved actors. The conceptualization has been traced across the organization and to relevant industry-level actors, while the primary focus has remained on the organizational actors' interpretations. In this dissertation, I have followed organizational actors' interpretations and responses in real time as they developed over a period of two and a half years (2010-2013), through interviews, observations, and organizational documents dating back to 2003. I have focused on one particular project, attending to the issue through the development of a strategic approach to responsible drinking as it matured within the organization's headquarters and their chosen 'pilot market' (the Danish subsidiary). Furthermore, I have conducted interviews at three additional subsidiaries (in the UK, Poland, and Finland) to get a more detailed understanding of the different ways in which the organization constructs its responses to the issue and the interplay between the social responsibility logic and the market logic.

Based on my empirical observations, I have depicted the organizational responses and their construction processes as being shaped by two logics, the social responsibility logic and the market logic, as well as by organizational actors' identity claims and

whether they emphasized their collective identity as members of an industry ('we are brewers') or their distinctive organizational identity ('we are Carlsberg'). These aspects are analyzed separately in paper 1 (Chapter 7), where I explore the interplay between collective and organizational identities in a temporal perspective; paper 2 (Chapter 8) elaborates on the organizational bridging of logics via bricolage; and paper 3 (Chapter 9) illustrates how and why logic interplay is constructed and shaped by organizational actors' level of identification (collective or organizational identity claims) with the issue.

Overall, the main findings point to the following contributions to the literature:

1. *Organizational response* processes are less than static; they are dynamic and change over time. Moreover, there is not just one response but several different conceptualizations taking place, even within the different units of the company. This research project shows how variations in responses occurred within and across the organizational realm, over time and across levels and space.

2. The *interplay between logics* can be both a source of conflict as well as synergy. The focus on organizational actors' cognitions meant that it was possible to identify instances in which organizational actors envisioned synergies and that a coupling of logics was necessary for the survival of the company and even the industry. In addition, this dissertation also provides empirical insights into the interplay that exists between logics and identity, which has often been theorized within the literature on institutional logics.

3. *The interplay between organizational and collective identities* may shift over time as organizational actors' interpretations and construction of responses developed. While putting focus on organizational actors' identity claims in relation to the issue of 'alcohol-related harm', this study empirically illustrates the interplay between

collective and organizational identities and how the balance between these two levels of identity shifts over time. The shift seems to have occurred as the intensity of the external pressure has intensified, prompting organizational actors to consider the issue a threat to aspects of its distinct organizational identity. This dissertation contributes to our understanding of the interplay between these two levels of identity with an insight into the development of interpretations and actions as they unfold over time.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Organizations face complexity when they are confronted with multiple sets of ‘rules’ that prescribe appropriate behavior in a given situation. In other words, they are confronted with multiple institutional logics. The concept of ‘institutional logics’ is intended to encompass the different meanings systems that guide our thoughts and actions as: “...*frames of reference that condition actors’ choices for sensemaking, the vocabulary they use to motivate action, and their sense of self and identity*” (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). These different logics constitute different sets of guidelines that both constrain and enable our actions by prescribing what kind of behavior is appropriate in a given social setting. The understanding of how organizations handle the interplay between logics is interesting because it provides institutionalists with an opportunity to explain variation among organizations, as well as changes in organizational forms, without breaking with the fundamental assumptions within institutional theory of path dependence and the constraining, enabling, and stabilizing power of the context (Schneiberg 2007). In initial studies, shifts in logics over time (e.g., Haveman and Rao 1997; Thornton and Ocasio 1999) and logic interplay have been depicted as co-existing but still conflicting and thus separated in organizational practice (e.g., Marquis and Lounsbury 2007; Reay and Hinings 2009). In contrast more recent work (e.g., Battilana and Dorado 2010; Jarzabkowski et al. 2013) advances a softened version, where different logics can co-exist or even blend as actors are depicted as being capable of mixing elements from different logics because they are partially autonomous from the social structure (Thornton et al. 2012: 101). Still, we have yet to understand how and why interplay between logics is constructed by organizational actors in situations where they face institutional complexity, because sometimes logics are seen as being too distinct to be

bridged, and hence separated in practice, while at other times the possibility for blending them is apparent.

This doctoral research project explores the organizational interpretations of, and responses to, a new institutional pressure over time. Empirically, I examine how a global MNC brewery group (Carlsberg Group) deals with the pressing issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’. In recent years, the brewery industry’s traditional challenges in relation to their product have intensified. Alcoholic beverages are now commonly associated with being unhealthy. This image, combined with encroaching ‘tobacco conditions’, the tightening of legislation in a number of countries and increasing regulation and taxation of alcohol, threatens to further damage the industry’s legitimacy.

Regulatory pressures come from global, regional, and national bodies, e.g., the World Health Organization’s (WHO) 2010 global strategy to reduce the harmful use of alcohol, which calls for intensive action to reduce the availability of alcohol. The Global Alcohol Policy Alliance’s call for similar approaches to that taken within the tobacco industry consists in addressing advertising, increasing taxation, and reducing the availability of alcohol. At the same time, sales have decreased within the industry, especially in Western Europe.

The issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ is not novel, but brewery and alcohol companies are increasingly expected to take responsibility for the problems that their products cause for society. This expectation challenges traditional organizational practices and organizations’ relationships to their audiences. This dissertation focuses on the organizational responses to these increased pressures within the brewery industry through the following research question:



*How does Carlsberg Group handle multiple institutional logics in their responses to the complexity they face in relation to the issue of 'alcohol-related harm'?*

This study has been conducted as an inductive case study of Carlsberg Group's responses to increased pressure from government and civil society to accommodate to a changed public perception of alcohol and brewers' responsibility. This dissertation centers on Carlsberg Group's conceptualization of Corporate Social Responsibility in relation to 'responsible drinking', i.e., activities aimed at preventing the misuse of alcohol. In real time, I have followed the interpretations and response(s) of organizational actors as these developed over a period of two and a half years (2010-2013). I have also looked at how they were expressed in documents dating back to 2003. This process has been accomplished with a focus on one particular project and its conceptualization over time within the organization's headquarters and their chosen 'pilot project' subsidiary. In addition, I have traced the development inductively from headquarters to three subsidiaries in Northern, Western, and Eastern Europe, as well as to the industry level, locally, regionally, and globally.

In this dissertation, I have been working from an institutional perspective, while also including a distinct identity aspect. The aim has been to develop an understanding of the intra-organizational response process, an understanding that illuminates micro-level understandings and negotiations.

In order to answer the proposed research question, I have explored (1) the interplay between different levels of identity claims (organization and industry) in the creation of an organizational response, (2) the organizational actors' construction of interplay between logics, and (3) intra-organizational challenges related to multiple logics, including the question of how they might be reconciled.

The combined insights from this dissertation are primarily of relevance for the institutional logics literature, secondarily the work around organizational response to

complexity, and finally to an institutional perspective on identity. The study shows that the presence of *multiple logics* can be both a source of perceived conflict and synergy. The attention to organizational actors' interpretations made it possible to observe the instances where the actors saw a potential synergy between the otherwise contradictory logics and where a coupling was necessary for organizational survival. Consequently some organizational actors sought to resolve the friction between logics through a process of institutional bricolage. During this process, organizational members worked to integrate the social issue (logic) and find novel ways to bridge different institutional demands by drawing upon extant organizational resources from different times and spaces in an effort to reconstitute their organizational identity. Consequently this research also provides empirical insights into the interplay that exists between logics and identity, which has been theorized by some within the literature on institutional logics (e.g. Lounsbury and Crumley 2007; Thornton et al. 2012). In relation to *organizational responses to complexity*, this study illustrates a process that is dynamic and changes over time; also there was not just one organizational response but several different conceptualizations taking place within different units of the company. This research project shows how variations in responses occurred within and across the organizational realm, over time both within the organization and through collective industry engagement. Moreover, this study empirically illustrates the *interplay between collective and organizational identities* and how the balance between these two levels of identity shifted over time with regard to a perceived threat. The shift seems to have occurred as the intensity of the external pressure intensified, prompting organizational actors to consider the issue a threat to aspects of its distinct organizational identity. This dissertation contributes to our understanding of the interplay between these two levels of identity with insight into the development of interpretations and actions as they unfolded over time.

The dissertation consists of three academic papers and a “frame”. The frame provides a broader description of the empirical field, methods used during data-collection as well as a theoretical framing and an overall conclusion. The frame especially serves the purpose of illustrating the thoughts and reflections that might not otherwise fit into a journal style paper. In addition, the frame includes my deliberations about the linkages between the different papers as well as the overall contribution of this dissertation as a combined piece of research. I begin with a presentation of the empirical context, the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ and a brief outline of Carlsberg Group’s work with the issue (Chapter 2). This chapter is followed by a chapter on my theoretical framing and approach to the research question (Chapter 3). In the methodology section (Chapter 4), I account for my research design and the choices that I have made along the research process. My reflections on my relationship and engagement with Carlsberg are depicted in a separate chapter (Chapter 5) where I elaborate on the central aspects that have shaped this research project and the final dissertation. This chapter is followed by an outline of the three papers in the dissertation (Chapter 6) and a description of where the different papers are in the process, in terms of development. The three papers appear in Chapter 7, 8 and 9, and they are followed by an overall conclusion (Chapter 10), which includes a presentation of the overall theoretical and practical contributions as well as suggestions for future research directions.

## 2. THE EMPIRICAL CONTEXT

In this section, I will give a description of the empirical context that I have explored in this dissertation. First, I will describe the rise of the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’, followed by an introduction to the case organization, Carlsberg Group, and their work with conceptualizing the issue.

### **The Issue of ‘Alcohol-related Harm’**

In Europe, alcohol is an integrated part of many social events, from everyday meals to religious services and celebrations, and the drinking of alcohol is often described as a social activity that sets the stage for social interactions. The production and consumption of alcohol has occurred for at least ten thousand years, and the traditions and occasions for drinking are highly institutionalized, both in relation to types and places of drinking – e.g., a beer after work on a Friday or Champaign to celebrate a happy occasion (Andersen and Baumberg 2006). Since the mid-nineties, a new public health movement has emerged. This movement focuses on threats and risks to public health and thus aims to improve the health of the public via a range of preventive actions, for example, to tackle health challenges that include cardiovascular diseases and diabetes, consumption of alcohol during pregnancy and addictions to tobacco, alcohol, and drugs. In short, their focus is on the promotion of preventive measures to fight existing and developing health threats in order to prolong the life and quality of the life of populations (Tulinsky and Varavikova 2010). This movement is notably driven by the World Health Organization (WHO) but also other health organizations. The movement accelerated particularly in the mid-nineties, when they launched a set of recommendations for regulation (WHO 2010). One of the elements in this preventive action is to eliminate ‘alcohol-related harm’, which movement actors identify as one of the central threats to public health, and they are therefore arguing that the consumption of alcohol should be kept to a minimum. With this movement,

new regulatory pressures from global, regional, and national bodies are increasing, and the WHO (2010) recently launched its global strategy to reduce the harmful use of alcohol while making a call for intensive action to reduce the availability of alcohol. By the same token, the Global Alcohol Policy Alliance pleads for similar approaches to that taken with the tobacco industry by addressing advertising, increasing taxation, and reducing the availability of alcohol.

The issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ is, however, not a new challenge; in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, there were large ‘temperance movements’ spreading across Europe and prohibition was adopted in the places where the movement was strongest, e.g., in Finland, Iceland, the US, and Russia. Later, these efforts were perceived to have failed, but some countries retained or adopted a compromise with some form of alcohol control such as state monopoly (e.g., Finland and Sweden), restrictions of availability (e.g., age restrictions), and taxation. These initiatives were explicitly targeted at high percentage alcohol, and these restrictions therefore contributed to a shift towards the consumption of beer (Andersen and Baumberg 2006). In the new ‘public health movement’, the change is in the way that ‘alcohol-related harm’ is no longer considered to be an isolated problem for a small number of alcoholics; instead, it is commonly depicted as a broader challenge for society as a whole.

Consequently, in recent years, the brewery industry’s traditional challenges have intensified. Alcoholic beverages, including beer, are now more commonly associated with being unhealthy, and this image combined with encroaching ‘tobacco conditions’ and the tightening of legislation in a number of countries, increasing regulation and taxation of alcohol, threatens to damage the industry’s legitimacy. At the same time, alcohol producers are increasingly expected to engage in tackling the problems that

their products cause for society, or at least not to encourage the inappropriate consumption of the product. One industry consultant commented on this aspect:

*“In my time in the industry, and I’ve been in the industry 25 years, there’s been an absolute sea change from seeing people who talk about alcohol responsibility as just being enemies of fun, to being actually, yes there is a serious issue that we need to address. But different parts of the industry are moving at different speeds, and so I think that the big international producers are probably at the forefront of seeing this change.”*

(Industry Consultant 2011)

A focal aspect in this development is the idea that companies as actors in society and producers of alcohol have an ethical responsibility to a wider community of stakeholders and not just their shareholders. Consequently, the company has a responsibility towards the people (and broader society) that are affected by the company and its products.

### **‘Welcome to the Home Field of Carlsberg’<sup>2</sup>**

With the emergence of this changed view on alcohol, it is increasingly perceived as a problematic issue that the brewery industry and Carlsberg Group have to consider in their interaction with their audience. Carlsberg Group is a multinational brewery group, the fourth largest on a global scale, with primary markets in Russia, Asia, and Western Europe. The company is present in 150 markets and operates 85 breweries across 46 countries. Table 1 gives a few background information on Carlsberg Group.

Carlsberg was founded in 1847 by brewer J.C. Jacobsen, and the story of him and his son, Carl Jacobsen, is a national saga of conflict and mistrust that led J.C. Jacobsen to transfer full ownership of the company to the Carlsberg Foundation after his death. The

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<sup>2</sup> This was a tagline used during the summer of 2012 in connection with UEFA EURO 2012 – the largest European soccer event, where Carlsberg was the one of the main sponsors.

Carlsberg Foundation was founded in 1876 to support the arts and sciences in Denmark. Upon his death, the Foundation took full ownership of the company, and it remained this way until 2007, when the original charter was altered so that the Foundation now only owns 25% of the stock capital (before that they owned 51%). This change in the charter was made to get shareholders to fund the company's extensive growth. Carlsberg Group has grown tremendously within the last ten years and has gone from being a local and regional brewer to being a global one. The company has grown from being a national to a regional and, finally in 2008, a fully global company and the 4<sup>th</sup> largest brewery group in the world. This has been an ingrained part of management's strategy, and the company's explicitly stated strategic goal is: "*to be the fastest growing brewery in the world*". The organization has pursued this strategy through mergers and acquisitions, and the organization is therefore very disparate in its operation and many of the breweries are run relatively autonomously as individual breweries. This means that the organization does not have one large coordinated organizational structure but actually functions more as individual organizations, thus the name 'group'. At this point, the company is still very fragmented, but HQ has a strategy to transform the group into a *fast moving consumer goods* (FMCG) company and thereby secure an increased integration (front-end and back-end), standardization, and optimization (Carlsberg 2011). Focus is persistently on cutting expenditures and increasing market shares and sales in new emerging markets (Eastern Europe and Asia) and turning the negative growth in Western Europe. While the company is explicitly focused on growth and profit maximization, it also explicitly engages with society through its Corporate Social Responsibility efforts. This dissertation addresses the interplay between the commercial and the social responsibility aspect in Carlsberg Group's responses to the issue of 'alcohol-related harm'.

**TABLE 1**  
**BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON CARLSBERG GROUP**

Size	4 <sup>th</sup> largest brewery in the world, employing 41.000 people. Present in 150 markets worldwide, operating 85 breweries across 46 countries.
Growth history (overview of the most important milestones)	<b>1847</b> – Carlsberg is founded in Denmark, Copenhagen, by J.C. Jacobsen (1811-1887). <b>1868</b> - Export to Scotland <b>1968</b> - Carlsberg opens first overseas brewery in Blantyre, Malawi. <b>1970</b> - Carlsberg and Tuborg merged under the name of The United Breweries A/S <b>1987</b> - The name was changed to Carlsberg A/S <b>2001</b> Carlsberg Breweries A/S formed. Owned 60% by Carlsberg A/S, and 40% by Orkla ASA. <b>2004</b> - Carlsberg A/S buys Orkla's share of Carlsberg Breweries. <b>2008</b> - Carlsberg and Heineken jointly acquire Scottish & Newcastle. Carlsberg get S&N's share of BBH (Baltic Brewery), as well as the French, Greek, Chinese and Vietnamese operations. <b>2012</b> – Carlsberg obtain a 100% ownership of BALTIKA Breweries
International Brands	Carlsberg, Tuborg, Baltika and Kronenbourg 1664
Ownership	Carlsberg A/S, the parent company, is owned by 20 000 institutional and private investors, and it is listed on the NASDAQ OMX Nordic Exchange Copenhagen. The Carlsberg Foundation holds 25 percent of the shares in, which is the holding company of Carlsberg Group; it also holds 51 percent of the votes.
The Carlsberg Foundation	The Foundation was set up in 1876 by J.C. Jacobsen with an aim to manage the Carlsberg Laboratory and to support Danish research within the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities. J.C. Jacobsen left the brewery to the Foundation after his death in 1887.
Location	Carlsberg Group is located in the old Carlsberg City in Copenhagen (Valby), where the old buildings and the founder's home still stand, and where there is a company museum, the Carlsberg Archives and the Carlsberg Laboratory.
Corporate Social Responsibility	Global Group CSR organization set up in 2008. Local subunit initiatives were in place before then.

Through the late nineties and early zeroes, Carlsberg's competitors started working with CSR in several areas at group level, while Carlsberg fell behind by only having an environmental report. In 2008, however, Carlsberg signed the UN Global Compact to



symbolize the beginning of a Carlsberg Group wide commitment to CSR. Since then, headquarters has been formalizing its global CSR approach via the formulation and implementation of their ‘GloCal strategy’ in different CSR focus areas, and thus emphasizing the balance between being global and operating locally. The Corporate Communication department initially drove the implementation, and they set up a Corporate CSR unit and a CSR governance structure to underpin the implementation of CSR across the group. The department operates under the SVP of Communication, and the formal decision-makers and approvers are the CSR Executive Committee, which includes all of Carlsberg Group’s Vice Presidents. Initially, the role of the CSR and Public Affairs unit was to drive the CSR implementation and function as a central advocate and supporter for the local Carlsberg subsidiaries. The idea was to have this department drive the process of CSR implementation throughout the organization and have the different functional departments take ownership of each of the individual CSR areas, e.g., so that HR has ownership of the CSR areas ‘Labour & Human Rights’ and ‘Health and Safety’, and Sales & Marketing has ownership of the CSR areas ‘Marketing Communication’ and ‘Responsible Drinking’. To further the ownership in the different functions, Carlsberg headquarters appointed CSR functional owners in each of the relevant departments, owners who are doing their CSR efforts in addition to their regular work assignments (part-time). In addition to the functional owners, local CSR ambassadors have been appointed in each of the subsidiaries. The ambassadors are typically situated in the communication or HR department and also often work part-time on CSR.

Since the start of Carlsberg Group’s engagement in 2008, the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ has been one of their most important focus areas, and Carlsberg have attended to this issue both as an individual organization and in industry collaboration with brewers and alcohol producers respectively: *“Responsible consumption (or drinking) is arguably one of the most pressing CSR issues in the beverage industry”* (CSR

Presentation 2010). Attention to the issue has been made within two primary areas focused on self-regulation (via the Marketing Communication Policy) and ‘responsible drinking’, the advocacy of moderate drinking.

### **Self-regulation – Marketing Communication Policy**

In 2009 Carlsberg Group introduced a self-regulatory system, the ‘Marketing Communication Policy’ and a guideline together with three other policies<sup>3</sup> under the headline of CSR. The ‘Marketing Communication Policy’, was focused on setting boundaries for acceptable behavior for the organization’s overall marketing communication, it was particularly targeted at the organizational marketing employees to prevent the potential encouragement of an inappropriate use of in advertisements in particular. The purpose of these codes and guidelines is to enact ‘self-legislation’—put restrictions on the marketing communications so that the ‘short-term profit seeking’ did not damage or challenge its “license to operate”. The internal associated guideline to applying the policy emphasized what was expected from the employees, as well as the perceived divergence between the social responsibility and commercial dimensions:

*“Applying the Policy means learning to understand and anticipate potential public concern. Judging whether a communication is socially responsible is quite different from judging its marketing effectiveness. So, when you evaluate a proposed idea or creative execution, you must consciously set aside your marketing role and adopt different criteria.”*

(Marketing Communication Guideline 2009: 1)

The ‘Marketing Communication Policy’ was developed by the CSR unit in collaboration with the communication department. It was largely formed in the image

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<sup>3</sup> Business Ethics, Health & Safety, Labor and Human Rights and the Marketing Communication policy were launched in 2009 others have followed since.

of an industry guideline developed by the Brewers of Europe (in 2003). Still, it was shaped in the same format and layout as the three other Carlsberg Group Policies that was “rolled out” together. Meaning, the policies were communicated to the local ‘CSR champions’ in each country, who were then in charge of communicating its content to the local company. Later an e-learning tool was developed and the idea was that all people in marketing should be educated in the ‘Marketing Communication Policy’ to eliminate the problem of non-compliance with industry standards. The ‘Marketing Communication Policy’ represented headquarters initial response to the ‘issue of alcohol-related harm’.

### **Responsible Drinking – ‘From bollocks to enjoyment...’**

The quote in the above subheading is from a commercial manager in one of the countries, and it somehow captures the idea of the strategy that is the main idea in Carlsberg’s conceptualization: the move from the consumption of beer as a rather meaningless and possibly inappropriate activity to an enjoyment of the product. The organization’s early RD engagement was primarily driven by the subsidiaries:

*“In line with our GloCal approach, we continued to develop local initiatives to promote responsible drinking and address issues related to the misuse of our products, such as underage drinking and drinking and driving.”*

(Carlsberg Group CEO on website 2011)

But in September 2010, a new and more strategic global approach to the area of RD was initiated as the company hired a project manager (director) to drive the process and lead an organizational conceptualization of an organizational response(s) to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’. The initial step was the development of an RD Guide Book. The development process included the input and collaboration of a number of different organizational participants from different functions (marketing, communication, and sales) and subsidiaries from each of the different regions (Western Europe, Northern

Europe, Eastern Europe, and Asia). In 2012, RD messages were included in the UEFA EURO 2012 (football) events and campaigns connected with their sponsorship (Carlsberg 2012a).

Finally, their latest commitment is their signing of the industry commitment, the ICAP Global commitment, to joint actions against the harmful use of alcohol, which has also been signed by thirteen other beer, wine, and spirits companies. The mentioned initiatives outline some of the main developments within headquarters, but each of these initiatives is a different variation of RD: Self-regulation and internally focused guidelines for marketers; the UEFA campaign being linked to consumer branding; and the global ICAP pledge, which is an industry commitment. The same was true for the local subsidiaries that also varied in their approaches and initiatives to RD; while some focused exclusively on supporting industry commitments, others did RD initiatives that were communicated and linked to brand communication. By 2012, 29 out of 37 (78%) Carlsberg-operated breweries reported back to headquarters that they were implementing responsible drinking initiatives (Carlsberg Group 2012b) with variations in why and how these initiatives were initiated.

In this chapter, I have described the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’, given an introduction to the Carlsberg Group, and outlined its work and responses to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’. This chapter is supposed to give the reader a broad introduction to the empirical context in which the organizational actors construct their response, which will be further detailed in the papers. The reader might experience some repetition of this empirical introduction throughout the papers since all of them address the same empirical phenomenon from various perspectives.

### **3. THEORETICAL FRAMING INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS, BRICOLAGE, AND IDENTITY**

The research question that I have formulated for this dissertation requires a theoretical framework that grasps internal organizational dynamics, as well as organizational actors' social construction of an issue and organizational responses to such an issue. The framework must also take into account that there are multiple social 'worldviews' at play in this process and that organizational meaning making is key. This aspect has been a central focus point in my work with this research project, and I have relied on an interpretative approach. Likewise, the social construction of meaning is a central theme within institutional theory in the sense that individuals and groups interacting in a given social realm construct concepts and cognitive representations of each other's actions, which in turn become institutionalized when there is a reciprocal typification of habituated actions by specific types of actors (Berger and Luckmann 1966/1991: 72). In other words, when concepts become institutionalized, they prescribe roles that are played out by individuals, groups, and organizations in relation to each other. These roles and associated practices become taken for granted norms that shape the actions and interactions of actors at all levels. Institutional theory fundamentally seeks to explain how these structures shape practice as well as how they are created, maintained, and altered.

Many of the early institutionalist studies built on the work of DiMaggio and Powell (1983), which related to isomorphism and the diffusion of institutionalized models. In recent years, these studies have been criticized for being overtly focused on structure, leaving little or no room for agency.

This criticism led to rationalistic attempts to account for agency via integration with other more strategic theories, primarily the resource dependence view (e.g., Oliver 1991). These studies were subsequently criticized by the more conventional

institutionalists for bracketing the structural aspects and portraying agents as overly mindful and manipulative in relation to institutional pressures. These debates about the structure-agency paradox have brought about several new ideas and perspectives such as the literature on institutional entrepreneurship (e.g., Battilana et al. 2009; Svejenova, Mazza and Palanellas 2007), institutional work (e.g., Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca 2009), and the institutional logics perspective (e.g., Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). Recently, the two latter schools of thought have come to dominate the conversations within institutional theory, with both striving to bridge the tension between agency and structure (Zilber 2013). The idea of institutional entrepreneurship has in part become integrated in both perspectives, perhaps most evidently in the institutional work literature, which explicitly envisions institutional actors as being purposeful, skilled, and reflexive agents. Still, within the institutional logics perspective, actors might also have an important role to play in the situation where different worldviews interact and new forms of practice arise.

In this dissertation, I explore the organizational construction of a response to institutional complexity. The study integrates insights from studies regarding institutional complexity and the institutional logics perspective, as well as identity theory on the organizational and collective level of analysis. I will explain my use of the four main theoretical concepts of ‘institutional logics’, ‘bricolage’, ‘organizational identity’, and ‘collective identity’ in my understanding of the empirical observations. I have used these theoretical constructs inductively for the purpose of understanding how organizational responses to institutional complexity are shaped by interacting logics (institutional orders or worldviews), their bridging (through institutional bricolage), as well as organizational and collective identity claims. I will simultaneously outline what I consider to be the main tendencies, current debates, and disagreements within each domain. Lastly, I will carve out where this dissertation seeks to make its contributions.

## **Institutional Logics**

### *– A lens to understand fundamental ‘worldview’ differences*

I find that the institutional logics perspective is appropriate as an analytical lens to explore and conceptualize fundamental worldview differences in relation to an organization’s responses to the multiplicity of demands in its environment. In this case, these demands include the organization’s social responsibility towards society. The institutional logics perspective is a theoretical account of the pressures that organizations face in their environment and which shape the actions and interactions of individuals and organizations (Thornton, Jones, and Kury 2005; Thornton and Ocasio 2008). Institutional logics can be described as supra-organizational patterns of activity (Friedland and Alford 1991), reflecting a belief system that represents a particular worldview, a valuable end, and the appropriate means to achieve this end. While building on this idea and the work of scholars such as Jackall (1988) and Friedland and Alford (1991), Thornton and Ocasio (1999: 804) define institutional logics as:

*“the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality.”*

This definition aims to capture the key elemental characteristics of institutional theory as well as the challenges that we as institutional scholars seek to solve by (1) attempting to integrate structure and agency; (2) suggesting that institutions operate at different nested levels of analysis; (3) combine the symbolic and material; and by (4) accounting for institutions as being historically contingent (Thornton et al. 2012: 50). In my own work with institutional logics, I have found this definition to be useful. However, I agree with Zilber (2013) that the core of the institutional logics perspective is the idea of incompatible prescriptions from different institutional logics, which was introduced by Friedland and Alford (1991) in their groundbreaking article. This institutional multiplicity (or complexity) is a fundamental focus point that continues to

be debated within the logics literature as a source for change, conflicted co-existence, and finally as potentially complementary or even blending in organizational practice. I will go through each of these turns in the following (for additional recent reviews see Greenwood et al. 2011, Lounsbury and Boxenbaum 2013a, and Jarzabkowski et al. 2013).

*Shifts in logics as a source of change.* Following up on Friedland and Alford's (1991) call to "bring society back in", the early institutional logics studies consisted of industry- and field-level analysis that illustrated the effects of shifts in institutional logics over time (Lounsbury and Boxenbaum 2013a) (e.g., Christensen and Molin 1995; Haveman and Rao 1997; Thornton and Ocasio 1999; Lounsbury 2002). The common conception was that one logic would be dominant in a field, and then at one point there would be a shift towards a new logic; for example, in a study by Thornton and Ocasio (1999), a shift occurred from an editorial logic to a market logic in the higher education publishing industry, which led to different determinants for executive succession. This shift was provoked by a shift in attention from the author-editor relation and internal growth to resource competition and acquisition growth. Although many of the early studies were macro-level studies, a few early studies addressed the micro-level, focusing on the transformations occurring at the organizational level. For instance, Christensen and Molin (1995) showed that, via the use of a longitudinal case study of the Danish Red Cross, changing institutional logics shaped and defined the problems, solutions, and participants, as well as the interests that determined the developing shape of the organization. Whereas the focus was mostly on shifts in logics, it was asserted that periods of institutional emergence were typically characterized by a heterogeneity of practices within organizational fields, when existing and new practices coincided and actors tried to establish new practices.



Soon a new idea formed: *Conflicting logics were believed to co-exist* for longer periods of time, and organizations were concurrently depicted as being influenced by more than one logic simultaneously (e.g., Kraatz and Block 2008; Greenwood et al. 2011). Consequently, an interest in the interaction between different institutional logics and the organizational response to institutional complexity has gained prominence (Greenwood et al. 2011; Reay and Hinings 2009). Reay and Hinings (2009) investigated the persistence of a multiplicity of logics and propose that the interaction between logics is managed through collaborative relationships between field-level actors. Other studies, such as Borum and Westenholtz's (1995) historical case study of Copenhagen Business School, describe how organizations enacted a multitude of different logics that were preserved within organizational subcultures after the dominant logic had shifted to another model (logic). Over time, the different logics were evoked and reinforced in relation to changes in the environmental conditions. Their study indicates that bits and pieces of different models scattered around the organizational path may get picked up by organizational actors in times of need. This is an idea that has also been put forth, at the macro-level, by other institutional scholars (e.g., Schneiberg 2007).

Lately, a new turn in the work concerning logics has emerged, the idea of *moving beyond conflicting logics*. Scholars are beginning to explore how logics may not only conflict but also interact in a way that is more prosperous. This is particularly evident in studies regarding hybrid organizations and the idea of logic blending (e.g., Glynn and Lounsbury 2005; Battilana and Dorado 2010; Pache and Santos 2010). Studies of hybridity focus on organizations that represent a mix of models, such as microfinance organizations, which are the object of study in a research article by Battilana and Dorado(2010), who suggest that these hybrid organizations need to have an identity that balances the logics that are united in the organization, in their case a social and market logic. This idea of a balance seems to be gaining some prominence and a recent

piece by Jarzabkowski et al. (2013) even develops a conceptual model for studying institutional ambidexterity. I find their conceptualization intriguing, yet I find it crucial that we also consider organizations that are not totally ambidextrous, hybrids, or any other term that leads us to think of some sort of equal balance. Unquestionably, most organizations deal with complexity and multiple logics, and it remains to be seen if in most instances there is an equal balance between logics. Given this uncertainty, we need to understand how logic bridging comes about in specific instances, how and why blending occurs, and when it is (not) considered an option. To get to that understanding, we need more studies of how organizations respond to complexity, and not only of organizations where there is some sort of balance.

In light of the three turns described above and the current debates within institutional theory, it is fair to say that we know little about how and why logics may sometimes conflict and be perceived to be irreconcilable while, in other instances, an embrace of complexity may be perfectly natural to the organizational actors. The organizational dynamics involved in creating the organizational responses to institutional complexity has previously been given very little attention empirically (Greenwood et al. 2011; Pache and Santos 2010). Therefore, we have little knowledge of what goes on inside organizations. Scholars have addressed this level of analysis in studies such as the one by Battilana and Dorado (2010) and Pache and Santos (2011, 2013). However, the emphasis has to some extent remained on organizational-level structures and practices. As Zilber (2013) notes, little attention is paid to the organizational actors' ideas and interpretations. In the process of logic combination, whether a case of conflict or interdependence, we also need to understand the underlying meaning systems and how they change and evolve. This lack of empirical attention to the organizational level may, according to Westenholz (2012), be a result of an assumption within (neo-) institutional theory that organizations are entities upon which institutional logics impact (top-down); she argues that organizations should also be studied as individual

entities that interpret and respond to institutional logics in their own way (Westenholz 2012: 154).

Although not focused on logics, there is however a group of scholars who have traditionally studied organizational responses from an interpretive perspective, the Scandinavian Institutionalists (e.g., Boxenbaum and Strandgaard Pedersen 2009; Boxenbaum and Jonsson 2008; Westenholz, Strandgaard Pedersen, and Dobbin 2006; Westenholz 2012). Some of these studies have focus on the organizational translation of globalized models or the local editing of these models (Sahlin and Wedlin 2008); in this understanding, recognizable concepts travel across space and time and are translated to fit the local context, meaning that concepts are somewhat similar across organizations. In my work I am inspired by this tradition and elaborate on it in relation to institutional logics by proposing a slightly different processes of institutional bricolage, emphasizing the construction of concepts (conceptualization) in a situated context, where the actors' interpretation and the creation of the concept (in this case responsible drinking) are central, and where elements 'borrowed' from different logics are combined. My conceptualization of institutional bricolage is not entirely distinct from the concept of translation, rather it is a specification or a modification, because the analytical object is not the traveling of ideas, which are altered and modified as they travel through space and time (Czarniawska and Joerges, 1996), but rather a situated collection of different ideas or elements (representing different logics) that are combined in the construction of a concept. In the following section I will elaborate on the use of (institutional) bricolage.

## **Institutional Bricolage**

### ***– A concept for understanding the unification of fundamental ‘worldview’ differences in organizational practice***

To capture the unification of different institutional logics, I have adapted the notion of institutional bricolage. In this section, I will elaborate on how the notion of bricolage has been conceptualized and applied within organization and management studies, with a specific focus on why this notion may be particularly useful within an institutional theory realm.

The notion of bricolage (Lévi-Strauss 1962/66) has increasingly been adopted by researchers within organizational studies (Strandgaard and Dobbin 2006; Duymedjan and Rüliling 2010; Boxenbaum and Rouleau 2011), and it refers to the way a ‘bricoleur’ builds a structure (i.e., knowledge) by using whatever is available within a restricted environment to get the job done. The ‘bricoleur’ uses the remains and debris of events, fossilized evidence of the history of an individual or society to construct something new, for which the individual parts were not originally intended (Lévi-Strauss 1962/66: 17-22). Lévi-Strauss himself did not offer a specific definition of ‘bricolage’, therefore Baker and Nelson (2005) decided to elaborate on the characteristics of bricolage by creating an integrative definition that takes the existing applications of the term across multidisciplinary literatures, and they developed the following definition for bricolage as: “*making do by applying combinations of the resources at hand to new problems and opportunities*” (Baker and Nelson 2005: 333). In terms of level of analysis, bricolage has been used to understand individual activity (e.g., Weick 1998), organizational processes (e.g., Barker and Nelson 2005), and inter-organizational dynamics (e.g., Garud and Kanøe 2003). The concept of bricolage has been used in diverse theoretical fields spanning from social psychology to information

technology, but it has primarily been used to describe the processes that are related to innovation, entrepreneurship, and lately also organizational identity construction.

Next, I will outline work on bricolage that has been carried out within organizational studies. In my review of the literature, I found that the concept of bricolage is applied in at least three different areas: improvisation and sensemaking (e.g., Weick 1998), entrepreneurship (e.g., Barker and Nelson 2005), and organizational identity construction (e.g., Dobbin and Strandgaard-Pedersen 2006; Glynn 2008).

### *Improvisation and Sensemaking*

Bricolage has frequently been used to describe the organizational practices that lead to innovation. Noticeably, bricolage has often been juxtaposed with improvisation (e.g., Weick 1998; Baker, Miner, and Easley 2003; Spicer and Sewell 2010). This juxtaposition has contributed to an interpretation of the ‘making do’ facet of Lévi-Strauss’ original work as “*always make do with whatever is at hand*”. Weick (1998) writes about improvisation as a mindset for organizational analysis and uses the intriguing example of playing Jazz music and improvisation as the way that people compose their lives. He also argues that understanding improvisation is important for organization theory more broadly because, by understanding the process of organizing, we will understand organizations. Additionally, he emphasizes that, by looking at the process of improvisation (bricolage), we might be able to do more with the simultaneous presence of opposites (e.g., distinct logics) than just label them as paradoxes (Weick 1998: 551).

### *Entrepreneurship*

The largest body of research applying the notion of bricolage is related to entrepreneurship (e.g., Garud and Karnøe 2003; Barker and Nelson 2005; Phillips and Tracey 2007). In a comparative study of the creation of wind turbines in Denmark and

the USA, Garud and Karnøe (2003) deduce that bricolage is a form of entrepreneurship that is emergent and allows for a mutual *co-shaping* of, in their case, technology. Bricolage is therefore understood as a: “...*process of moving ahead on the basis of inputs of actors who possess local knowledge, but through their interactions, are able to gradually transform emerging paths to higher degrees of functionality*” (2003: 296). Their point is that the shaping of the process and the outcome occurred at several interaction points between different interest groups, e.g., floor workers, designers, and policymakers. Garud and Karnøe (2003) note that entrepreneurship through a bricolage process may be particularly relevant in situations where there are complex and non-linear dynamics between the different actors, artifacts, and rules. This study suggests that the concept of bricolage may be particularly helpful for studying the institutional complexity that actors face and how they negotiate multiple logics.

#### *Organizational Identity Construction and Institutional Bricolage*

Finally, the notion of bricolage is in line with more recent work within institutional theory that emphasizes that organizations tend to be constructed by ‘bricks’ that are available in their institutional environment (e.g., Rao, Monin and Durand 2005; Pedersen and Dobbin 2006; Glynn and Abzug 2002; Glynn 2008). This stream focuses on the way in which organizations are constituted by different institutionally derived elements or ‘bricks’, e.g., from the organizational fields, that are then combined by the ‘bricoleur’ (organization or organizational actor) to become something that is both legitimate within a given organizational field and that, at the same time, can be assembled to foster organizational distinctiveness. However, the fundamental idea in bricolage is not novel within institutional theory; Meyer and Rowan (1977) already introduced this idea in their seminal article:

*“The growth of rationalized institutional structures in society makes formal organizations more common and more elaborate. Such institutions are myths which make formal organizations both easier to create and more necessary. After all, the*

*building blocks for organizations come to be littered around the societal landscape; it takes only a little entrepreneurial energy to assemble them into a structure. And because these building blocks are considered proper, adequate, rational, and necessary, organizations must incorporate them to avoid illegitimacy. Thus, the myths built into rationalized institutional elements create the necessity, the opportunity, and the impulse to organize rationally, over and above pressures in this direction created by the need to manage proximate relational networks.”*

(Meyer and Rowan 1977: 345, emphasis added)

Here, they portray ‘building blocks’ as institutional elements (rationalized institutional structures) that organizations assemble to gain legitimacy. Nevertheless, up until recently the focus of institutional scholars has been on the diffusion of these institutional elements, that is, whether or not organizations adopt a new practice once it has emerged, rather than on their origin and creation (Lounsbury and Crumley 2007; Scott 2008). In essence, there has been an overemphasis on structure relative to actors in innovation processes, which also includes a neglected empirical focus on the internal organizational dynamics involved in the assembly of institutional building blocks. Lately, however, several institutionalists have been discussing the fundamental idea of bricolage – the recombination of institutionally derived elements in different and new ways by drawing on Lévi-Strauss (1962), Swidler (1986), Schumpeter (1934), and even Ogburn (1922) (e.g., Pedersen and Dobbin 2006; Glynn 2008; Thornton et al. 2012). Glynn (2008) is, for example, inspired by Swidler’s idea of culture as a “toolkit” (1986) from which organizations can draw different identity elements. She suggests that organizational identity construction becomes a process of institutional bricolage, where organizational actors incorporate different cultural meanings, sentiments, and rules into their identity claims (Glynn, 2008). Boxenbaum and Rouleau (2011), drawing on Lévi-Strauss (1962), apply bricolage to explain the process of innovation at a conceptual level by using our own field of organizational studies as an illustrative case example. Although the concept and idea of bricolage is often mentioned in institutional studies, only a few studies have tracked such processes of institutional bricolage in any depth empirically.

I believe that what makes bricolage an appealing concept within an institutional realm is its fixed roots in the idea of path dependency (see, e.g., Schneiberg 2007). It concurrently presupposes the understanding that institutional change and the construction of novelty such as new practices, products, and artifacts are more evolutionary than revolutionary. The reason why evolutionary changes are more common is because new elements are customized to blend with local institutionalized procedures rather than to replace them (Boxenbaum 2006). Along the same lines, Campbell (2004) notes that innovations are more likely to take hold if entrepreneurs are able to fit their innovations into the local institutional context and mobilize political support from interest groups along with organizational and institutional leaders; implementation is also more likely if they have the capacity to implement the innovation (e.g., financial and administrative resources), and have other political or financial support to get the job done (Campbell 2004: 86). Ultimately, Campbell argues in favor of a conceptualization of innovation that is closely related to my understanding of institutional bricolage.

### *My perspective*

In this dissertation, I propose that the process of institutional bricolage involves multiple logics, which might co-exist or even coupled through the process of bricolage. I elaborate on the mechanisms involved in logic blending to further our understanding of why tensions between logics may or may not be resolved in organizational practice. In this dissertation, I show how the concept of institutional bricolage can be used as an analytical tool to understand how institutional logics interact within an organizational context. Furthermore, I illustrate that institutional bricolage may be used to describe the process of logic bridging (blending or hybridization), and how institutional bricolage is constructed by organizational actors within and across an organizational context.



In addition, scholars increasingly mention organizational identity as having an important role in relation to institutional logics and complexity (Kraatz and Block 2008; Greenwood et al. 2011; Battilana and Dorado 2010). In a recent book on the logics perspective, Thornton et al. (2012) devote a full chapter (Chapter 6) to the topic and thoroughly elaborate on the key premise that institutional logics and organizational practice and identities are intrinsically interrelated (p. 132), meaning that a change in practice and identities can alter the institutional logics in a given setting and vice versa. I agree with all of the abovementioned scholars that this link between logics and identity is an underdeveloped area that demands intra-organizational studies exploring the micro-dynamics of these relationships. In this project, I seek to uncover some of these mechanisms and show how organizational actors creatively combine elements from different logics by drawing upon existing organizational resources in their efforts to reconstitute their collective organizational identity (Højgaard Christiansen and Lounsbury 2013/chapter 8).

### **Identity – Same Same but Different**

Within the social science the construct of identity is a central construct, it is discussed within psychology (e.g. Eriksson, 1959), sociology (e.g. Mead 1934; Cooley 1902/1962) and philosophy for a long time. Since it was introduced into sociology in the works of Cooley and Mead it has developed in different directions, micro sociological perspectives, such as social psychology and symbolic interactionism, have mainly focused on individuals, whereas more traditional sociologists have tended to highlight the way in which interaction mold and shape the individuals sense of self, the “me” (Mead, 1934; Cerulo, 1997). These different traditions shape the way the concept of identity is studied and discussed within organizational studies.

Identity has become a core concept within organizational studies. Often it is depicted as a core concept invoked in organizational sensemaking and as a concept that assists in creating meaning and explaining action (Gioia, Patvardhan, Hamilton, and Corley 2013: 3; Weick 1995), especially within directions drawing on social psychology and symbolic interactionism. Weick (1995) notes, identities are created in processes of interaction, and they are a fundamental part of sensemaking because who we think we are and how we perceive the factors that affect our lives determines how we see the world and react to it (Weick 1995, 2005). Weick's assertion has been confirmed in several empirical studies, which have displayed that organizational identity acts as a perceptual lens or filter that shapes how organizational members interpret and respond to issues (institutional pressures or perceived threats) (e.g., Dutton and Dukerich 1991; Gioia and Thomas 1996; Elsbach and Kramer 1996; Lok 2010). Gioia and Thomas' (1996) study of organizations within higher education suggests that, under conditions of change, organizational members' (or management's) perception of identity are key to their interpretation of the issue and an important link between the internal organizational context and the members' issue interpretation.

Theory and research about organizational identity is a thriving branch within organizational studies; there are a range of approaches and conceptions of identity. Consequently, the evaluation has sometimes been that the term is used in a large range of different ways and some researchers like Pratt (2003) have been very critical of scholars' use of the identity concept. He has stated that it is often used to vaguely, which might cause its meaning and explanatory power to be lost. One of the challenges is unsurprisingly that different scholars draw on a range of different philosophical traditions, epistemologies and methodologies in their work, which provide an interesting vitality, but also sometimes challenges. Identity studies have become a central domain within organization studies, and there are several ongoing debates about the meaning of the term as well as its application at different levels of analysis.

In this relation Ravasi and Canato (2013) recently noted organizational identity researches drawing on different traditions see the relevance in each other's work and draw from different bodies of research. While they celebrate this development, they also suggest that researchers should clearly state what underlying assumptions that drives their study. In the present review, I have chosen to elaborate on levels of analysis, perspectives on organizational identity, and current concepts around the interplay between levels. My aim in this section is to clearly define how I understand the concept and how and why I have used it in this study. I will outline the different perspectives on organizational identity as well as my own position in relation to my study.

Within organizational studies, the initial conception of an organizational identity arose with Albert and Whetten's (1985) seminal piece, which has shaped many of the present conceptualizations of organizational identity. Their most important contribution was their definition of organizational identity as that which organizational members perceive to be central, distinctive, and temporally continuous (enduring). Since this seed was planted, it has flourished and their work has been complemented by the work of a wide range of other scholars who have built upon their ideas. Today their article yields more than 2200 citations in Google Scholar, and organizational identity research has become a separate domain of interest. Within this domain, debates and discussions continue to evolve, particularly around the three pillars of identity: the *central*, *distinctive*, and *continuous*. Scholars have debated as to what degree organizational identity is able to change and whether the change is externally or internally triggered (Gioia et al. 2013). Likewise, the pillar of distinctiveness has been up for debate: Does an identity aspect have to distinguish the organization from other organizations? A disagreement between different stances on these questions has led to the formulation of three different perspectives within the organizational identity literature, which I will lay out in the following section.

### **Three Perspectives on Organizational Identity**

In my description of the organizational identity literature, I draw on the recent review by Gioia et al. (2013), who extracted four perspectives on organizational identity, as well as a range of other recent work within the field. Table 2 gives a comparative overview of these perspectives: *social construction*, *social actor*, and *institutionalist perspective*. I have chosen not to elaborate on the perspective that Gioia et al. (2013) label the *population ecologist view* because this group of scholars (e.g., Polos, Hannan, and Carroll 2002) has an externally focused conception of identity; it does not take its point of departure in organizational actors' interpretation, which is the fundamental focus of this dissertation.

**TABLE 2**  
**Comparative overview of the different Perspectives on ‘Organizational Identity’\***

Characteristic	Social construction	Social actor	Institutionalist
<i>Theoretical foundations</i>	Social psychology/social constructivism	(Old-) Institutional theory	Institutional theory/social constructivism
<i>Definition of identity</i>	Organizational identity is a self-referential concept defined by the organizational members to articulate ‘who we are as an organization’.	Organizational identity is a self-referential concept defined by the organization as an entity. Overt claims articulate the central, enduring, and distinctive aspects of the organizations.	Organizational identity is a set of claims to a social category, such as an industry grouping, a status ranking, or an interest set (Glynn 2008: 419).
<i>Emphasis on cognitive process or objective characteristics</i>	Organizational members’ shared sensemaking of ‘who we are as an organization’.	Identity-as-institutionalized claims available to members – selected and specified by leaders.	‘Who we are as an organization’ is internally defined in relation to the institutional environment.
<i>Emphasis on being the same or different</i>	Being different	Being different	Different and the same – identity is primarily about the organization’s membership (or claims to membership) in a collective identity at the level of the organizational field (or industry grouping).
<i>Interplay between levels of analysis</i>	Only internal organizational members’ definition of the organization matters. Interplay between individual, interpersonal, and organizational levels of identity.	Interplay is assumed but not explicitly described. Still, organizations self-definitions specify both how it is different from and similar to other organizations.	The interplay between levels is a fundamental assumption. Institutions constrain and enable the construction of the organizational identity.
<i>Selected work</i>	Dutton and Dukerich (1991); Gioia and Thomas (1996); Gioia, Schultz and Corley (2000)	Whetten (2003); Whetten and Mackey (2002)	Glynn (2008); Navis and Glynn (2010, 2011); Wry et al. (2011)

*The social construction perspective*<sup>4</sup> (e.g., Dutton and Dukerich 1991; Gioia and Thomas 1996; Gioia, Schultz, and Corley 2000) proposes that organizational identity is a self-referential concept that is defined by the members of the organization through sensemaking processes and articulation of ‘who we are as an organization’. In this perspective, organizational identity resides in organizational members’ shared interpretive schemes, which are collectively constructed to make sense of experiences (Gioia 1998; Schultz and Ravasi 2006). The owner and constructors of organizational identities are therefore the organizational members and these constructions might differ from the official and formal organizational expression, which is assumed to be formulated exclusively by the organizational founders and top management. One of the core assumptions within this perspective is that organizational identity is internally defined by organizational members to articulate ‘who we are’ to themselves and others. This perspective emphasizes organizational members’ sensemaking and focuses on cognitive processes that shape common understandings of the core organizational attributes which make that organization ‘distinct’. Interplay between levels of analysis has tended to be restricted to the individual, interpersonal, and organizational levels of identity and how they may influence each other. Other and more externally focused issues and questions that move beyond the organizational level of analysis have been tackled under the heading of ‘organizational image’, which is another contested notion and discussion that I will not elaborate upon here; instead, I will simply define it as external audiences’ perception of a given organization. Some scholars, such as Hatch and Schultz (2002), offer a more integrated model of organizational identity construction by suggesting that culture, identity, and image constitute and shape each other in identity processes. Still, in this perspective organizations are portrayed as a

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<sup>4</sup> I find the name *social constructivist perspective* to be misleading because the institutionalist perspectives in many ways rest on some of the same assumptions, and also content that actions and structures are mutually constitutive (Glynn 2008). Still, for the purpose of concept clarity, I will use the concept here as it has been classified by others (e.g., Whetten and Mackey 2002; Ravasi and Schultz 2006; Gioia et al. 2013).

social collective, therefore organizational identity is essentially conceptualized as organizational actors' shared sensemaking, which also occur within separate groups and when there are multiple identities (see e.g. Pratt and Foreman, 2000). Questions that move beyond the organizational level of analysis and into the institutional level (e.g. industry or category) are rarely included within this perspective.

*The social actor perspective* (e.g., Whetten 2006; Whetten and Mackey 2002) similarly proposes that organizational identity is a self-referential concept defined by the organization as an entity. Focus is given to the explicit claims made by the organization as an entity, which articulate the central, enduring, and distinctive aspects of the organization; in the words of Whetten and Mackey (2002: 396): “*Identity is thus conceived of as those things that enable social actors to satisfy their inherent needs to be the same yesterday, today, and tomorrow and to be unique actors or entities.*” This definition suggests that identity is a stable and enduring construct. It is important to note that identity is depicted as reflecting more or less institutionalized claims that are available to organizational members. These claims have been selected by the organization's founders and specified by the leaders of the organization (i.e., top management). The organization is depicted as being both a social actor and a social artifact – that is, a social tool designed by the founder (or management) for specific purposes such as the brewing of beer. This perspective is informed by (old) institutional theory and the work of Selznick (1957) and the assumption that organizations are formed by social institutions, but over time, the organizations become institutions themselves. The broad assumptions within the social actor perspective resonate with the business use of ‘corporate identity’ (e.g. Olins, 1989). Interplay between levels is in many ways assumed since this perspective prescribes that an organization's self-definition (that is, its identity) specifies both how it is different from and similar to that of other organizations. Whetten and Mackey even recognize that categorical identity claims (i.e., what we claim to be a bank, church, or

brewer, etc.) are important because they are made in reference to specific institutionally standardized social categories (2002: 397). Still, it is important to note that the organizational level is the locus of study and the organization is depicted as a rather isolated entity.

*The institutionalist perspective* (e.g., Glynn 2008; Navis and Glynn 2010, 2011; Wry et al. 2011) draws on and adds to both the social constructivist and the social actor perspective, as it defines identity as an internally defined self-referential concept. However, emphasis is given to ‘who we are as an organization’, which is defined in relation to the institutional environment. Further, what notably sets it apart from the other two perspectives is its attention to institutionalization processes (Gioia 2013). This perspective explicitly asserts that organizational identity is a set of claims to a social category, such as an industry grouping, a status ranking, or an interest set (Glynn 2008: 419). In other words, identity is not singlehandedly a question of being distinctive, which has been an overarching theme in the identity literature since Albert and Whetten (1985), and which is also predominant in the two other perspectives. Instead, emphasis is given to the organization’s claims of membership in a collective identity at the level of the organizational field or industry grouping. This perspective explicitly seeks to describe organizational identity construction as an open process that involves organizational actors describing the organization as both similar to other organizations within a given industry or category and distinct from them (e.g., Alvarez, Mazza, Strandgaard Pedersen and Svejenova 2005; Strandgaard and Dobbin 2006). Interplay between levels of analysis is a fundamental assumption, and institutions are thought to both constrain and enable the construction of the organizational identity. Whereas the two other perspectives sought to explain difference, the institutional perspective seeks to integrate the idea of ‘sameness’ as a fundamental part of identity.



### *Relationships between different levels of analysis*

In my work with organizational identity, I advocate the institutionalist perspective. Institutional identity studies focuses on claimed similarity (i.e., to other industry or category members) as the basis for identity construction (e.g., Czarniawska and Wolff 1998; Glynn and Abzug 2002; and see Glynn (2008) for a review). This indicates that an important aspect of identity construction is institutionally enabled and that organizational legitimacy and the ability to survive rest on the organization's ability to conform to its environment. The organizational identity (social constructivists) on the contrary has tended to study internal processes as well as organizational actors' interpretations and responses to threats. Although the focus has primarily been on internal processes there has also been a long standing interest in image and external forces influence on identity, (e.g. Dutton and Dukerich 1991; Gioia and Thomas 1996; Ravasi and Schultz 2006). Even though the different perspectives have remained rather separate, these two streams are approaching one another in recent work by, e.g., Alvarez et al. (2005), Strandgaard and Dobbin (2006), Gioia, Prince, Hamilton, and Thomas (2010) and Navis and Glynn (2010), who all seek to portray the process of identity construction as something that is internally defined but at the same time constrained and enabled by institutions.

While addressing this levels aspect, Schultz (2012) recently suggested four types of relationships between the institutional (institutional level) and cultural level (organizational level) of analysis, two where the institutional level has a stronger influence: 'cultural filtering of institutional pressures from isomorphism' and 'culture as a source of new institutional elements', and two where the organizational level has a stronger influence: 'Organizational culture as a source of positioning towards institutions' and 'counter culture as redefining institutions'. Through her elaboration she theorized that cultural and institutional approaches are interconnected and that those interconnections change over time. Accordingly, Schultz (2012) argue that a

process perspective would enhance our ability to study the interconnectedness between the two, as the focus of analysis would shift from levels of meaning systems, to the actual construction and circulation of meaning across a range of different actors (2012: 105). I agree with Schultz, that scholars attention to these meaning constructions or institutionalization processes would enable us to gain a better understand the interplay between levels. In relation to identity studies the ideas elaborated in this piece are relevant because it emphasize that organizations are influenced by both internal (organizational level) and external dynamics (institutional level), and that there is a dynamic interconnectedness that should be recognized in research.

At this point, there are only a few studies that explore this interconnectedness empirically. Navis and Glynn's (2010) study of satellite radio showed how the focus of category member companies shifted from having a focus on building the new category to distinguishing the company within that category. They address the relationship and tension between legitimizing the collective identity of the industry, and developing a visibly distinct organizational profile (Brewer 1991; Deephouse 1999), providing an empirical account for the interplay between identity levels. Navis and Glynn's study has been conducted at category level, top down and over a period of fifteen years as the category emerged. It is truly illuminating and bolsters emerging ideas on the relations between institutional collective and organizational identities, as being closely interlinked, and perhaps even two sides of the same coin, as has been theorized by others (Strandgaard and Dobbin 2006). But it also triggers a need to dig into the organization to understand actors' interpretations and actions in relation to such shifts in focus.

### *My perspective*

In this section I have elaborated on some of the ways that the concept of identity is used within organizational studies (organizational identity in particular). My use of the identity concept varies slightly across the different papers partly due to the focus of the different analysis, but also because the study was conducted inductively over a period of three years. In the first paper on interplays between collective and organizational identities (chapter 7) I focus on organizational actors' identity claims and how their emphasis shifted from a collective to an organizational focus over time. Here I work with an approach that takes the interconnectedness between levels into account by exploring the interplay between two levels, collective industry and organizational, and how it influences the organizational responses to a perceived threat in the institutional environment. While in the second paper, *Strange Brew* (chapter 8), Lounsbury and I argue that at the core of institutional bricolage inside an organization are efforts to reconstitute an organization's identity, which resonates more with the social actor perspective. Still, based on my empirical work and my overall understanding of identity, I believe that this dissertation also adds to the emerging line of work within identity studies that explore the interconnectedness between identity levels (outlined in the preceding sections) by following a conceptualization process inductively within and beyond organizational 'boundaries'. While exploring how the interplay between the collective and organizational level of identity construction shape the organizational response to an issue.

### **Organizational Responses to Institutional Logics and My Contributions**

In combination, the papers in this dissertation show how over time a new assemblage and balance between the enacted institutional logics creates change in organizational actors' identity claims, as well as their organizational responses. Consequently, this dissertation suggests that organizational responses are more dynamic and fluid and should therefore be studied as such. The combined contribution of this dissertation is

primarily to the institutional logics literature; secondarily, to the literature regarding organizational responses to complexity; and finally, to the institutionally oriented perspective on organizational identity. Some of these areas overlap since they have been used in collaboration in the different analyses. In the following, I will introduce my contribution to each of the above-mentioned literatures up-front, which will then be elaborated on in each of the papers (chapters 7, 8, and 9) as well as in the overall conclusion (Chapter 10).

First, the *institutional logics perspective*. The intra-organizational dynamics involved in the organizational responses to multiple logics has received scant attention empirically (Greenwood 2011). Although some recent studies have elaborated on the organizational-level structures and practices (e.g., Pache and Santos 2010; Battilana and Dorado 2010), there has been little focus on organizational actors' interpretations and understandings (Zilber 2013). In my work, I have been inspired by the Scandinavian Institutionalists (e.g., Boxenbaum and Strandgaard Pedersen 2009; Boxenbaum and Jonsson 2008; Westenholz, Strandgaard Pedersen, and Dobbin 2006; Westenholz 2012), who have a particular tradition for studying organizational responses from an interpretive perspective. Thus, in contrast to the above-mentioned intra-organizational studies, I have deliberately focused on organizational actors' cognition and construction of interplay between the multiple logics. This focus on the organizational actors' interpretations meant that it was possible to identify both instances where organizational actors experienced conflict as well as situations where they saw synergies and engaged with a coupling of logics, as they believed that it was crucial for the survival of the company. This depiction of a more positive relation between logics, which actors depicted as almost additive, sets this study apart from the main body of studies, which tend to focus on how conflicts can be overcome (Jarzabkowski et al. 2013) and disregard the possibility that organizational actors

might also, in some instances, experience the bridging of logics as an opportunity. In these situations, organizational actors might engage in institutional bricolage (industry or organizational), where they integrate constructs from different domains (and logics). This observation is consistent with recent theoretical developments where actors are depicted as relatively autonomous and capable of mixing elements from different logics (e.g., Thornton et al. 2012; Waldorff, Reay, and Goodrick 2013).

Second, this dissertation contributes to a closely related area, *organizational responses to institutional complexity*, by showing how organizational responses to issues (institutional pressures or perceived threats) are not as unitary as implied in previous studies; there is not just one response within an organization, but several. Aside from Binder's (2007) ethnographic case study, which showed that different units within the same organization responded to the same institutional pressures (different logics) in different ways, there has been minimal focus on the multiplicity of organizational responses within the same organizations (Binder 2007; Greenwood et al. 2011). This research project shows how variations in responses occurred within and across the organizational realm, over time, and across levels and space. Paper 1 (Chapter 7) shows that the dominant response changed and developed over time; paper 2 (Chapter 8) illustrates how organizational actors crafted a response through a process of institutional bricolage and how they bridge different logics by drawing on organizational resources (at hand) from different times and spaces in an effort to reconstitute their organizational identity; paper 3 (Chapter 9) shows how different units engaged in several types of responses simultaneously.

Third, the study elaborates on some aspects of relevance to the *institutional identity perspective*, notably, the line of work that explores the institutionally embedded nature of organizational identities (e.g., Battilana and Dorado 2010; Glynn and Abzug 2002; Glynn and Navis 2011). While focalizing organizational actors' identity claims in

relation to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’, this study empirically depicts the interplay between collective (industry) and organizational identities and how the balance between these two levels of identity shifted over time, from an initial focus on the collective to more distinctive organizational identity claims. The shifts seem to have occurred as the intensity of the external pressure intensified, prompting organizational actors to consider the issue a threat to aspects of their distinct organizational identity. Hence, this part of the study enriches our understanding of the interplay between different levels of identity (organizational and collective) with insight into the development of interpretations and actions as they unfold over time (paper 1/Chapter 7). Connected to this identity aspect, this research elaborates empirically on the link between *logics* and *identity*, a link that is often theorized (e.g., Thornton et al. 2012; Crumley and Lounsbury 2007) but seldom elaborated on empirically (see, e.g., Battilana and Dorado 2010; Lok 2010 for exceptions). Moreover, this study shows that with the shift and new interpretations of the issue (paper 1/ Chapter 7), a new understanding of synergy between logics was engendered (paper 3/ Chapter 9), as organizational actors noted that their engagement with the issue was of significance for the organization’s (and industry’s) survival; this understanding led to collaboration, broader participation (representatives from different logics), and an integration of various concepts.

#### 4. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

In the following, I will describe my methodology and outline the research design as well as account for the choices that I have made along the way. In the development of my approach, I have been building inductively on the theoretical elements presented in the previous section. Before moving into the method and research design, I will briefly depict the underlying epistemology that guided my research process.

In my work with this research project, I rely on an interpretive approach and I draw on the assumption that human beings act towards things based on the meaning that this particular thing has for them, thus meaning emerges and is negotiated through social interaction (Blumer 1969). Concurrently, the aim of this study is to focus on the processes by which meaning is negotiated and created as different logics interact in an organizational context. In this study, I am particularly attentive to the ways in which the organizational actors experience the different logics and the interplay between them. In this vein, I draw on the interpretive traditions and the work of Berger and Luckmann (1966) and Schütz (1962) and their assumptions on how actors' shared typifications become institutions through tradition, sentimentation, and legitimation. Consequently, in my research design, my goal was to follow the organization's conceptualization of RD from the bottom-up. In other words, I wanted to explore the local actors' creation of meaning in relation to the issue of 'alcohol-related harm'. This idea also rests on a common conception within Scandinavian institutionalism (e.g., Sahlin-Andersen 1996, 2008; Waldorff 2010; Boxenbaum and Strandgaard 2009) that local actors construct problems that are to be considered relevant, and they concurrently construct local responses to the problems that fit their setting. Therefore, I was purposely attempting to understand the local conceptualization. In my work, I attempt to study aspects of organizational actors' social interaction as well as the

interpretations that guide their action and response in relation to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’.

### **The Case Study**

#### **– *Following the organizational responses to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’***

The research design is a case study with multiple embedded cases, as I study several units within the same organization (Yin 2003). In this study, I have different empirical focuses: one paper goes into depth with a process in one unit (headquarters, paper 2/chapter 8); another explores the development in the responses for the whole organization over time (all units/cases, paper 1/chapter 7); and the last paper is a comparative study of the different units within the group (all units/cases, paper 3/chapter 9). The first two papers are exclusively process-focused studies, while the last one also has a variance aspect (Poole and Van de Ven 2010). Carlsberg Group was selected through theoretical sampling; because my project was embedded within a larger research cooperation with Carlsberg Group, I had unusual research access (Yin 2009; Eisenhardt and Graebner 2007), this access is thoroughly elaborated in chapter 5 (‘My Story with Carlsberg’). The aim of this study is to build theory, and the comparative aspect of including different embedded cases allows for theory building in a way that a single case study does not (Eisenhardt 1989).

My primary reason for including more units in the study was that I was interested in getting a more detailed understanding of the organization’s conceptualization of responsible drinking; therefore, I followed this conceptualization across the group and into the industry based on the informants’ understandings. Through a “snowballing” technique (Miles and Hubmann 1994: 28), I let the informants’ observations and interpretations steer my analytical gaze, so that when a document, event, or organization was mentioned, I would explore that in my next step of data collection and analysis. My aim was to tap into the managers’ (senior, lower level, and industry)



meaning systems and interpretations in relation to managing the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’, comprising multiple logics. In my approach, I considered the interpretation system as an inter-subjectively negotiated framework of understanding, and I was essentially interested in understanding how the actors, involved in the conceptualization of the response ‘responsible drinking’, understood their context and experience, and how they communicated that understanding among each other and to others (Gioia and Thomas 1996). Carlsberg’s conceptualization of ‘responsible drinking’, which is generally associated with initiatives attempting to prevent the misuse of alcohol (e.g., binge drinking, youth drinking, drunk driving), is an empirical focus because in this area the organizational actors deal with the interplay between different logics (domains) and because the controversy and immediacy of RD to Carlsberg Group’s product, beer, is intrinsic and closely linked to the legitimacy of the organization. In addition, the area is also considered to be a ‘must have’ within the brewery industry.

The embedded cases, that is, the different subunits, were comparable in that all units were responding to the same issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ and were dealing with an interplay between a social and a market domain (logics) in that process. Two of the units, headquarters and the pilot subsidiary (Carlsberg Denmark), were selected because I had unusual research access to follow the process of the organizations’ conceptualization of responses. The three other subunits (in the UK, Finland, and Poland) were selected as polar types (Eisenhardt 1989), two of the units (the UK and Finland) were seen as frontrunners (by Group) in relation to handling the issue, one primarily through the engagement in industry, the other had a more organizational engagement, and the final unit (Poland) had little engagement with the issue. This selection of cases and research design was intended to create a foundation for the building of theories of commonalities and differences in responses and ways of

handling the interplay between logics (the social and market domain) at the organizational unit level.

### **Data Collection and Sources**

In my study, I use a multi-method approach (Eisenhardt 1989; Miles and Hubmann 1994) in an attempt to understand the construction of the organizational responses. I have used interviews, documents, observations, and feedback from the organization, an overview of which is provided in the data overview in table 3<sup>5</sup> and a list of interviewees and their positions which can be found in appendix 1. To understand the conceptualization of RD in Carlsberg, data was collected at headquarters and in four subsidiaries in the UK, Finland, and Poland, as well as Denmark, which was selected as the pilot country for the implementation of responsible drinking. During the course of the study, I followed an inductive approach going back and forth between the data collection and pertinent literature (Locke 2001).

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<sup>5</sup> Please note that the number of interviews differs in paper 1 (Chapter 7) and paper 3 (Chapter 8) because paper 1 was based on an analysis made earlier in the research process.

**TABLE 3**  
**Data overview**

Data type	Headquarter	Subunits	Field level data	Data sources and content
Interviews <sup>6</sup>	17 (12 informants) Global managers within CSR, communication, public policy and sales, and marketing & innovation.	14 Local managers within CSR, communication, sales & marketing in UK, Finland, Poland, and Denmark.	9 Project managers and CEOs working with RD within industry associations locally, regionally and globally (e.g., Drinkaware and World Wide Brewing Alliance), and a CSR manager from a competitor.	(See the individual rows and appendix 1)
Observations	Approximately 25 hours.	Two meetings in pilot subsidiary.	-	Discussion meetings, work meetings with PR consultants, weekly meetings, Global Carlsberg re-launch, and public presentations.
Documents	170 documents (1-30 p. each).	59 documents (1-60 p. each).	88 documents (1-289 p. each).	Articles, presentations, policies, guidelines, reports, website information, RD campaign material, archival documents on the Carlsberg Founder, and J.C. Jacobsen.
Feedback from the organization	11 meetings.	-	-	Discussion and feedback from managers within headquarters on the data collection and the ongoing analysis.

<sup>6</sup> Some of the interviewees appear in both in headquarters and subsidiary column because they served two functions. Please see appendix 1 for a complete overview of the interviewees.

I conducted a total of thirty-six interviews at the Carlsberg Group headquarters, local departments in the UK, Finland, Poland, and Denmark, as well as field-level organizations such as industry associations and special interests associations (local, regional, and global). Archival and document studies have primarily been used as an additional source of data, that is, as a supplement to the interviews and the observations, but they have still provided important details of events and prior organizational conceptualizations and actions. The RD Guide Book and associated documents (around fifty pages, e.g., different versions) have, however, been coded alongside the interviews and observations made in relation to its creation (elaboration follows). Finally, I have held eleven feedback meetings with my key contacts along the way to secure ongoing access and ‘member check’ (Eriksson and Kovalinen 2008), meaning that I have discussed my research design, interpretations, ideas, and working hypothesis with my contacts.

Rather than elaborating on how I used each of these methods separately, I have chosen to section the data collection to give a more vivid understanding of how the different methods were applied in different sections of the data collection process. I find that this format might better illustrate the iterative data collection and analysis process. In my approach to the data collection, I was particularly alert to following the construction of RD, which meant that although I focused on Carlsberg Group’s conceptualization, I also interviewed people ‘outside’ of the organization, notably, managers in industry associations involved in the conceptualization. In most of these instances, the connections to these informants were made on the invitation of organizational actors, but in some instances I contacted them myself because of their significance in relation to the organizational conceptualization of RD. For example, I contacted Portman Group, the CSR advisory and standard setter in the UK alcohol industry, and set up an interview in connection with my visit to the UK because I had

found in preparatory desk research that they were the authors of an industry code of conduct. Portman Group's significance was later restated in the interviews with organizational actors in Carlsberg UK.

The data collection took place in four subsequent phases. In the first phase (fall 2010), I began the study with a rather open aim to study Carlsberg Group's work with CSR and to understand their management of the combination of social and commercial goals (logics) – at this stage I was trying to grasp the focus of this study. I did extensive archival studies of documents and pilot interviews with key actors working with CSR. In the second phase (2010-2011), I followed the development process of an RD Guide Book as well as key headquarter stakeholders' conceptualization of responsible drinking in Carlsberg Group. During the third phase, I interviewed and gathered data in and around the three local subunits and their local conceptualization of responsible drinking. Finally, in the last phase, I followed up on Carlsberg Group's headquarters' conceptualization of responsible drinking (in 2012 and 2013) and made participant observations in the Danish subsidiary, which was carrying out a 'pilot' implementation of responsible drinking. Together, these four sections gave me an insight into Carlsberg Group's conceptualizations of responses to the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' as well as how the interplay between the social and the market dimension was constructed. My observations of the developments within the headquarters of Carlsberg Group allowed me to explore a process development in real time, supplemented by archival data, while the data gathered at the subsidiaries let me observe and compare across space. Although I have chosen to describe my data collection in phases, whereby each phase will be described in the following sections, I wish to emphasize that each section illuminates the organizational responses to the "same issue" of 'alcohol-related harm'; "the same" is in quotation marks because the way the organizational actors experience the issue and respond to it also defines what it

is. Still, I will be referring to the issue as being “the same” because the organizational actors themselves define it as being comparable across units.

My aim was to follow the ‘object’, the conceptualization of ‘responsible drinking’, across the organization in order to understand how organizational actors interpret and respond to this issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ and conceptualize a response that represents a unification of different institutional logics (social responsibility and market). Therefore, each of the data sections below are intimately connected but have been sectioned out due to differences in time, space, and method.

### ***Phase 1: Narrowing the scope – from CSR to Responsible drinking***

At this stage, I gained an understanding of the area of CSR in Carlsberg Group and how the organization worked with it. A large part of this initial phase consisted of archival studies: I had been given access to around 100 documents, including presentations that the CSR department had prepared for the Executive Committee, policy documents, and meeting minutes from the period 2008-2010; I observed a few meetings in the CSR units and two project meetings related to two different CSR areas (Water consumption/Environment and RD); and I did initial pilot interviews and held discussion meetings with my contacts in the CSR department. Carlsberg Group’s work with CSR turned out to be a very broad area in great flux, and there were many parallel and different conceptions up in the air. I realized very early on that this was too complex an area to capture (given my time frame) since the informants’ locus when speaking of CSR went in many different directions, e.g., environmental areas, human resources, ethical consumer relations, business ethics, and supply chain management. Also, these areas had different statuses and were handled in a range of different functional departments. I narrowed the scope to ‘responsible drinking’ because it

emerged as a prominent area that was somehow more intrinsic to the organization: “...*what we really are and what we sell*” (Business Developer). At the same time, I had a unique opportunity to follow a new project that was starting up, with a focus on developing a strategic Carlsberg Group approach to the area of RD.

My selection and focus also redirected my attention to the point that RD was being constructed as, and in response to, a concrete problem outside the organization, the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’. This meant that I looked at the conceptualization slightly differently and was able to see a new connection to another policy area, ‘Marketing Communication Policy’, which was an earlier and slightly overlapping response to the “same issue”.

### ***Phase 2: Headquarters (fall 2010 - spring 2011) – the RD Guide Book***

At headquarters, I followed the development process of a new Responsible Drinking Guide Book (RD Guide Book); it was developed to initiate a change in organizational behavior by urging subunits to engage in RD initiatives. The RD Guide Book was created over a period of time, from September 2010 to June 2011, when it was finalized in a 1.0 version.

The informants were selected based on their association with the area of RD as important input givers and/or decision-makers. Organizational informants included managers within Communication, Public Affairs, Marketing, Sales and/or CSR, while informants were predominantly managers within the communication area. The industry informants included people in different positions with direct experience with ‘responsible drinking’ initiatives. As the emerging themes appeared, I proceeded using purposeful sampling (Locke 2001).

The interviews were conducted on the topic of CSR at Carlsberg, the RD project, CSR policies (related to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’), and meetings on RD that had been observed. In the interviews, I asked the informants about their conceptualization of RD, the aims, strategies, opportunities, and challenges in RD and its implementation, as well as the informants’ own role in, and their own experiences with, RD and CSR. The interviews ranged from forty-five to ninety minutes and were recorded and transcribed. The long interviews were usually formal during the recording, followed by more informal conversation during lunch, over coffee, and so on. The informal part was noted down in a logbook afterwards. The RD Project Manager at headquarters was interviewed on five occasions during and after the development of the RD Guide Book to get an understanding of the development process.

Organizational documents were collected from the time right before (2007) the establishment of the CSR department in 2008 up until 2011 (see Table 3). Data on the organizational field were collected based on the information received during the interviews, observations, and organizational data. I would only seek out archival data after the informants had mentioned them; for example, I obtained additional information on ‘alcopops’, an alcohol-based lemonade drink that has been the cause of great scrutiny over the years (since 1995 when they were first launched in the UK), after informants had mentioned them as playing a crucial role in triggering an industry response.

During my studies, I attended five meetings at headquarters about the development of the ‘RD Guide Book’ in the period from December 2010 until May 2011. The first meeting was a ‘discussion meeting’ where five of Carlsberg’s key internal stakeholders in relation to the ‘RD Guide Book’ were to identify the most important challenges in relation to the implementation of the Carlsberg Group Responsible Drinking Strategy



and agree on the steps ahead. The remaining meetings were between the RD project team and other internal parties (i.e., from Communication) and/or two to three PR consultants about deliverables for the RD project, the strategy, and the actual production of the 'RD Guide Book'. The meetings provided valuable information about the RD project's process, organizational stakeholders, organizational structure, past events and practices, and strategies for implementation and upcoming events. In addition to the data gathering mentioned above, I engaged in an ongoing dialogue with my key contacts and held feedback meetings with them throughout the process.

### ***Phase 3: Visiting the subunits (fall 2011- winter 2012) – the local conceptualizations***

In the two earlier phases, it had become clear that headquarters' understanding of responsible drinking was being shaped by their competitors' approach to the issue, as well as industry associations' actions, but perhaps most significantly in interaction with subsidiaries, who they described as being 'on the front line' in handling the issue in their practice and interaction with local audiences. This interaction with the local subsidiaries was also evident in the formation of the RD Guide Book, which was heavily shaped by local and regional 'specialists' with concrete experience in the execution of RD initiatives locally. At this point, the local organizational actors working with the conceptualization of RD experienced very little direction from headquarters; instead, the common understanding was that there was no or very little focus on the area, as one local manager noted: "*the local markets are pushing back initiatives, pushing back ideas back into group.*"

I used multiple embedded cases (Miles and Hubmann 1994), different units within the group, to get a deeper understanding and create richer explanations of Carlsberg Group's interpretations and responses to the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' as well as the management of logics in the response. Through interaction with my key contacts at Carlsberg Group, I selected three subsidiaries: Carlsberg UK, the industry frontrunner;

Sinebychoff, the organizational frontrunner; and Carlsberg Poland, a subsidiary with relatively little involvement in RD. In each of the units, I interviewed the organizational actors that were considered to be relevant in relation to the units' conceptualization of responsible drinking as primary decision-makers. The relevant informants were identified through interaction with my contacts at headquarters and the different units, notably, their 'CSR champion', the local CSR representative. The informants were managers within Marketing, Communication, CSR, HR, Sales and Business Development (see appendix 1). Within the UK, Denmark, and Finland, I talked with representatives, and I interviewed managers from the more market-driven functions, such as Marketing and Sales; in Poland I unfortunately did not succeed in getting that same contact. Still, the informants that I interviewed within and outside the organizational borders were involved in the conceptualization of RD. I interviewed everyone about the same three themes: what RD was in the unit; whether and how their RD initiatives were different from or similar to competitors; and, finally, I asked them to elaborate on their sources of inspiration, such as competitors, industry associations, other industries, and the local country organizations (see an exemplary interview guide in appendix 2). Before each of the unit visits, I did thorough desk research of official public documents and went through headquarters' surveys on CSR policy implementation in that unit and additional internal documents. Each informant received the interview guide prior to the interview and was promised individual anonymity to make them more relaxed and comfortable with the interview situations. This was especially relevant since the interview topic, RD, was a rather "*present and conflicted area*" in some places, which was noted by a few informants. The interviews lasted between forty-five and ninety minutes and were recorded and transcribed.

***Phase 4: Follow-up interviews at headquarters and “pilot country” (fall 2012 - winter 2013) – And the beat goes on...***

In the fall of 2012, I conducted follow-up interviews at headquarters with organizational members who had either been involved in the very early development of CSR policies or were currently involved in headquarters’ conceptualization. In this phase, I was particularly interested in exploring the new developments in the RD conceptualization, and I followed up on the questions that had emerged as I was working with the analysis.

As I was conducting the follow-up interviews, I found that a ‘pilot implementation’ of RD, a new overall group strategy, had been started. Carlsberg Denmark had volunteered to try and make RD initiatives that were coupled with one of their main brands. Hence, they were attempting to integrate the social and the market domain in their practices. I interviewed some of the people involved with the Carlsberg Denmark conceptualization and made observations at two meetings in the pilot country, Carlsberg Denmark, in early 2013. These two meetings were very informative; they were discussion meetings in the marketing/brand team, and the content was about how they were going to connect the RD aspects to their branding campaigns and secure a sustainable coupling between them so that the new social aspect would be aligned with their claimed identity as well as the claims of the brand.

Unfortunately, I could only observe the initial part of Carlsberg Denmark’s efforts because of my own practical time constraints. However, it was clear to me when I left the empirical field of Carlsberg that the conceptualization process continues – the beat goes on...

## **The Data Analysis**

An iterative approach is utilized, travelling back and forth between the data, pertinent literature, and the emergent theory to develop the theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967). During the data gathering process, I made ongoing analyses; I decided to follow some paths and not others as well as emphasize some processes and bracket others. My research strategy was to focus on the organizations' conceptualization of a response to the issue of 'alcohol-related harm', which materialized under the heading of 'responsible drinking'. My analysis was not totally pre-given by a theoretical framework, but I used *sensitizing concepts* (Blumer 1969: 148, see also Eisenhardt 1989: 544) to describe and analyze the central features of the empirical material. Most notably, I focalized the concepts of logics, bricolage, and identity, which I have elaborated on in the theory section (Chapter 3). While I consider my approach to be inductively oriented, others might find that my analytical approach has been more *abductive* in nature (Eriksson and Kovalainen 2008), meaning that it combines a deductive and inductive orientation in the analytical process.

Initially, the data was coded in the software program Nvivo 9, which helped me structure the analysis and keep track of the different data elements in the analysis, as well as gain an overall impression of the themes, logics, and links within the dataset. Throughout the analysis, I primarily focused on coding the interviews and observations, but central documents such as the 'RD Guide Book' and associated documents were also coded. Additionally, secondary data (e.g., additional documents, pictures and videos, commercials, etc.) were used for support and for extra details.

The overall data analysis consisted of four steps (which has been further detailed in each of the three papers). The first step of the analysis primarily included the headquarter documents and the I read through from a holistic understanding, which allowed for the discovery of different themes in the material. Although, the coding was

rather open and broadly focused on organizational actors' understandings and rationalizations in relation to CSR, institutional logics were a focal element but other emerging themes were also considered. It was also at this stage that the conceptualization of the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' and the industry collectiveness in relation to dealing with it started to take form, as well as, headquarters' relationship to subsidiaries and the different ways that interplay between logics were constructed. Based on these emerging themes I narrowed my focus in the second step, to the headquarters' conceptualization of RD and their bridging of logics (social responsibility and market). As the empirical material from the different markets was added to the analysis, first the UK and later Finland, Poland, and Denmark, the themes were elaborated and developed and subsequently formed the foundation for the next steps in the analysis. In the third step, I compared headquarters and the UK's ways of constructing the interplay between logics, and this emerged as the foundational work for paper 3 (chapter 9). I searched thoroughly for how and why the logics were coupled, focusing on places in the data where the different logics would appear together. This included exploring conflicts that were presented, how their "resolution" was sought, and when a perceived synergy existed. In the fourth stage, I focused on the organizational (Carlsberg Group's) response to the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' over a period of time. This analysis was supported by data from all units and deals with how their responses evolved over time (total population of cases) (Poole and Van de Ven 2010). As such, I studied the units as being rather homogeneously moving through the same process, just at different paces or stages. At the final stage of analysis, interviews and observation notes were coded once again for "extension" (Lincoln and Guba 1985) to develop and extend the comparison between the different organizational departments. At this stage, data elements from the coding were entered into an Excel spreadsheet to get a better and alternative overview of the patterns within and across cases, creating the analytical foundation for the final version of paper 3, which

compares and contrasts the different units' ways of handling the logic interplay. Further details on the analysis will follow in the papers.

### **Limitations of Study and Further Research**

In this study, I have interviewed organizational actors, mainly senior and middle level managers, who are involved in the conceptualization of RD to explore how their understanding and construction of logic interplay influenced how they handled the issue of 'alcohol-related harm'. Hence, I have not depicted the only available construction of identity claims in relation to the issue of 'alcohol-related harm'; instead, I have selected informants who were key actors in relation to the RD conceptualization. Still, there are undoubtedly alternative views on this topic that I have not heard. On the other hand, I have tried to get a detailed picture by not only focusing on the organizational actors' accounts, but also on external industry actors' accounts and the associated concrete practices and initiatives aimed at handling the issue of 'alcohol-related harm'. In addition, it is a fundamental assumption in this study that meaning is a socially constructed phenomenon, and I have therefore approached the interpretation system as an inter-subjectively negotiated framework for understanding. Accordingly, I have focalized the actors' own experiences, interpretations, and responses to their context, and I have let these guide my research process.

In my research, I did observations of meetings to get an understanding of the debates and negotiations that were taking place in relation to the conceptualization of RD. These meetings gave me an understanding of the debates, controversies, frustrations, and negotiations occurring at headquarters and the pilot country, Carlsberg Denmark; at the same time, I acknowledge that there have been limitations to this approach. First, I remained a clear and distinguished outsider, and therefore the interviews and observations might to some degree be more or less stylized. I do not believe that I

made that much of a difference to the people in the meetings; nonetheless, they might have guarded some of their thoughts and interpretations because of my presence. When comments like, “*don’t write that in your book* [with a smile]” were made, or when I was asked about my plans for the week in a weekly department meeting, it was evident that my presence was noted by participants and I was not a natural element in their meetings.

Ethnography could have been an option to get closer and observe construction processes and negotiations as they were taking place. This would have enabled me to make a more ‘thick description’ of the micro-level processes involved in logic coupling, and I might have had a closer relationship with the organizational actors, greater trust, and more openness. Still, my goal was not to get access to the informants’ “true” or “real” interpretations, which is unattainable regardless; rather, my aim was to study their inter-subjectively negotiated understandings. Although I initially considered doing an ethnographic study, this was not an option, so instead I observed selected meetings. If, for example, an ethnographic study had been made at headquarters, how would I have portrayed the interpretations and actions occurring in different units? And as one of the informants notes “*headquarters is just a head, without the body* [subunits] *it is nothing*”. Therefore, an ethnographic approach might not have allowed me to follow the conceptualization across parts of the organization and observe the similarities and variations in responses.

## 5. “MY STORY WITH CARLSBERG” – THE ENGAGED SCHOLAR

During the course of this study, my aim has been to gain insights into the organizational interpretations and responses to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’. How do the organizational actors perceive this issue? How is the complexity of the issue handled? And when and how do these understandings shape different types of organizational responses? These were the empirical questions that guided my inquiry. I wanted to gain insights into the organizational actors’ interpretations and reasoning for engagement with the issue. As I sought out answers to these questions, I used a bottom-up approach to Carlsberg’s conceptualization process. In choosing this approach, I have taken inspiration from the so-called ‘Scandinavian Institutionalists’ (Boxenbaum and Strandgaard 2009) and the empirical observation that ideas and labels (concepts such as RD) may be diffused under the same label but might have different meanings when they are conceptualized in different organizational contexts (Czarniawska and Joerges 1996; Mazza, Sahlin-Andersson, and Strandgaard 2005; Boxenbaum 2006). Consequently, it was important for me to create a workable relationship with key actors within Carlsberg Group so as to get access to these organizational ‘interpretive processes’. In this section, I will elaborate on this relationship and my engagement with Carlsberg Group as a researcher by focusing on three central themes that have defined my engagement, my *personal attitude, and engagement, the negotiating access and the projects attachments*, and finally, *studying a complex object*. In the following, I will elaborate on my personal reflections on each of these themes. In doing this I draw inspiration from Van de Ven’s (2007) idea of ‘engaged scholarship’, which emphasize that the engagement *with* practice can enhance both scientific and practical knowledge and that research is not a solitary practice; instead in is a collective achievement. He therefore argues that researchers need to engage with practitioners throughout the research process to advance knowledge on a given phenomenon.



## **Personal Attitude and Engagement**

This first theme, my personal attitude and engagement, is particularly relevant to elaborate, because it was I, in my role as a researcher, who was negotiating and communicating with various Carlsberg actors. In addition, I am the researcher and this research project was conducted and written-up by me, therefore, this dissertation is purely based on my observations and analysis<sup>7</sup>. Before I move on to my engagement, I find it necessary to briefly give a few details of my background, that is, where I was coming from when I entered into this research project; this is relevant because it has shaped who I am as a person and as a researcher. I have an educational background in marketing, management, and communication, a bachelor from Aarhus School of Business and a masters from Copenhagen Business School. Alongside and after my studies, I worked as a communication assistant within the health and care area and as a fundraising professional at an international humanitarian NGO. I have long had an interest in the combination of social and market goals (domains), which I have been working with in various ways, both in practice and theory. Notably, I focused on NGOs working with marketing techniques and engaging in corporate partnerships in my master's thesis, and I worked with this area as a practitioner right before I entered the PhD program and started this research project.

In his work, Van de Ven (2007) synthesizes literature that discusses the bridging of theory and practice by outlining four forms of engaged scholarship: informed basic research, collaborative research, design/policy research, and action/intervention research (271-282). My approach resembles the model of *informed basic research*, as I adopted an outsider perspective; I conducted and controlled the research activities while I got input and advice from organizational stakeholders along the way. Although,

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<sup>7</sup> With input from my supervisors and colleagues, notably, Michael Lounsbury (co-author of one of the papers), Mary Ann Glynn, my sponsor at Boston College during my visit in the spring of 2011, as well as Carlsberg Group main contacts.

my contacts did have some level of control since they had the knowledge (and contact information) of whom it would be relevant for me to talk to. In that respect, I was relying on them to identify initial relevant informants. This was particularly so because I was a detached outsider. This also meant that I did not partake in their organizational actors' RD developments directly as a participant, but rather only indirectly through meeting observations and our conversations about their RD conceptualization and my research project.

Still, throughout the research process, I engaged in negotiations and discussions with my primary contacts. In this relation, I had eleven feedback meetings with key Carlsberg Group stakeholders from the Corporate Social Responsibility department (today, the CSR and Public Affairs unit) and members of the Executive Committee to discuss my chosen research direction and to get feedback on my findings. In addition, before submitting papers to conferences and publications, organizational representatives read through the sections that elaborated on Carlsberg. This read through served three purposes: Firstly, it reassured the key actors that no confidential information was enclosed; Carlsberg Group is a publicly listed company and therefore the research project and me as a researcher are legally bound not to give out sensitive information. However, given the timeframe of this project, this has shown to be of little practical implication. Secondly, instead of posing a challenge, it turned out to work quite differently; it reassured the informants that it was 'safe' to give me confidential information that I would not have otherwise had access to. Hence, I promised them individual anonymity and that potentially confidential information would not be enclosed in any publication, and that this would be reassured by the key stakeholders at headquarters. Thirdly, the ongoing interaction with key stakeholders at headquarters allowed me to gain a better understanding of the organization and the context through which the 'responsible drinking' conceptualization was created and how it interacted with and was shaped by different organizational actors and agendas.

It also meant that my object of study, the conceptualizations of responsible drinking and the combination of different belief systems, had some sort of relevance for the practitioners within my empirical field (Schultz, 2010).

During my ongoing interactions, observations, and negotiations, I kept a diary, noting down my thoughts and interpretations of my observations and discussions within Carlsberg Group and with their managers. Even though I was not exactly engaged in participant observations, my use of the diary resembled the way anthropologists (e.g., Malinowski 1967) have used the format.

### **The Negotiation of Access and the Project's Attachments**

The research project is associated with a larger project about Carlsberg Group concerning the development of their organizational identity as a global corporation, with Majken Schultz as the lead researcher. From the beginning (2010), this research project has broadly been framed as a project that explores aspects of Carlsberg Group's Corporate Social Responsibility and its interplay with organizational identity. Therefore, I had initial access to Carlsberg Group and a connection to the Executive Committee. In addition, there was a project steering committee for the overall research project comprised of the three researchers on the project, Majken Schultz, Mary Jo Hatch, and myself, as well as two key members of Carlsberg Group's Executive Committee (ExCom) and the chair of the Tuborg Foundation<sup>8</sup>. This committee had been set up to maintain ongoing interaction with key stakeholders in relation to the overall project. Because of my research project's association to the larger research project, I initially got access to Headquarters' Corporate Social Responsibility unit (since 2011, Corporate Social Responsibility and Public Affairs), which was to be my

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<sup>8</sup> The Tuborg Foundation has funded the overall research project in full and provided half of the funding for the PhD research project; the other half has been provided by Copenhagen Business School, where I have been employed as a regular PhD fellow.

main unit of contact and connection to the rest of the Carlsberg Group. Although my project has been associated with the overall research project, my project has been relatively autonomous; however, Majken Schultz has been my secondary supervisor and an important advisor in finding my way around Carlsberg.

Although there was formal access to the organizational conceptualization of CSR in Carlsberg, I had to establish my own role as a researcher and enter into an ongoing negotiation of access to documents, informants, and observation opportunities. Being a rather inexperienced researcher, the thought of entering these negotiations was a bit unsettling, and, as it turns out, rightfully so. Even though my contacts in the organizations were curious and helpful, entering the organization and discussing my objectives for the research project with them sometimes felt like we were speaking different languages – that of theory and practice. The ironic thing was that I was not a total stranger to practice, as noted above, I did have some practical experience; rather, the challenge for me was combining both ‘lenses’ at the same time. I had to find a way to design a research project that was both rigorous and grounded in a problem of practical relevance; at the same time, Carlsberg was a new acquaintance. It initially took a lot of work on my part to grasp a whole new empirical field and construct a new ‘combination’ language (like Esperanto). In this regard, the most important breakthrough came a year into the study, when I presented my initial observations from the first market (UK). At this meeting, we managed to establish some kind of mutual ground and a mutual communication of knowledge across boundaries (Van de Ven 2007). Although we had had discussions and negotiations before that point, this meeting represents a distinct turning point, and it had a fundamental impact on our relationship, my main contact’s confidence in the research project, and trust in me as a researcher.

As mentioned earlier, this study is funded in part by the Tuborg Foundation, which is under the control of the Carlsberg Foundation, and which also owns Carlsberg Group. In other words, there is also a funding relationship that I would like to touch upon. Cheek (2000) reflects on this particular aspect and notes that it often remains an untold story. She raises three main issues that researchers face when doing funded qualitative research: ‘ethical considerations’, ‘who controls the research?’, and ‘the effects of funding in the research’ (Cheek 2000: 409-415). I find these issues to be relevant in relation to the present study, and I will therefore elaborate on my own experiences in relation to all three in the following.

In my approach to Carlsberg, I remained a distinct outsider, but it was still important for me to establish a sustainable relationship with key stakeholders at Carlsberg in order to get access; nevertheless, I adopted an outsider perspective while still seeking advice and feedback from my key contacts. One ethical aspect that came up during the course of this study was that many interview participants assumed that I was employed by Carlsberg, particularly when I visited the subsidiaries. Therefore, I was always very careful to explicate my own role and explain that I was working as an independent researcher, though partly funded by Tuborgfondet (the Tuborg Foundation), and that my findings would be made available to the public and to Carlsberg. In addition, I promised them their personal anonymity. In doing this, I hoped to accomplish two main things: To gain their trust by being an outside researcher, but also to distance headquarters’ (Carlsberg Group) engagement in the project; I was there on research ‘business’, and I did not want to be mistaken for a headquarter spy, nevertheless, I cannot refute that some interview participants might have seen me as such. Subsequently, I have concealed the informants’ identity in the presentation of my data, as well as from my headquarter contacts.

A last significant aspect is my choice to enclose the name of the case company, rather than anonymize it. First of all, in light of my phenomenological approach, it was important for me to retain the details and specifics of my empirical observations, which might have been lost otherwise. Notably, Carlsberg's history, location, organizational structure, and the nature of the operations are aspects that were important for my analysis, and for my understanding of the organizational actors' interpretations and actions in response to the issue of 'alcohol-related harm'. Furthermore, I wanted to be open about my relationship with the Carlsberg Group, and that this has given me unique access to internal processes that I would not have otherwise had access to (Eisenhardt 1989). Of course, this leaves the question of whether I have been free to be critical; perhaps not, but my goal with this dissertation is not to be the next Michael Moore or Christopher Buckley (author of 'Thank You for Smoking'); instead, my aim has been to portray the organizational actors' interpretations and reactions to the issue of 'alcohol-related harm'. In other words, I did not want to take the role of an ethical realist, pointing to what is 'right' and what is 'wrong'; that is not a role I want to take as a researcher. Instead, I have aimed to grasp and describe the conceptualizations that I observed and leave any potentially critical readings of my findings to the reader.

### **Studying a Complex 'Object' – The Study of Meaning**

Finally, one of the largest challenges in this study has been to grasp the meanings of different empirical concepts. My goal was to obtain an understanding of the meaning systems that the organizational actors were constructing, therefore, I could not just assume that common labels like CSR or 'responsible drinking' were the same things; the concepts were in flux and were negotiated as I was studying them. As I was starting out, my aim was to grasp Carlsberg's conceptualization of CSR in a broad sense, but very soon it became evident that such a broad area covering everything from environmental awareness to human resources and consumer issues was simply too broad, and the first few pilot interviews were rather open and went in many different

directions. Consequently, I decided to limit my focus to one area, the initiatives tackling the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’, and RD in particular. With this limitation, I wanted to go deeper into the conceptualizations. Still, this did not eliminate the challenge of grasping the meanings attached to the different empirical concepts; this remained an inherent challenge and focal point throughout this study, which should also be evident in the papers. I will give an illustration; when I first started visiting headquarters, RD was conceptualized as something that was closely related and nearly the same as the Marketing Communication policy (described in chapter 2), the following extract is from Carlsberg Groups’s Annual Report under the heading ‘*responsible drinking*’ illustrate this:

*“The Group is committed to promoting **responsible drinking** of beer and to preventing misuse. Targeted activities focus on contexts where the risk of harmful drinking is high. While policies are developed centrally, our companies tailor and implement activities appropriate to the local culture and address critical issues with highest local relevance such as under-age drinking and drink driving.*

*In 2010, the Group finalised the development of a global e-learning tool to train marketing and communication managers in **responsible marketing of alcoholic beverages**. Roll-out of the global training programme in 2011 will further ensure compliance with local and international self-regulation marketing codes.”*

(Carlsberg Groups, 2010: 31, *emphasis added*)

The Marketing Communication policy and responsible drinking was depicted under one heading and as covering more or less the same grounds, initiatives and practice to avoid a loss of their ‘*license to operate*’. But as headquarters’ RD project progressed, the meaning of the concepts changed so that the differences between the two concepts became more distinct. My own understanding of the separation between the two developed along similar lines. The complexity of the constructs became even more evident as a result of my visiting the subsidiaries; here, I entered a whole new ball game: attempting to understand the local conceptualizations. Although it was very

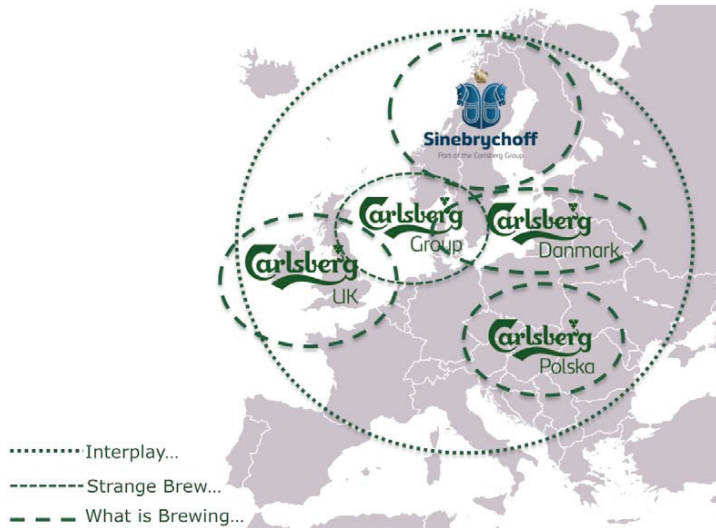
clear that the concepts were similar constructs, they were interpreted and constructed very differently, albeit with some parallels (please see paper 3/ Chapter 9). Therefore, I was particularly alert not to make too many *a priori* assumptions; instead, I would get informants to describe what RD was, and I would ask questions like, ‘*what are the most important kinds of RD initiatives that you work with?*’ so as to get an understanding of how the different actors constructed RD in the units, as well as why and how the logic interplay was enacted in their practices.

In essence my engagement with Carlsberg has been quite an enriching journey and in the following chapters I will elaborate on the outcome of this journey, through a presentation of my analyses and findings.



## **6. OUTLINE OF THE THREE PAPERS IN THIS DISSERTATION**

The papers in this dissertation are all papers that emphasize the organizational response(s) to a multiplicity of external pressures. Each paper has a different focus in terms of level of analysis, however, all are focused on the organizational process of interpretation and negotiation of meaning. For the purpose of simplicity, I have included an overtly functionalistic overview of the different units of analysis (Figure 1), acknowledging that this is purely an analytical move. The empirical reality that I have observed is much more messy and complicated; there are no clear and evident boundaries between these different levels, which should also be evident in the different papers. To give an example, a number of the headquarter managers worked part-time at headquarters and part-time in a local subsidiary and could therefore be categorized as belonging to both places, while other organizational members held influential positions in different industry associations and participated actively in different industry initiatives, e.g., Brewers of Europe and Global Brewers Initiative. Still, in my use of an inductive approach, I have followed the interpretations and meanings of organizational members. When I moved my data collection to the subsidiaries and the industry level associations, I did so based on my empirical observations and interaction with key organizational members (i.e., senior and middle managers) using a bottom-up approach.



**Figure 1: overview of the different units of analysis**

The first paper, *Interplays Between Collective and Organizational Identities: A Temporal Perspective*, will be presented at this year's AOM meeting in the Organization and Management Theory (OMT) division in the session entitled *Thank you for smoking: Sin-situations*. The paper deals with the interplay between collective and organizational identity as I explore how the interplay between the two levels influences organizational responses to a perceived threat in the institutional environment. The analysis of Carlsberg Groups' response to the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' suggests the presence of a first and second wave of interpretation. The first wave, guided by *collective identity claims*, helps to *shield* the organization from an industry-wide *threat* via shared industry actions. The second wave, entailing a shift towards *organizational identity claims*, enables organizational differentiation via the construction of an organizational response aligned with dominant organizational identity claims. This study contributes with insights into the interplay between organizational and collective identities and illustrates a shift over time in response to

the intensity of an external pressure and whether organizational members consider it a threat to the periphery or the core of the organizational identity. The study highlights the fruitfulness of considering identity at multiple levels of analysis and the interplay between these levels over time. It suggests that we need more studies that trace how meanings develop over time and shape organizational responses. In considering this temporal development, it also highlights the need to consider organizational responses as dynamic and fluid instead of singular and static.

The second paper, *Strange Brew: Bridging Logics via Institutional Bricolage and the Reconstitution of Organizational Identity*, is co-authored with Michael Lounsbury and will be published in *Research in the Sociology of Organization* in the special double volume titled, *Institutional Logics in Action* (Lounsbury and Boxenbaum 2013b). In this paper, we explore how intra-organizational problems related to multiple logics may be addressed via the mechanism of institutional bricolage – where actors inside an organization act as ‘bricoleurs’, creatively combining elements from different logics into newly designed artifacts. An illustrative case study of a global brewery group’s development of such an artifact – an RD Guide Book – is outlined. We argue that intra-organizational institutional bricolage first requires the problematization of organizational identity, followed by a social process involving efforts to re-negotiate the organization’s identity in relation to the logics being integrated. We show that, in response to growing pressures to be more “responsible”, a group of organizational actors creatively tinkered with and combined elements from social responsibility and market logics by drawing upon extant organizational resources from different **times** and **spaces** in an effort to reconstitute their collective organizational identity. In the paper, we emphasize the prosperity in uniting the literature on logics and identity. We also call for more in-depth studies on how complexity is interpreted and resolved inside organizations at the micro-level.

The final paper and analysis is called *What is Brewing? Beyond Conflicting Logics in Carlsberg's Responses to Institutional Complexity*. An earlier version of this paper was presented at AOM 2012 in an Organization and Management Theory division paper session entitled, *Between and Between Competing Institutional Demands*. This case study explores how organizational actors within five separate divisions of a global brewery group – headquarters and four subsidiaries – experience and respond to the same institutional complexity. The comparison showed that the organization pursued a number of different responses simultaneously, even within the same units, and these responses were categorized into four different types of logic interplay: *separation*, *co-existence*, *industry bricolage*, and *organizational bricolage*. The paper contributes to the literature on institutional logics by illustrating how and why different logics are sometimes perceived to be irreconcilable, while in other instances there is an embrace of complexity and synergy. Based on the case study, I theorize four different aspects that prompt organizational identification with the issue and three mechanisms that drive logic bridging in *organizational bricolage*.

## 7. Paper 1: INTERPLAYS BETWEEN COLLECTIVE AND ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITIES: A TEMPORAL PERSPECTIVE

Lærke Højgaard Christiansen

*‘This paper has been presented at this year’s AOM meeting in the Organization and Management Theory (OMT) division in the session entitled: ‘Thank you for smoking: Sin-situations.’*

### ABSTRACT

The concepts of collective identity and organizational identity constitute two parallel, often separate, research streams in organizational studies. This paper explores how the interplay between the two levels influences organizational responses to a perceived threat in the institutional environment. The analysis of a global brewer’s response to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ suggests the presence of a first and second wave of interpretation. The first wave, guided by *collective identity claims*, helps to *shield* the organization from an industry-wide *threat* via shared industry actions. The second wave, entailing a shift towards *organizational identity claims*, enables organizational differentiation via the construction of an organizational response aligned with dominant organizational identity claims. This study contributes with an insight into the interplay between organizational and collective identities and illustrates that it may shift over time in response to the intensity of an external pressure and whether organizational members consider it a threat to the periphery or the core of the organizational identity.

**Key words:** *Collective identities, organizational identities, responding to institutional pressure, temporality*

## INTRODUCTION

Industries sometimes face difficult issues that threaten their legitimacy in society. Industries such as tobacco, soft drinks, fast food, and alcohol are threatened by the recent changes in the way that these products are perceived by society at large, notably, in relation to health issues. The brewing industry is an example of an established industry that is faced with an increasing demand to take responsibility for the negative effects of its products. With the ‘new public health movement’ developing during the nineties and manifesting in organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO), there has been an increased focus on the promotion of preventive measures to fight existing and developing health threats to prolong the life and life quality of populations (Goldstein, Goon, and Yach 1995; Tulinsky and Varavikova 2010). The issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ is not novel, but brewers and alcohol companies are increasingly expected to take responsibility for the problems that their products cause for society. This development has occurred in parallel with the growth in coordination of global alcohol policy since the 1970s, a coordination that has increased significantly since 1995. This increase has partly been driven by the dramatic increase in the sales of ‘alcopops’ (alcohol-based soda drinks), which provoked a growth in legislation and policymaking (Anderson and Baumberg 2006). The issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ challenges not only the traditional organizational practices and the organizations’ relationships to their audiences, but also the collective industry overall. In this situation the brewing industry’s *raison d’être* is challenged, and both the collective identity of the industry and the individual organization is put into question.

In response to an issue or an institutional pressure, organizational actors can focus their attention on legitimizing the category as a whole or on having a more distinct and organizationally unique response. Within identity studies, these two types of responses

have generally been studied separately. Studies conceptualizing the category or industry-level focus on the more institutional and collective aspects of identity associated with a set of claims of membership to “institutionally standardized social categories”, while studies at the organizational level tend to focus on variation and more distinctive organizational dimensions. Broadly defined, identity is a claim making activity (e.g., Ashforth and Mael 1989; Dutton, Dukerich, and Harquail 1994) about what is central, distinctive, and enduring about an entity (Albert and Whetten 1985).

Collective identities refer to an inter-organizational level of identity, which has been defined by others as a group of actors sharing a similar purpose or output (e.g., Wry, Lounsbury, and Glynn 2011). In other words, identity becomes a question of membership in a social category within the organizational field (Glynn 2008; Gioia, Prince, Hamilton, and Thomas 2010; Greenwood et al. 2011), and as such, the organization may claim membership to a category, e.g., a ‘university’ or a ‘bank’ (Glynn and Abzug 2002; Elsbach and Kramer 1996). Collective identities are important because they shape the organizational behavior and their response to an issue—certain options may not be pursued because they lack a fit with that category’s characteristic. As Glynn notes, it seems inconceivable to name a bank, Fred’s bank, or a pizza place, First Federal Pizza (Glynn 2008).

Organizational identity scholars, by contrast, tend to have a more internal perspective and give prominence to the organization’s inner dynamics and distinct organizational features, for example, members’ claims about the organizations central, distinctive, and enduring attributes (Albert and Whetten 1985). Accordingly, organizational identity scholars have studied organizational reactions to ‘identity threats’—situations or events that cause organizational members to question their beliefs about the central and distinctive attributes of the organization, in other words, its identity (e.g., Dutton and

Dukerich 1991; Elsbach and Kramer 1996; Ravasi and Schultz 2006). Like collective identities, organizational identity has been found to shape how pressures and issues are interpreted and prioritized as well as which repertoires of possible responses are taken into consideration (Glynn 2008; Greenwood et al. 2011). Although these two strands are often pursued separately, links between the organizational and collective levels are increasingly being made (e.g., Alvarez, Mazza, Strandgaard Pedersen, and Svejenova 2005; Gioia et al. 2010; Navis and Glynn 2010). Accordingly, in recent work by Glynn and colleagues (Glynn and Abzug 2002; Glynn 2008; Navis and Glynn 2010), identity is conceptualized as a set of claims made about the organization so as to declare membership to a group or a collective, as well as claims made to distinguish the organization within the group. Because both claims of collective and organizational identity shape the organization's interpretation and response to an *issue* (a new institutional pressure or a perceived threat), it is important that we gain a better understanding of the interplay between the two levels in relation to the organizational response process (Greenwood et al. 2011; Ashforth, Rogers, and Corley 2011); notably, the collective industry level that is less frequently studied.

In this paper, I seek to extend recent insights and calls by exploring how the interplay between the collective and organizational level of identity construction shape the organizational responses to an issue. More specifically, in a situation where an industry is experiencing increased scrutiny and a global brewery is trying to avoid total disapproval and the loss of legitimacy—*'its license to operate'*. The findings presented in this paper are based on a case study (Eisenhardt 1989) of the Carlsberg Group, a European based brewer and the fourth largest globally, which is faced with the *issue* of 'alcohol-related harm'. This issue has its roots in the idea that companies should take responsibility for the negative effects of their products. Since the mid-nineties, the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' has increasingly been put on the corporate agenda and its prominence is often linked to an increased health focus within the general



population. This study has progressed from an iterative model (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Locke 2001) using interviews, documents, and observations from the Danish headquarters and three European markets, UK, Finland and Poland as well as from local and regional industry associations.

The findings from this study show how organizational identities are contextualized within collective identities, and that the interplay between these two levels of identity changes over time and with regard to a perceived threat. The temporal dimension of this study reveals how the interpretation and action in response to the perceived threat changed over time. When the issue first surfaced, it was interpreted as a *shared* threat to the periphery (non-core organizational attributes) that demanded a collective response and, thus, focus was on *collective identity claims* and on *shielding* the organization from an industry wide issue. Over time, however, the environmental pressure intensified and the interpretation of the issue shifted to being considered as a threat to the core (organizational attributes), at which point organizational members started to question the ‘shared fate’ and accentuate the construction of organizational differentiation. Concurrently, the focus shifted towards more *organizational identity claims* of distinction, highlighting an alignment between ‘who we are’ and the response—why the issue is a significant area of focus as for the organization.

I proceed by discussing the two identity approaches and their proposed empirical and theoretical findings in relation to dealing with an ‘issue’. Next, I introduce the concrete empirical ‘issue’ at stake in an inductive case study and elaborate on the methods used to capture these organizational interpretations and responses over time, illustrating how this happened in two different waves. The findings section elaborates on these waves and the interplay between collective and organizational identities. I conclude by discussing the implications of this study for the study of institutional and organizational identity as well as organizational response to institutional pressures.

## COLLECTIVE AND ORGANIZATIONAL LEVELS OF IDENTITY

Organizational actions can be seen as a response to concerns about changes in the environment; these changes are here referred to as *issues*. According to Dutton and Dukerich (1991), issues are events, developments, or trends that organizational actors jointly identify as having some consequence for the organization. In the process of responding to such issues, organizational identity is broadly recognized as having a substantial influence on the way that the issue is interpreted and the responses generated (e.g., Dutton and Dukerich 1991; Gioia and Thomas 1996). In this paper, I use the term issue to capture a particular and rather closely defined setting in which an industry faces a new demand—an issue that challenges the existing practices within the industry as well as the legitimacy of the organizational output, that is, its product. In other words, the organizations experience disapproval of their core attributes and fear a potential stigmatization (Hudson and Okhuysen 2009; Vergne 2012).

At the organizational level, identity refers to the claims made about the core organizational attributes that define the organization as being different from other organizations—in particular, competing organizations within the same industry. This line of studies has attended to organizational reactions to ‘identity threats’, which have been defined as situations or events that cause organizational members to question their beliefs about central, distinctive and enduring attributes (Albert and Whetten 1985) of an organization and thus the general self-perception and self-categorization (Dutton and Dukerich 1991; Elsbach and Kramer 1996; Ravasi and Schultz 2006). Organizational level studies focus on how the organization’s identity claims shape the organization’s interpretation, consideration and prioritization of a response to a threat. If an organization has a strong and widely shared identity, it is more likely to influence the organization’s approach to an institutional demand, and the identity will then strengthen the organization’s ability to comply, ignore, or defy these institutional

demands (Gioia and Thomas 1996). Hence, we have insight into how organizations respond to identity threats facing the individual organization, but as stated in the introduction, there are quite a number of organizations that are faced with collective industry challenges that threaten both the identity of the collective industry and of the individual organizations within it.

In contrast, institutional identity studies focuses on claimed similarity (i.e., to other industry or category members) as the basis for identity construction (e.g., Czarniawska and Wolff 1998; Glynn and Abzug 2002; and see Glynn (2008) for a review). This indicates that an important aspect of identity construction is institutionally enabled and the organizational legitimacy and the ability to survive rest on the organization's ability to conform to its environment. Therefore, the response to an issue would entail that the threat is somehow eliminated at a collective level, e.g., through lobbying, a general industry change of image, or by an alteration in the association that the organization has to that industry. The latter is proposed by Vergne (2012), who argue that organizations can modify its category associations by diversifying and spanning a range of different categories, e.g., weapons and commercial airplanes to make negative public evaluations less negative.

The work of Brewer (1991) and Deephouse (1999) contemplate that organizations (and individuals) face pressures both to conform to a group and to distinguish themselves within that group, i.e., an industry or a category; the balance between the two has come to be known as *optimal distinctiveness*. Exploring the interplay between the two aspects of identity invites an approach that considers both the collective, and more institutional aspects, and the organizational. For the purpose of this paper, the term *interplay* is used to depict the relationship between the organizational and collective level of identity as being intimately connected. The organizational level is considered to be nested within the collective level (Ashforth et al. 2011) while simultaneously

being antithetical in that the collective enforces the construction of conformity and inclusion, whereas the organizational level compels differentiation and uniqueness. The concept *interplay* has previously been used to describe the intersection between different paradigms, entailing both contrasts and connection between one another (Schultz and Hatch 1996) and to coin how different external forces shape organizations in concert (Dacin 1997). In this paper, I emphasize that although these levels are considered to be nested organizational actors, associated interpretations and actions may prove to differ significantly.

The interplay between levels of analysis has been given some salience in recent work (e.g. Alvarez, Mazza, Strandgaard Pedersen, and Svejenova 2005; Strandgaard and Dobbin 2006; Gioia et al. 2010; Navis and Glynn 2011), which explores the links between the organizational and institutional levels. In this work, the collective level includes the identity attributes that are common and which members within a category share. These attributes create legitimacy for the members of that collective so that audiences may distinguish between different collective identities such as brewers and wine producers. This means that there is some level of conformity amongst the members. Still, these studies also address the paradoxical nature of identity construction and the need both for legitimacy and distinction. The study by Alvarez et al. (2005) found that three film directors were able to shield their idiosyncrasies from the pressures of conformity by increasing their own personal level of control of the entire film production process and, in that way, gain some form of independence from the industry of which it was a part. Another recent study by Navis and Glynn (2010) has a more temporal perspective and shows how organizations within a new market category shifted from focusing on their collective identity to focusing on their organizational distinctiveness as the new market category became established. Herein, Navis and Glynn (2010) address the inherent tension between legitimizing the collective identity of the category, or the industry, and developing a visibly distinct

organizational profile (Brewer 1991; Deephouse 1999), thus accounting for the interplay between identity levels. They showed one shift occurring, and one can contemplate that a change in balance between the two levels may appear over time, particularly when an industry is faced with a common threat.

From the current identity studies, both around the organizational and collective levels, we know that there are some organizational attributes, which organizational members claim to be central, distinctive, and continuous characteristics of the organization (Albert and Whetten 1985). Moreover, we know and that this influences the organization's interpretation, consideration, and prioritization of a response to an issue. We also know that collective identity shapes the organizational response to an issue. Yet we still know little about the process through which this happens and about the interplay between the two levels. This is also recognized by others, such as Ashforth et al. (2011) who theorize about the interplay between levels of analysis by focusing on the processes through which identities become linked across levels of analysis, and the potential convergence and divergence occurring across levels. They suggest that identities are relatively consistent (homogeneous) across levels and emphasize the need for more cross-level studies. When exploring the interplay between levels one must also acknowledge the aspect of time and temporality. At this point, there is a lack of temporality in studies about the organizational responses, as Greenwood et al. (2011) note, there is a tendency in organization studies to assume or imply that organizations have a single response and that this stays consistent over time. Therefore, they make a call for studies in which temporality is taken into consideration (Greenwood et al. 2011:351). In this paper, I wish to extend recent insights and calls by exploring the interplay between the collective and organizational identity levels, and the processes that lead to an altered interplay between the two over time.

## THE ISSUE

The consumption of alcohol is an ingrained part of many European cultures and has been for centuries, and in some western European countries, beer was once preferred to water. While alcohol has played a significant role in society during holidays, celebrations, and other social events, the consumption of alcohol comes with a dark side as some people abuse the product in ways that are not considered appropriate by the broader public. Previously, alcohol abuse was primarily considered to be the problem of the state and of the individual. However, with the recent focus on preventive action and health threats consistent with the ‘new public health movement’, the tendency is to understand ‘alcohol-related harm’ on a broader scale instead of solely focusing on an insignificant number of alcoholics (Andersen and Baumberg 2006). Albeit the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ is not a new issue, the new element is that alcohol companies are increasingly seen to be accountable for the abuse of their products. In the brewing industry, the disruption occurred as the industry showed an increasingly aggressive side in their fight for market share, in a market that has stagnated, e.g., from 2008 to 2010 beer consumption fell 8 percent in Europe (Brewers of Europe 2011). Within the brewing industry, the disruption is often portrayed as being caused by a public outcry and media attention to one or more companies’ opportunistic market driven behavior. The friction occurred as companies’ commercial promotions were perceived to stimulate or even encourage an excessive consumption of alcohol and other inappropriate behavior among their consumers, thus offending certain groups within society. There are a number of examples of such promotions, the most controversial being that of ‘alcopops’. An alcopop is a fruit-based drink that comes in a range of bright colors with an alcohol content of around 5%, which is slightly higher than that of a beer. It was first launched in the UK in the summer of 1995 but later spread to the rest of the world, as most of the global brewers and alcohol companies started manufacturing them. Because of the alcopops, the industry came

under assault by the media, parents, and special interest organizations proclaiming that alcopops were marketed to young people under the legal drinking age. Consequently, there was an increased societal pressure on the industry to change their ways and a move towards increased legislation (Anderson and Baumberg 2006). This pressure on the industry has its roots in the idea that companies have an ethical responsibility towards a wider set of stakeholders in society who are affected by the organization and its actions. Accordingly, a very essential part of this pressure is centered on the industry's ethics in relation to commercial communication, a focal point being that children and society's youth must be protected.

The issue of 'alcohol-related harm' is linked to the wider change in society of focusing on diminishing the influence of health challenges. The use of alcohol was not considered to be that problematic 20 or 30 years ago, and expressions such as 'one for the road' was a legitimate phrase, which implied a cultural acceptance of driving under the influence. Since then, the health community has become very prominent in establishing clear, scientifically derived boundaries and evidence for or against alcohol by providing the research that forms the foundation for a country's 'legal drinking age', 'drink driving limits', 'maximum recommended alcohol intake', and 'drinking during pregnancy'. The health community is both 'friend and foe' to the alcohol industry, depending on the aim of the research and the findings. At the moment results are rather diverse, with some stating that abstinence is the ideal, while others state that spirits, wine, and/or beer can actually be healthy in moderate amounts. The health community's (e.g. WHO) arguments and the rhetoric used to campaign against alcohol are quite similar to those tactics used against the tobacco industry, which add an extra pressure on the alcohol industry. Therefore, many perceive the tobacco industry as the 'scare case' or the 'worst case scenario'; still, the brewers emphasize that although there are obvious parallels, there are very 'fundamental' differences:

*“The industry doesn’t like it, but there are a lot of parallels between alcohol and cigarettes—there are also some very significant differences between alcohol and cigarettes. And one of the most, and the biggest difference, is that moderate smoking is not good for you, and it’s not good for the people around you, whereas moderate drinking is.”*

(Industry Consultant who has worked within the brewing industry for 30 years)

The fact that there is much disagreement in the research on the effects that alcohol has on the human body is important in this regard. The industry emphasizes findings from studies that conclude that drinking in moderation is not harmful, and perhaps even healthy. The legitimacy of the product is crucial, and as long as drinking in moderation has not been proven harmful beyond doubt, the alcohol industry may not truly be considered a stigmatized category (Vergne 2012) comparable with the tobacco industry. Hence, it is evident that the health community has a prominent and very deterministic role in relation to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ and the most solid research gets to set the agenda. This research includes medical research on the physiological and psychological reactions to alcohol, and social science studies of how alcohol affects social relations, e.g., teenage pregnancy, the impact of ‘binge drinking’<sup>9</sup>, and the prevalence of ‘drunk driving’.

Summarizing the issue, brewers are now not only obliged not to promote excessive drinking, they experience that they are increasingly expected to fight ‘alcohol-related harm’ and inappropriate use of their product, e.g., ‘binge drinking’, drunk driving, ‘underage-drinking’, and ‘alcohol and pregnancy’. In the following section, I elaborate on the methods used in this inductive study.

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<sup>9</sup> To drink excessive amounts of alcohol in short periods of time.



## METHODS

### **The Carlsberg Group**

The Carlsberg Group used to be a local Danish brewery but since 1968, when it established its first overseas brewery in Malawi, it has become one of the top four global players in the industry, with a presence in 150 markets, operating 85 breweries across 46 countries, and employing 41.000 people. Carlsberg have a strong philanthropic heritage—the founder, J.C. Jacobsen's (1811-1887) was very highly committed to Danish society and actively gave to the arts and sciences; for example, he founded the Natural History Museum of Denmark and established the Carlsberg Foundation. The Carlsberg Foundation even inherited the company after his death, and today still holds 25 percent of the Carlsberg Group and supports fundamental research in Denmark. The Carlsberg Group headquarters in Copenhagen has been working on formalizing their global CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) work since 2008. They are formulating and implementing their different CSR focus areas, including areas such as consumer issues, marketing communication, and responsible drinking, which deals with the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' elaborated in the previous section.

The case study of the Carlsberg Group took place from the summer of 2010 until the fall of 2012, and the collected organizational documents date back to 2007. During the course of this study, the Carlsberg Group's interpretation and action in relation to the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' emerged as a focus. I followed Carlsberg's conceptualization of responsible drinking to investigate organizational actor's interpretations and actions in response to the issue of 'alcohol-related harm'. The concept of responsible drinking is commonly associated with activities aimed at preventing 'alcohol-related harm' through initiatives to prevent, for example, drunk driving, 'underage-drinking', and 'binge drinking'. Responsible drinking is envisioned as one of Carlsberg's key CSR areas and considered to be the prominent CSR area

within the brewing (and alcohol) industry. As it became clear early on that the organizational actors were coping with the issue both collectively in industry associations and by itself as an organization, the following research question was selected for inquiry: How does the interplay between the collective and organizational level of identity construction shape the organizational responses to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’?

This research project has been designed as an inductive case study to elaborate on our current understanding of an area where we still need to learn more (Yin 2002). The issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ challenges the organization’s legitimacy, practices, and relationship to its audience. The ‘responsible drinking’ conceptualization was chosen as a focal point because of its social relevance and its close ties to the organization’s output, beer. At the same time, responsible drinking is a construct representing a response, or multiple responses, to an issue and a pressure that operates at different levels, that is, inside and outside organizational borders. In this sense, the case of ‘responsible drinking’ denotes a particularly fruitful case of organizational interpretation and response to a significant environmental change, a case in which the phenomenon of theoretical interest is manifested to a strong degree and can be readily observed (Eisenhardt 1989). However, the selection of the issue and the case should by no means be considered random, for which reason I draw on a combination of theoretical and purposive sampling. An iterative approach is utilized by travelling back and forth between the data, pertinent literature, and the emergent categories to develop the theory. This method allows the theory to emerge from the data and leads to a better insight into the research field (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Locke 2001; Stake 2005).

### **Data Collection and Data Sources**

The initial data collection was conducted at the Carlsberg Group headquarters and consisted of interviews and the collection of internal documents on CSR, e.g.,

presentations to the executive committee as well as policy and strategy documents all dating from 2007 until 2012. In this data, organizational members' interpretation and actions in relation to the issue arose in relation to the CSR area's 'consumer issues', 'marketing communication', and 'responsible drinking'. Consequently, observations were made in meetings concerning 'responsible drinking', and interviews were conducted with managers engaged in the headquarters' project on 'responsible drinking'. This data collection focused on the experiences and challenges that managers encountered in relation to the topic. In the analysis, I use data collected at headquarters and three of the Carlsberg Group's markets. I started my data collection at headquarters, and through my observations and discussions with people involved in the area of responsible drinking, I learned that the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' was an issue that many of the local subsidiaries were trying to manage. In collaboration with managers from headquarters, the countries UK, Finland, and Poland were selected based on their experience with the practice of 'responsible drinking', their location within Northern and Western Europe, and how they were perceived by headquarter specialists. UK and Finland were considered to be frontrunners within the area of 'responsible drinking' and Poland as being at an earlier stage of development.

In interviews I asked questions in relation to whom and where the initiatives were performed and why this was the case as well as whether and how Carlsberg initiatives differed from that of other organizations' initiatives. I also interviewed people from industry associations, with half of these interviews being proposed by the company, who would also help set them up. The company representatives making the connection would then also acknowledge the industry associations' role in relation to 'responsible drinking' initiatives, and that they were conforming with other industry members within this particular area. An overview of the data collection is provided in table 7.1.

**TABLE 7.1**  
**Data overview**

Data type	Headquarter	Subunits	Field level data	Data sources and content
Interviews <sup>10</sup>	15 (9 informants) Global managers within CSR, communication, public policy and sales, and marketing & innovation.	11 Local managers within CSR, communication, and sales & marketing in UK, Finland, and Poland.	7 Project managers and CEOs working with RD within industry associations locally and globally (e.g., Drinkaware and World Wide Brewing Alliance).	(See the individual rows)
Documents	150 documents (1-30 p. each).	59 documents (1-60 p. each).	67 documents (1-289 p. each).	Articles, presentations, policies, guidelines, reports, website information, RD campaign material, archival documents on the Carlsberg Founder, and J.C. Jacobsen.
Observations	Approximately 25 hours.	-	-	Discussion meetings, work meetings with PR consultants, weekly meeting, Global Carlsberg re-launch, and public presentations.
Feedback from the organization	11 meetings.	-	-	Discussion and feedback from managers within headquarters on the data collection and the ongoing analysis.

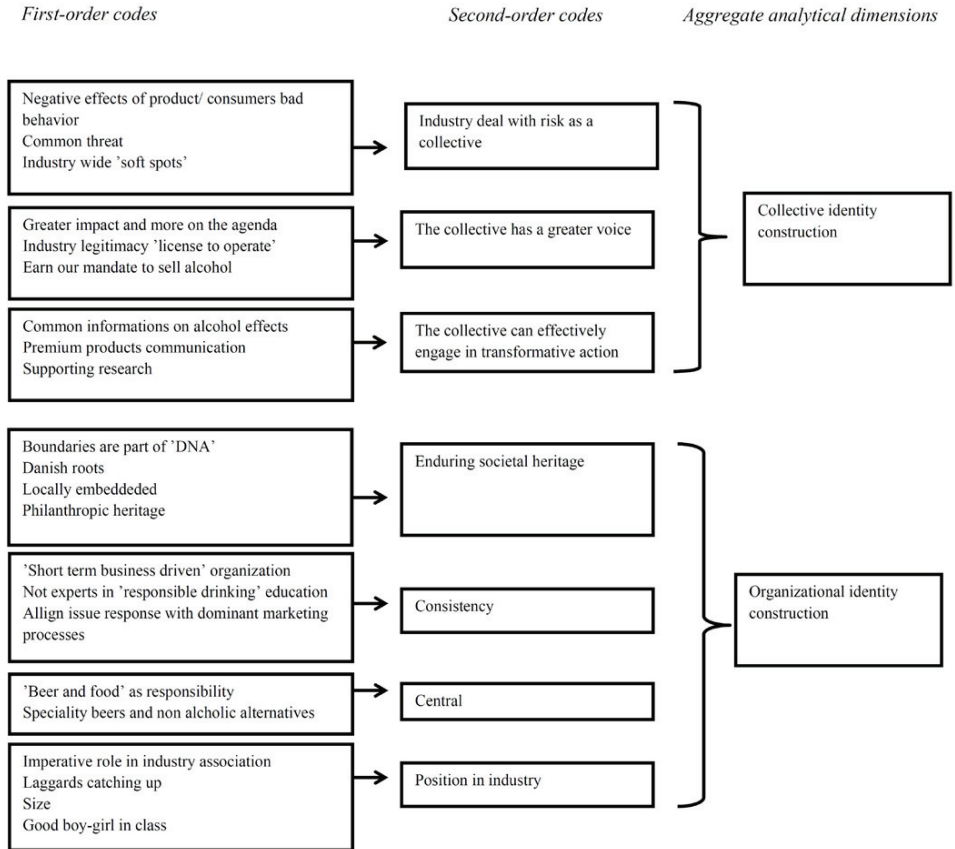
<sup>10</sup> Some of the interviewees appear in both in the headquarters and subsidiary column because they served two functions. Please see appendix 1 for a complete overview of the interviewees. Further this paper does not include all data material because the analysis was made at an earlier stage.

In the analysis, I focused on finding commonalities in the way that the different units within the Carlsberg Group interpret an environmental change and respond to it. The organizational data collection was supplemented by data collection on the broader industry; this part consisted of documents and interviews with industry actors in each of the three countries as well as one regional actor and one global industry actor.

### **Data Analysis**

Interviews and observation notes were coded using the software Nvivo 9, which helped to structure the analysis, and later these were compared to the other forms of data material (archival and feedback meetings). I identified instances in which the informants related to the collective identity or the organizational identity, that is, concepts, actions, and statements that were explicitly related to the investigation, elaborations, definition, and communication of organizational and industry definitions. I started by coding the data from HQ and then added Finland and later UK and Poland; also, I searched for commonalities across the units in order to extract a common pattern of interpretation and response to the issue. During this coding, I identified relevant terms, concepts, and practices and through this process, categories started to emerge and crystallize. Figure 7.1 illustrates the progression of the categorical analysis.

**FIGURE 7.1**  
**Progression of the categorical analysis**



Subsequently, I explored incidents of discrepancies. Notably, one area required attention: Some informants consistently made clear the distinctions between two different types of responses, each rooted in distinct interpretations of the same issue, while other informants described them as two sides of the same coin and referred to

them interchangeably. A data triangulation of interviews, observations, strategy documents, and policies helped me identify time as a discriminating factor. Further, it became clear that the two types of responses enacted two different identity levels and the interplay between the two levels emerged in the second-order codes. Informants expressed the view that *'we are brewers'*, a homogeneous group in terms of dealing with the issue of 'alcohol-related harm', therefore *'we pull together'*; on the other hand, informants also expressed that the organization is distinctive in terms of its engagement in society, *'it is part of who we are'*, therefore we take our own actions. As the story progresses, the significance and interplay between these levels will be revealed as evoking, constraining, and enabling the organizations issue-related behavior.

## INTERPRETATIONS AND ACTION ON THE ISSUE

The interpretation of the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' has occurred at multiple levels (industry, company, and subsidiaries) and at different times across the Carlsberg Group. Still, common patterns have been identified, both in terms of interpretations and reactions. In general, the issue was understood to have its roots in an *'unhealthy alcohol culture'* in which beer was simply a way to get drunk as this following extract illustrates:

*"The way that people treat alcohol, this isn't everybody it's just small groups of people in X [country], the way that they treat alcohol, there isn't a respect for it. Longer term, I'm not sure that as a category that's a healthy position to actually be in... because you want to change people's perceptions of alcohol into things that they actually see... value in the product as opposed to just value in the effect that the product has on you. Because actually, if ultimately you want to try and create great levels of engagement with consumers, you want to try to get them to buy premium products, all these things, you need an attitude, which is around enjoyment and engagement with products as opposed to just seeing simply alcohol as a way to get drunk. Which is what a small minority of people in country X see alcohol as, just a way to get drunk and it doesn't*

*really benefit us long term; if that's what alcohol is viewed as simply, if that's its role."*

(Marketing and Strategy, Country Director)

The interpretation that an '*unhealthy alcohol culture*' was at the root of the problem was a rather unanimous interpretation across the interviews. Hence, the industry and the organizations within it had to find a way to continue with their practice but at the same time acknowledge the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' and show a commitment to change what the broader population consider to be a problematic '*alcohol culture*'.

Carlsberg's engagement in the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' has been categorized into two waves; each is distinctive in terms of interpretation of the issue present in the organization and its actions. The *first wave* is primarily dominated by a more collective industry framing and response, and the *second wave* is dominated by a more organization-centric understanding and response. Table 7.2 presents an overview of the issue of 'alcohol-related harm'. The table gives an compatible overview of the two waves in terms of interpretation of the issue, events, actions taken, key actors at play, interplay between identity levels and the time periods in which they have dominated. Subsequently, the first wave of the response centers around the industry's own behavior and on keeping some 'strings' on the members' profit driven and sometimes offensive efforts, which were considered to be causing the outcry from society. The first wave of response is led by the belief that the industry can maintain its commercial platform as an industry if legislation and taxation is kept at a minimum. The second wave of response is related to the actual attributes of the product beer and whether the product is damaging to the health of consumers. Hence, there is a clear movement in the way the organizational members interpret and conceptualize the issue from focusing on the category as a whole to differentiating the organizational response within the industry. Analysis showed that although the two waves overlap and may



even to some degree coexist today within the organization, the dominant mode of interpretation has shifted from the first to the second wave.

Figure 7.2 presents model of the development of the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ in terms of interpretations and actions; a first and a second wave of response to this perceived threat has been observed. This model (figure 7.2) represents a visual illustration of the waves outlined in table 7.2 both of which be extended further in the following sections.

**TABLE 7.2**  
**Overview of the Issue of ‘Alcohol-Related Harm’ (A)<sup>11</sup>**

<b>Phases</b>	<b>First wave</b>	<b>Second wave</b>
<b>Interpretations</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Issue A</b> is an issue that involves <i>Marketing practitioners and their practices</i>.</li> <li>• A is peripheral to the ‘core’ purpose of the organization.</li> <li>• Issue is interpreted through the lens of the collective.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Issue A</b> is an issue that is inherent in <i>the product—its alcohol content</i>.</li> <li>• A is a threat to the ‘core’ organizational purpose of the organization.</li> <li>• Issue is interpreted through the lens of the organizational identity.</li> </ul>
<b>Events</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Public outcries against provocative commercial activities (e.g., ‘alcopops’).</li> <li>• Increased governmental interference through legislation and taxation (following new public health movement, e.g., European Commission and WHO recommendations 2001/2002).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Issue spread to a wider organizational context (e.g., country CEO meeting and the marketing agenda).</li> <li>• Included in promotional activities at major European soccer event (EURO 2012).</li> </ul>
<b>Actions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Self-regulation via industry associations.</li> <li>• Organizational adaptations of marketing communication policies (e.g., the formulation of a Carlsberg Group policy, guidelines, and tutorials for organizational members).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Formation of new types of industry level organizations focused single-handedly on the issue via research, consumer information, and ‘education’.</li> <li>• Organizational ‘responsible drinking’ messages and initiatives (e.g., HQ responsible drinking project, new low alcohol products, the encouragement of moderate consumption).</li> </ul>

<sup>11</sup> The table is inspired by Dutton and Dukerich (1991:529).

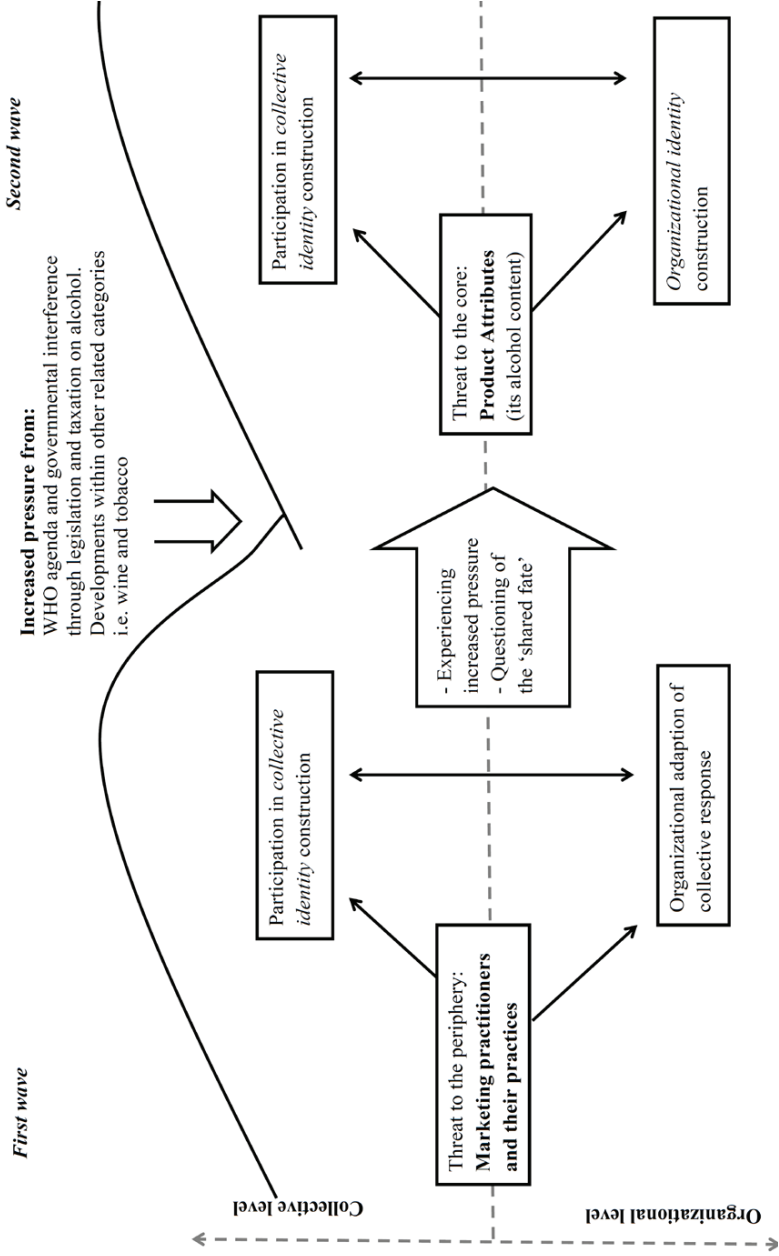
<b>Key actors</b>	<b>Owners:</b> Industry Associations and organizational members within Public Affairs and Corporate Social Responsibility. <b>Audience:</b> lawmakers and marketing practitioners.	<b>Owners:</b> Industry Associations and organizational members within top management, Public Affairs, Corporate Social Responsibility, and Marketing. <b>Audience:</b> Lawmakers, consumers and other members within society (e.g., parents and teachers).
<b>Interplay between Organizational and Collective identity levels</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identity claims of conformity in relation to issue A construct the collective identity of the beer category and <i>shield</i> the organizations from an industry wide threat (homogeneity).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The construction of a collective identity <i>shields</i> the organizations from an industry wide threat (homogeneity).</li> <li>• The construction of a response that is distinct and aligned with dominant organizational identity claims (heterogeneity).</li> </ul>
<b>Time periods</b> <sup>12</sup>	<b>Headquarters:</b> (2003 <sup>13</sup> ) 2007-2010. <b>UK:</b> 1995-2003. <b>Poland:</b> 2001 – today. <b>Finland:</b> N/A (Finland has very strict legislation and less room for self-regulation; still the first wave might have occurred already in connection with the Finish prohibition from 1919 to 1932).	<b>Headquarters:</b> 2010 – today. <b>UK:</b> 2003 – today. <b>Poland:</b> N/A. <b>Finland:</b> 2005 – today.

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<sup>12</sup> The time periods show when and where the two waves dominated—data show that HQ and UK have moved from the first to the second wave, whereas Poland is still in the first wave and Finland in the second.

<sup>13</sup> Self-regulation guideline from Brewers of Europe (2003).

**FIGURE 7.2**  
**The development of interpretations and actions in response to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’**



## **The First Wave of Interpretation and Response – Compliance**

When the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ first emerged within the European brewing industry, the first to take notice of this change was the industry community consisting of people from brewers associations and corporate public affairs people:

*“... in recent years European institutions – in particular the European Commission and the World Health Organisation have expressed concerns that commercial communications, and specifically advertising for alcoholic drinks, may encourage young people below the legal drinking age to drink, sometimes to excess. The alcoholic drinks industry has been challenged to demonstrate that self-regulation can and does work effectively to protect young people, particularly in the light of the Council [European Council] Recommendation on the Drinking of Alcohol by Children and Adolescents.”*

(Brewers of Europe<sup>14</sup> 2003)

As this extract from the ‘Responsible Communication Guideline for the Brewing Industry’ from Brewers of Europe demonstrate, the industry’s own marketing communications was considered to be the main cause for the increased scrutiny of the brewers. The first wave of interpretation is centered on the organization’s own responsibility for marketing communications, perceived by the greater public as inappropriate and therefore causing legislators to set jurisdictional boundaries. The brewers considered these boundaries to be overly harsh and ineffective in fighting the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’. As one informant put it: *‘... there are no research studies that indicate that alcohol consumption will drop if commercial activity is regulated... there are no research studies that show a connection between advertising and misuse’* (Headquarter Communication Manager).

**At the Collective Level.** As a response to the increased legislation, the industry began to move towards collective efforts via industry associations but also in new industry collectives, such as the UK based Portman Group, which focus exclusively on the

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<sup>14</sup> ‘Brewers of Europe’ is the central European industry association.

social responsibility of alcohol producers, thus bringing different parts of the alcohol industry together. In 1996 Portman Group launched the ‘Code of Practice on the Naming, Packaging and Merchandising of Alcoholic Drinks’ in response to the public outcry against ‘alcopops’. In 2003 ‘Brewers of Europe’ followed with their guidelines for marketing communications, and other local industry associations have since followed, e.g., the Polish industry in 2005. The purpose of these codes and guidelines is to enact ‘self-legislation’—put restrictions on the marketing communications so that the ‘short-term profit seeking’ does not damage the long-term health of the industry and jeopardize the beer category’s *‘commercial platform’*. The immediate aim is to show that the industry, as a collective, is committed to restraining their own behavior and to show that they can be more effective than legislation. These guidelines are used directly in the companies or translated into an organizational policy and/or guidelines. The interviewee’s retrospective accounts in connection with the initial part of the first wave, as well as the archival documents, showed that the first wave response was predominantly ‘owned by a collective industry’. It functioned as a coercive pressure that was to some extent integrated into marketing practices, while the actual content of the guidelines or code was open to local interpretation. The local Carlsberg branches often had key organizational members from the legal or CSR departments work as organizational ‘translators’ to check promotional material up against the ‘the code’ before being launched; ostensibly, only in the instances where marketers experience that there could be a potential breach of the code.

**At the Organizational Level.** The interpretation around the first wave seems to have been fairly limited at the outset; however, some organizational members did recognize that Carlsberg’s commercial activities also contributed to the initial assault on the industry. During observations (in 2010), I followed discussions that handled the potentially problematic commercials and products that might contribute to engendering a negative image of the company, and organizational actors were actively engaging in

a change of company marketing practices. There was a concrete case of a product launch where the accompanying marketing material was changed because it was thought to encourage excessive drinking among young people. The broad organizational interpretation of the issue in the first wave is illustrated in this citation:

*“I get the impression that all the brewers kind of make all these responsible drinking messages and all that sort of thing because they almost feel like if they don’t, then the alternative could be worse. You might suddenly find that advertising is completely restricted; so it’s almost like, let’s do this so that we can at least safeguard our ability to talk to the consumers.”*

(Country manager of product brand 2011)

This first wave interpretation of the issue made way for the Marketing Communication Policy and Guideline in 2009—an organizational effort to self-regulate, drawing heavily on guidelines developed by industry associations such as Brewers of Europe. Before then, the local organizations either did not have a marketing policy or adhered to local industry policies or media regulations. The application and use of a marketing policy was clearly linked to, or sparked by, incidents similar to that of the UK ‘alcopop’ mentioned earlier, or inappropriate commercials causing a public outcry against brewers and/or the alcohol industry overall. In the first wave, organizational actions are local adaptations of a collective industry response to the issue.

### **The Second Wave of Interpretation and Response – Moving Beyond Compliance**

The second wave includes an interpretation of the issue that is more closely related to the actual attributes of the product and the possible health challenges that the product may induce—a threat to the core. This indicates that from the first to the second wave, there is a shift in focus from being a question of ill-behaved marketing practitioners and ‘self-legislation’, to the problematic attributes of the product beer, specifically, its alcohol content. The organizational members who notice the challenge, experience what Hudson and Okhuysen (2009) mention as a ‘disapproval of core attributes’:

*“We [brewers] experience more often that governments are concerned with the ‘dark’ side of the product. Responsible Drinking is a way in which we can enforce the positive side and minimize the ‘dark’ side.”*  
(Manager within Global Sales Marketing and Innovation)

As this citation indicates, there is a shared belief that engagement in responsible drinking is one way to improve the image of the beer category and put focus on the products positive attributes. As the problem started to be linked to the product, it became more relevant for the people within marketing, who dominate the interaction with the organizational audience. They started to notice the disapproval of one of the product’s core attributes—its alcohol content. This is an altered interpretation in which the reputational risk associated with ‘alcohol-related harm’ is linked to a larger image-related problem within the beer category. Consequently, the issue is dealt with through the conceptualization of ‘responsible drinking’ practices, but this only forms one part of a greater plan to alter the image of beer and the beer industry:

*“I fundamentally believe that it is commercially in the interests of the industry to encourage people to drink responsibly because, actually irresponsible behavior makes the whole alcohol category, and courses within the category, unattractive to the broader range of people that we want to attract to enjoy products responsibly. So people don’t want to go into pubs if they think they’re going to be full of drunks, they don’t want to go out... if they think that they’re going to get into a fight, or people are going to be sick, that’s actually something I won’t want to do, I will stay at home. And so we want to make sure that drinking is a pleasant experience, which is why it’s important to encourage people to drink responsibly [...] I think one of the key things is that every part of the industry potentially can be involved with causing problems, and every part of the industry needs to play its part in sorting it out. And we need to work together on that.”*

(Industry Consultant within ‘Responsible Drinking’ 2011)

This citation shows how the problem of ‘alcohol-related harm’ is interpreted as a shared issue that damages the industry overall; hence, the interpretation that it should be dealt with collectively. Still, within the industry there are both organizational and

collective responses and, as the following extract shows, the latter is understood to be the most effective strategy:

*“One of the problems that the industry has had is that there is almost too many messages going out to too many stakeholders, that actually there isn’t a coordinated structured approach to the messages that you are trying to give to people, in terms of members of the public. So actually, we would much prefer to put our time and effort behind things like x charity [industry funded charity], than just go off and do our own thing, targeting something completely differently and then x [company] go and do a different message and then y [company] go and do a different message. [...] As communication specialists we know, the best thing normally is to have focused messages that are consistently repeated. So that’s why we support, or most of our investment and time goes into, schemes that are already in existence that pull together the industry; we think that’s the most effective way of doing it.”*

(Country Director, Marketing and Strategy)

The extract also shows that the interpretation of collectivity has its roots in a focus on effectiveness, that is, that the brewers face a common challenge and that they will have greater power as a united category. The interpretation is not merely that the issue should be dealt with through regular lobbying activities aimed at policymakers; instead, the industry is uniting beyond the industry associations and combining their individual strengths to channel a consistent response(s) to the current challenges.

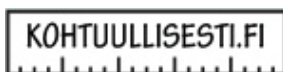
**At the Collective Level.** The second wave of interpretation and response is characterized by a broader range of responses that also included (or tried to accommodate) the organizational need for distinction. On a local level, common initiatives included putting ‘official’ labels on alcoholic beverages, informing consumers about where they could find information on drinking in moderation etc., and the development of sites to ‘educate’ the public about the consumption of alcohol,



which was made by industry associations or an industry funded charity, i.e., ‘Drinkaware’<sup>15</sup>. Examples of labels are included in Figure 7.3.

**FIGURE 7.3**

**Examples of labels**



*Pictures: (left) from a UK beer label and (right) a label from Finland that translate to: ‘with moderation’ (new from the spring of 2012). Both labels refer to online ‘educational’ sites where consumers can learn about drinking in moderation.*

Informants tended to emphasize that labeling was a voluntary effort made as a collective industry, although in at least two instances, they were introduced as the local government started to debate putting government ‘warning labels’ on packaging:

*“I’m happy that we are proactive for once. We are ahead of her [the minister of health]; we haven’t launched it yet, it’s not public that we’re doing it, so I hope that we will come out with it in the next spring when she’s a bit further with her [the minister of health] job and coming up with this picture for the label and then we say: ‘hey, look, we’re going to put all this information here’.”*

(CEO of local brewery association)

The practice of labeling has become diffused throughout the tobacco industry, where it was legally enforced in some European countries such as Denmark in 2003, as well as

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<sup>15</sup> Drinkaware is said to be an independent trust; its trustees consist of people from the industry (including retailers), independent, and doctors from the health profession. All funding comes from the industry.

the alcohol industry, where it is increasingly used as a tool. The collective industry self-labeling tool is preferred to the government-led process where the industry has no control. If the industry is ahead of the legislators, they might avoid ‘hard laws’.

Another collective industry response was the establishment of ‘The European Foundation for Alcohol Research’ in 2003, which is a medical advisory group. Through ‘The European Foundation for Alcohol Research’, Brewers of Europe and the four major European brewers (including Carlsberg) are able to fund research that deal with the implications of alcohol. Still, the organization is said to be ‘*completely independent from the brewing sector*’ (Member of the ‘European Foundation for Alcohol Research’ Board of Directors 2011), a statement that is grounded in the setup of the organization in which industry members hold a minority of the seats on the board of trustees while the advisory board only consists of experts such as doctors. This initiative serves as a way for the industry to gain some level of control with the research agenda. In the end, this could determine whether the beer category becomes stigmatized (Vergne 2012) like the tobacco industry.

On a global level, The Global Brewers’ Initiative (GBI) was formed in 2010 as an informal network led by ABInBev, Carlsberg, Heineken, and SABMiller—the four largest global brewers—to lead and communicate on the social initiatives of brewers. Moreover, GBI was formed to enhance the reputation of beer and brewers in general, and not just in relation to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’. The interpretation within the industry appears to be that this issue is too big for any of the brewers to tackle individually; thus, they are pooling their efforts in an area where they believe that it will benefit them all in the long term. My field observation shows that GBI has its roots in the second wave of interpretation and has a focus on improving the image of the beer product. The four global brewers simultaneously also commit to working with this challenge individually in their own way.

**At the Organizational Level.** At the Carlsberg Group’s headquarters, the more distinctive second wave response was conceptualized in a ‘Responsible Drinking’ project, which was part of a larger project on the improvement of the image of beer. Overall, the shift to the second wave includes a change in focus to the product, which entails the issue taking a new form that is considered as a threat to the core organizational purpose. As noted earlier, Carlsberg have a strong philanthropic heritage<sup>16</sup>, and it is very present in the organizational members’ descriptions of ‘who we are and what we do’ as an organization. Furthermore, it was often mentioned in interviews as a reason to why it was important for the organization to engage with the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’.

I saw the shift to the second wave of interpretation happen at the Carlsberg Group, as some organizational members started to interpret the issue as an area of distinction and not just a question of following industry rules and regulations to avoid risks. In one of the subsidiaries, one informant put it like this:

*“I think they [industry association] should do the core things like legislative lobbying and campaign against inappropriate drinking behavior; I think they should concentrate on that and we [brewers] should do active things that really relate to the business but communicate the same thing.”*

(Country Communication and CSR manager)

This extract represents the organizational member’s distinction between the collective and organizational actions in the second wave interpretation; if it relates to the business ‘who we are’ and ‘what we do’ as an organization, then the company should be the one

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<sup>16</sup> In the Finnish subsidiary, the original Finnish company heritage was important to the local management. Carlsberg Group took over the entire company in 1999, but before then, it was a family owned brewery with its own philanthropic heritage. As one of the only companies this company has kept its original name ‘Sinebrychoff’.

to conceptualize it. Meaning if the organizational actors observe a potential link between the issue response and the organization, beer category, or product brand, then the organization should pursue it as a commercial or reputational opportunity. The organizational interpretation and action is focused on the product attributes and very concretely on seizing opportunities for distinction rather than focusing on the potentially harmful effects of beer. The organization-led actions included the launch of the alcohol-free product 'BEO' as an alternative to soft drinks, cider, and beer; the provision of a wide range of specialty beers (craft beer) to get people to value the product rather than its effects; and a beer and food program intended to change the occasion for beer consumption from being about drinking to get drunk, to being a more profound occasion of enjoyment. In the Finish subsidiary, they created recipes and paired them with a particular beer brand such as Mexican food with a Mexican beer from their portfolio. This actually meant that the company could get a better placement for its product in-store, positioned next to the Mexican food, which is quite an achievement in a heavily regulated market.

When the focus is on product attributes and improving the image of the beer category, it seems to prompt an organizational response, whereas the more difficult issues of the negative impact of the product are dealt with as a collective. The citation below illustrates how the organization members rationalize this:

*"I think that making a campaign like 'drunk, you're a fool' where there are no brands in it but it just shows bad behavior and it's trying to get people to think, and [pointing to 'beer and food material'] here the thing is that when you talk about food and beer you can bring your own products. We want very much to do these things ourselves."*

(Country Communication and CSR manager)

This illustrates that there are instances when the response can be linked to the construction of organizational or product distinction. This was particularly relevant in

situations where there were few or no experienced dangers in differentiating the organization or the product. When dealing with the more difficult issues, however, the industry collectives are uniting to deal with initiatives such as ‘the educational obligation’—to give information on the potentially harmful effects of alcohol. In relation to the education on alcohol, the common and formal interpretation is that the brewers themselves are not experts on the topic. Therefore, educational initiatives should be mediated through industry associations or directly through health experts, such as ‘Drinkaware’ (mentioned earlier), which are funded by the collective industry.

Summing up the interpretations and responses, the shift from the first to the second wave occurred because of two correlated elements: Firstly, the actors experienced an increased demand from lawmakers locally and in the EU, as well as global special interest organizations such as the WHO, for greater regulation and a higher taxation of alcohol to tackle the problem of ‘alcohol-related harm’. Secondly, the organizational members expressed that there was a limit as to what can be shared within the collective (identity) industry. When the threat was considered to be partly alleviated by the collective *shield*, the organizational members turned their attention to organizational levels and to seizing the potential opportunities for distinction. Consequently, they initiated organizational responses to create a visible and recognizable profile within the industry. Finally, during the first wave, the threat was considered to be peripheral, that is, the problem was considered to be a group of employees who were a little too eager to sell the product and therefore needed some boundaries. The shift occurred as a new interpretation entered the organization by way of public affairs managers, who are closer to the political system, and newly employed managers from leading industries (alcohol producers), who are frontrunners in tackling this issue.

## THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN COLLECTIVE AND ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITIES

The story of the Carlsberg Group's enactment of the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' is still unfolding today. The story unfolds at multiple levels even now, and therefore the present analysis allowed me to identify and build on the important themes that emerged in this particular setting. As the industry was faced with the issue of 'alcohol-related harm', it became clear that how they understood the problem was very closely linked to identity—the understanding of what members within the industry shared (the collective level) and what elements were considered to be organizationally *distinct* (the organizational level). Therefore, the remaining part of the article will outline the interplay between the collective and the organizational level of analysis that shaped the organizational response to the issue.

### **The Collective Identity Claims – 'What We Do'**

Carlsberg identity construction in relation to the issue operated at different levels, and both organizational and collective identity claims (Wry, Lounsbury, and Glynn 2011) were present in the organizational and managerial accounts. As the pressure from society intensified, the brewers worked more closely together to construct a collective industry identity with one united front on the issue of 'alcohol-related harm'. Hence, the collective identity claims became the one that many informants would draw on in relation to defining who they were as brewers and what they did collectively to fight the issue of 'alcohol-related harm'. The collective identity is particularly emphasized in relation to the negative aspects of the organization's product, which was gaining disapproval (from the public)—an attribute that all the industry members shared and that severely challenged the identity of 'what we do' as an organization and as a collective industry. This observation is in line with the work of Ashfort and Mael (1989), who argued that at the individual level, social identification is a perception of

unity and of a shared destiny. The observation from the current research reflects this pattern at the organizational and collective industry level. Many of the organizational actors would even refer to themselves as ‘brewers’ and elaborate on the challenge of the issue as something that the industry had to deal with as a united front. The collective identity is significant for the organization because the collective identity claims shield the member organizations from an industry wide threat.

The industry *deals with risk as a collective*— when the industry stands united, all the organizations are ‘*in the same boat*’ and will suffer the same losses for following the same guidelines as well as for living up to society’s ethical standards. This also means that the negative effects of the product are dealt in such a way so that they are not linked to the organization or its branded products. *The collective has a greater voice* – in relation to legislators and other stakeholders: ‘*If we do it alone, it will not have the same effect as if we stand united*’. The assumption is that all industry members have to live up to the codes and guidelines in order to safeguard the industry’s ‘commercial platform’. Further, the brewers unite to communicate how much they contribute to society as a collective, for example, through investments in the local community and financially. Finally, *The collective effectively engages in transformative action*— through alcohol research and ‘education’, the industry is collectively trying to change the way that audiences perceive their products, i.e., by promoting the healthy aspects of beer that have been found in research. At the same time, the industry funds educational material on ‘drinking in moderation’ and provides material for parents and teachers on how to discuss alcohol with teenagers. Hence, making a social impact and ensuring that consumers are ‘taught’ to enjoy the product and consume it in a sensible manner, for example, drinking one beer everyday rather than 10 on a Saturday.

The collective identity level forms a shield around the organizations within the industry, ultimately allowing the organizations to maintain their commercial platform.

The collective initiatives were perceived as a way to shield the ‘commercial freedom’ or the ‘right to communicate’ to consumers about the products and the attributes that distinguish one organization’s products from other beer products (and organizations). Hence, the collective identity level was very important to the organizational informants, notably, in relation to dealing with the issue as a ‘threat’. The organizational identity claims were, on the contrary, much more focused on aligning issue responses with dominant organization’s identity claims and its output, i.e., brands and products.

As noted earlier, in the mid 00’s, the beer and alcohol category experienced an increased pressure as the spread of the ‘new public health movement’ led to tighter legislation and higher taxation on alcohol. The organizational actors seem to be particularly influenced by the developments in associated categories, notably tobacco, and many of the informants are preoccupied and deliberately trying to avoid the same kind of disapproval and stigmatization from which the tobacco industry has suffered; as one informant noted: *‘we try to learn from their mistakes’*. My observations suggest that the shift in interpretation occurred because of increased pressure from the health agenda, which altered the perception of the issue so that it came to be perceived as a threat to the core organizational character because of the direct link to the product attributes. The common understanding was that governments had become preoccupied with the ‘dark sides of the product’—its potentially harmful effects. As the threat shifted to being product-centric, organizational members began to question the ‘shared fate’ of the collective industry. The focus of attention moved to distinguishing the organization and its products within the industry.



## **The Importance of Organizational Identity Claims – ‘Who We Are’**

Despite the informants’ focus on expanding or strengthening collective identities to shield the organization, they would also interpret the issue in relation to organizational characteristics that were seen to be central, distinctive, and enduring (Albert and Whetten 1985). Consequently, organizational actors would claim that both collective industry initiatives and organizational initiatives were consistent with the organizational identity. This consistency was especially evident in relation to areas that were interpreted as ‘opportunities’ to create a favorable profile within the industry. This quest reflected the question of ‘who we are’ and ‘who we want to *be*’, which frequently came up during discussions. The alignment of the response to the issue with other organizational identity claims was considered central. It had to make ‘sense’ within the organizational realm, otherwise initiatives would be carried out elsewhere and would not be considered to be part of ‘what we do’ as an organization: “...*our expertise is not education ultimately; we are better off funding the people that are experts in how you educate...*” (Country Marketing and Strategy Manager). I found that the organizational responses or even the ‘choice’ of supporting the collective responses would consistently be linked to ‘who we are’ as an organizational entity, in terms of the following four organizational identity categories. Which all except for one resembles the traditional Albert and Whetten (1985) identity criteria: *Central, consistency, enduring (societal heritage)*, and organization’s *position in the industry*.

Firstly, as the issue was closely related to the most *central* attribute of the organization its product —beer. The organizational response during the second wave were thought to be linked as closely to the product as possible, e.g., the launch of the alcohol-free alternative to beer, BEO; a ‘beer and food’ program to encourage moderate consumption; and providing a wide assortment of quality specialty beers that would encourage ‘enjoyment’ rather than ‘binge drinking’. Secondly, organizational members focused strongly on creating a response that was *consistent* with dominant

organizational identity claims specifically that *'this is a short-term business driven organization'*. Hence they would seek out practices and ways of managing the issue that was consistent with this identity claim. It also meant that if certain practices performed in relation to the issue did not fit with the identity claims as 'marketers', it was required to be handled elsewhere (i.e. in industry collaboration). Alternatively, the issue had to be reframed to fit the organization's identity claims and contribute to the continued construction of a distinctive and visible profile, which occurred during in the second wave. Thirdly, the *enduring societal heritage* was important to the organizational members, Carlsberg and many of its acquired breweries have a strong local connection and have a philanthropic heritage that is very present in the way that the issue was interpreted by organizational members, e.g., *'we have a history of giving back to society'* and *'it is part of our DNA'* and this company history would often be a central arguments as for why an organizational response to the issue was necessary. Finally, many informants argued that the organizations *position in industry* –the size of the organization and its market position meant that they had to be front-runners and show 'good character', and that this also had an impact on the role they would play in collective efforts. Informants would give examples of how this influence came across, for example, one of the local companies had been the 'owner of an idea' that was later diffused across the industry. This created closer ties and 'ownership' of industry initiatives. Consequently, industry initiatives would in some instances be referred to as if they were initiatives that the organization had performed on its own, perhaps even as if the industry association was an 'in house' organizational department.

There is a level of performativity in the aforementioned organizational identity categories – the role in which an organization, and its members, casts itself defines how and why a response to an issue should be made. Consequently, if the organization sees itself as having exclusively the role of a producer and a marketer of beer, then an organizational response might not be an option; whereas, if the organization perceives

itself as having a social aspect as an enduring character, an organizational response would simply reaffirm that character trait.

## **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

In this paper, I have explored how the interplay between collective and organizational identities influences organizational responses to a perceived threat in the institutional environment. In this case study, interpretations of the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ occurred in two different waves. The first interpretations and responses focused on self-regulation and on ensuring that organizations within the industry did not enhance or inflame the issue further. This response was primarily driven by a participation in collective identity construction and might to some extent have been close to the legislators; however, it was rather disconnected (peripheral) from the organization. Furthermore, it did form a shield that allowed the organization to continue its practices with only marginal interference. The second wave included an interpretation of the issue that was closer to the product and its core attributes; consequently, organizational interpretations were centered on seizing opportunities for differentiation. In the second wave, the new product-centric interpretation led to a distinction between different types of responses so that the negative effects of the products were dealt with as a collective industry, i.e., any ‘education’ on moderate drinking was handled in the industry association in order to ensure that the ‘dark sides’ of the product were in no way directly linked to the organization or its products.

The findings from this study showed how organizational identities are contextualized within collective identities and that the interplay between these shift over time and in response to a perceived threat. The case study of the Carlsberg Group and their response to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ suggests that collective identities matter

significantly in a situation where an industry is threatened. This study further suggests that collective identities are significant because the industry deals with risks (or threats) as a collective; this level *shields* the organizations within the industry by tackling the ‘dark sides’ of the product beer. Lastly, all industry members share the same core problematic identity attribute that is causing the increased scrutiny, which severely challenges their operation.

The response depends on the organizational actors’ perception of the organizations role, specifically, how the response is perceived in relation to its *heritage*; how *consistent* the response is with other identity claims; how the response frames that which is *central* (e.g., the product or service); and finally, how the response fits the organization’s *position* in the industry. Thus, this study shows that organizational responses depend on how organizational actors understand the relationship between the threat and their claimed organizational identities (in relation to *heritage*, *consistency*, *centrality*, and *position*), and whether the issue is portrayed as being a threat to the periphery or the core organizational attributes.

A few studies have explored the link between collective and organizational identities by highlighting the institutionally embedded nature of organizational identities (Battilana and Dorado 2010; Glynn and Abzug 2002; Glynn and Navis 2011). This paper contributes to this line of research by stressing that organizations in industries under pressure may seek to enhance collective identities in areas that they consider to be negative, peripheral, or unrelated to how they perceive themselves and their central operation; hence, this would lead to a higher level of isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) within the industry. Perhaps a future study could elaborate on whether this isomorphism only influences one isolated area (e.g., CSR) or whether it would influence the entire operation of an industry. Further, this study contributes to our understanding of the interplay between the two levels of identity, particularly by

illustrating how it unfolds over time. The fact that the organizational response(s) were traced across time also illustrates that responses may develop and change, and thus answers the call made by Greenwood et al. (2011) for more temporal approaches to the study of organizational responses. It would be interesting to see other studies that unpack this temporal dimension further, perhaps by following an industry and (or) its organizations over a longer time period to explore what triggers these shifts in focus between the two levels of identity.

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**8. Paper 2: STRANGE BREW: BRIDGING LOGICS VIA INSTITUTIONAL BRICOLAGE AND THE RECONSTITUTION OF ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY\***

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Lærke Højgaard Christiansen  
PhD Fellow  
Copenhagen Business School  
Department of Organization  
K/4.99 Kilen, Kilevej 14A  
DK-2000 Frederiksberg  
ph +45 3815 2825; ljhc.ioa@cbs.dk

and

Michael Lounsbury<sup>17</sup>  
Professor & Thornton A. Graham Chair  
University of Alberta School of Business  
PI, National Institute for Nanotechnology  
4-40J Business Building  
Edmonton, Alberta CANADA T6G 2E7  
ph (780) 492-1684; ml37@ualberta.ca

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<sup>17</sup> A co-author statement can be found in Appendix 4



## ABSTRACT

*How do organizations manage multiple logics in response to institutional complexity? In this paper, we explore how intra-organizational problems related to multiple logics may be addressed via the mechanism of institutional bricolage—where actors inside an organization act as ‘bricoleurs’ to creatively combine elements from different logics into newly designed artifacts. An illustrative case study of a global brewery group’s development of such an artifact – a Responsible Drinking Guide Book, is outlined. We argue that intra-organizational institutional bricolage first requires the problematization of organizational identity followed by a social process involving efforts to re-negotiate the organization’s identity in relation to the logics being integrated. We show that in response to growing pressures to be more “responsible”, a group of organizational actors creatively tinkered with and combined elements from social responsibility and market logics by drawing upon extant organizational resources from different **times** and **spaces** in an effort to reconstitute their collective organizational identity.*

Over the past decade, research on institutional logics and complexity has exploded (e.g. Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, 2008; Lounsbury, 2007; Greenwood, et al. 2011; Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012). The institutional logics perspective allows for a much needed integration of the top-down effects of institutional logics with the bottom-up effects of situational features within individual organizations (Ocasio, 2011; Thornton et al 2012). As such, and unlike institutional theory’s mainline focus on stability and isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Scott, 2008), the institutional logics perspective provides new theoretical leverage to understand and explain variation across different organizations. Further, both local situational factors and wider institutional pressures and influences are combined to explain the reproduction

and transformation of organizational structures (Thornton et al 2012:101). Despite these developments, research on institutional logics is still in the early stages, and there many open questions and opportunities for scholarly development remain. One such opportunity is the study of intra-organizational dynamics, especially under conditions of institutional complexity where organizations are exposed to pressures from multiple institutional logics.

The institutional logics perspective provides theory and method for understanding the institutional influences emanating from societal-level institutional orders that shape the action and interactions of organizations and individuals (Thornton, Jones, & Kury, 2005; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Institutional logics embody supraorganizational patterns of activity (Friedland & Alford, 1991) - belief systems and material practices that represent particular worldviews, valuable ends, and the appropriate means to achieve these ends. Early research on institutional logics focused on shifts in logics and its consequences (e.g. Christensen & Molin, 1995; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). More recently, as attention has shifted to understanding how organizations engage more pluralistic environments (e.g. Kraatz & Block 2008), scholars have begun to focus on the interactions between and mixing of institutional logics—*logics in action*.

For instance, Glynn and Lounsbury (2005) studied how the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra tried to increase attendance rates by blending their traditional aesthetic logic with a market logic when faced with growing resource constraints and a musicians' strike. Reay and Hinings (2009) investigated how a multiplicity of logics persisted and proposed that the interaction between logics is managed through collaborative relationships between field level actors. Battilana and Dorado (2010) explored how microfinance organizations aimed to hybridize development and banking logics in a way that created balance between the logics.

Yet, we still know relatively little about the intraorganizational dynamics involved in managing multiple institutional logics and how logics get blended as an outcome of an organization's response to institutional complexity (Greenwood et al, 2011; Pache and Santos, 2010). There have been several recent efforts to theorize these issues, setting the stage for systematic empirical inquiry. Greenwood et. al. (2011) provide a theoretical model to guide such analysis, and Pache and Santos (2010) elaborate on Oliver's (1991) theoretical typology to propose a general model of responses to conflicting institutional demands – provocatively suggesting that organizations respond to competing logics by selectively hybridizing logics in some practices but not others. This attention to the level of practice inside organizations is also focalized by Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012: 133-141). They outline an institutional logics approach to the dynamics of practices and identities in organizations that explores both the internal and external aspects of organizational behavior and practice (see also Jarzabkowski, 2005; Lounsbury, 2001; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Smets et al., 2012; Smets and Jarzabkowski, forthcoming).

We seek to extend these insights and calls by exploring how conflict between multiple logics may be addressed via the mechanism of bricolage. That is, we argue that when institutional complexity creates tangible pressures related to conflicting logics, organizational actors may act as 'bricoleurs'—a form of cultural entrepreneurship (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001) – to creatively combine elements from different logics into newly designed artifacts. This is in line with the more dynamic conceptualization of institutional logics (Thornton et. al., 2012: 57-61) that theorizes logics as partially autonomous and nearly decomposable—where categorical “Y-axis” elements of logics may be mixed to construct new hybrid practices and symbolic systems.

The concept of bricolage (Lévi-Strauss, 1962/66) has been increasingly adopted by researchers within organization studies (Duymedjian and Rüling, 2010; Boxenbaum

and Rouleau, 2011), but it is yet to be fully incorporated into the institutional logics perspective. The notion of bricolage refers to the way a “bricoleur” builds an artifact by using whatever is available, within a restricted environment, to get the job done. The “bricoleur” uses the remains and debris of events, fossilized evidence of the history of an individual or society, to construct something new—that is, for which the individual parts were not originally intended (Levi-Strauss, 1962/66). More recently, Baker and Nelson (2005) elaborate on the characteristics of bricolage. Based on their broad reading of multidisciplinary literature, they provide an integrative definition of bricolage as: “*making do by applying combinations of the resources at hand to new problems and opportunities*” (Baker and Nelson, 2005: 333). The result of bricolage is often a tangible artifact that has a unique configuration of symbolic and material properties.

The notion of bricolage is in line with more recent work at the interface of institutions and identity (i.e. Rao, Monin and Durand, 2005; Pedersen and Dobbin, 2006; Glynn and Abzug, 2002; Glynn, 2008) that emphasizes how organizations tend to be constructed by ‘bricks’ that are available in their institutional environment. This stream of research focuses on the way in which organizations are constituted by different institutionally derived elements or bricks that are then combined by a ‘bricoleur’ to create something that is both legitimate within a given institutional field, but at the same time can be assembled to foster organizational distinctiveness. For instance, Glynn (2008) suggests that organizational identity construction is a process of *institutional bricolage*, where organizational actors incorporate different cultural meanings, sentiments, rules and material artifacts into their identity claims and displays (Glynn, 2008).

Building on this line of work, we argue that at the core of institutional bricolage inside an organization are efforts to reconstitute an organization’s identity. We illustrate this

process through a case in which an organization created an important ‘boundary object’ - a flexible artifact that incorporated elements from several interacting social worlds (Bechky, 2003; Star and Griesemer, 1989). More specifically, we detail how a group of organizational actors in the headquarters of a global brewery firm created a ‘Guidebook’ that reflected a mixing of social responsibility and market logics as well as an effort to reconstitute organizational identity. In line with bricolage research on the production of novel artifacts, we trace the development of the Guidebook as a tangible artifact produced as a result of intra-organizational negotiations regarding the two logics and how they relate to the identity of the organization. We argue that intra-organizational institutional bricolage first requires the problematization of organizational identity followed by a social process involving the re-negotiation of an organization’s identity related to the logics being integrated. We show that in their efforts to reconstitute identity, a group of organizational actors creatively tinkered with and combined elements from the social responsibility and market logics, but to do so importantly drew upon extant organizational resources from different *times* and *spaces*.

We begin by reviewing the literature on bricolage, focusing on its conceptualization and use within institutionally-oriented scholarship. Then we explore the associations to research on organizational identity construction as well as the links between institutional logics and organizational identity. Thereafter, we situate our illustrative case study and briefly outline data collection and sources. We then explore the way in which conflicting institutional demands are experienced within a large international brewery, and describe the process through which a group of organizational actors within headquarters developed the Guidebook in their aspiration to bridge logics and reconstitute identity. We conclude with a discussion of the implications of our research for future scholarship.

## **INSTITUTIONAL BRICOLAGE AND IDENTITY RECONSTITUTION**

The concept of bricolage (Lévi-Strauss, 1962/66) has increasingly been adopted by researchers within organizational studies (e.g. Duymedjan and Rüliling, 2010; Boxenbaum and Rouleau, 2011). It has been applied within at least three areas: improvisation and sensemaking (e.g. Weick, 1998), entrepreneurship (e.g. Barker and Nelson, 2005) and to describe organizational identity construction (e.g. Dobbin and Strandgaard-Pedersen, 2006; see Duymedjan and Rüliling, 2010 for a thorough review of the concept of bricolage within management and organizational studies). By forwarding the notion of institutional bricolage, we mean to focus attention on the creation of new assemblages of institutional elements such as those associated with logics. The notion of bricolage refers to the way a “bricoleur” constructs an artifact by using whatever is available, within a restricted environment, to get the job done. The “bricoleur” creatively assembles new things by using the historical remains and debris of events or structures (Levi-Strauss, 1962/66). Schneiberg (2007:48) has referred to these as flotsam and jetsam – elements of alternative orders and abandoned or partly materialized institutional projects. From an institutional perspective, bricolage may be conceptualized as a mechanism related to institutional and organizational change where solutions to problems involve the recombination of available and accessible institutional elements (e.g., logics). The concept of bricolage is an appealing concept to institutionalists because of its innate roots in the idea of historical contingency and path dependence, portraying the nature of change and innovation as being evolutionary rather than revolutionary since novel artifacts embody remnants from the past (Douglas, 1986, 66-68; Borum and Westenholz, 1995; Campbell, 2004, 69; Schneiberg, 2007).

Over the past decade, bricolage has increasingly been used to describe the construction of organizations and organizational identities (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001; Strandgaard-Pedersen and Dobbin, 2006; Glynn, 2008). For instance, several studies have examined processes of identity reinterpretation via a kind of temporal bricolage (i.e. Gioia and Thomas, 1996; Ravasi and Schultz, 2006; Schultz and Hernes, 2012) that links past, present and future identities. Ravasi and Schultz (2006) illustrated how a Danish audiovisual manufacturer, Bang & Olufsen, revisited past cultures in response to different external identity threats during three different periods of identity reconstruction. Similarly, a recent study by Schultz and Hernes (2012) offers an ongoing temporal perspective on organizational identity and show how change and stabilization of identity arises from the work of organizational actors as they use the resources of the present to invoke and transform past organizational experience into ambitions for the future. Based on their longitudinal study of the toy manufacture, LEGO, they develop a conceptual framework where they focus on the influence of different memory forms: *textual*, *material* and *oral*. Their findings suggest that variations in use and combination of different memory forms influence the scope and depth of identity claims for the future, and that differences in time span were echoed in relation to the organization's past and future.

In a review of the literature at the interface of institutions and identity, Glynn (2008: 424) draws on Swidler (1986) to depict identity construction as a process of institutional bricolage where different cultural meanings, values and rules are incorporated into the organization's identity claims. One of her key points is that since organizations draw from the same pool of cultural elements and resources, they come to resemble one another; yet the way that organizations combine different cultural elements are at the same time relatively unique (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001). The distinctiveness of organizations and their identities stem from the fact that institutional elements are often assembled by actors in a way that is tailored to their specific

organizational context and associated cultural repertoires (Pedersen and Dobbin, 2006; Westenholtz, Pedersen and Dobbin, 2006; Glynn, 2008; Rindova, Dalpiaz and Ravasi, 2011). Further, when organizations are imprinted with several different institutional models, each of these represents both possibilities and constraints to entrepreneurial efforts towards change (Borum and Westenholtz, 1995). The intra-organizational process of assemblage, as we highlight in our paper, can therefore often involve conflict and negotiation, especially when the bricolage process involves multiple institutional logics.

As Friedland and Alford (1991) propose, there is no change without actors and there is no way to account for change without multiple institutional logics available to provide alternative meanings as the sources for change. They note that *‘under some conditions, they [actors] are artful in the mobilization of **different** institutional logics to serve their purposes’* (Friedland and Alford, 1991: 254). Their invocation of *‘artful’* closely resembles the spirit of bricolage, especially in relation to the Levi-Strauss idea of *‘making do’* by relying on the means that are available.

Since organizations often operate in complex environments, they typically have to respond and adapt to a multitude of institutional pressures. As a result, many organizations are comprised of a constellation of different institutionally derived elements. A good deal of recent work has focused on how organizational hybridity linked to multiple logics is achieved and managed (i.e. Battiliana and Dorado, 2010; Binder, 2007; Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Pache and Santos, 2010). For instance, in a study of commercial microfinance organizations, Battiliana and Dorado (2010) explore how social responsibility and banking logics can be successfully hybridized. Their findings show that organizations can sustain their hybridity if they develop a common organizational identity that strikes a balance between the logics that constitute the organization. Pache and Santos (2010) argue that hybridity might also occur at the



level of practice where manifestations of hybridized logics could co-exist alongside un-hybridized practices. One could imagine that this could be the case in commercially driven corporations that have CSR departments or non-profits seeking out a social goal that must be sustained via different commercially driven revenue-generating practices. This can be understood as a type of *compartmentalization* (Pratt and Foreman, 2000; Kraatz and Block, 2008) in which two (or more) important but antithetical identities (and logics) are maintained separately and operate relatively independent of each other. Such a separation, however, might become a focal point for scrutiny if organizational audiences find that there is an illegitimate decoupling of organizational practices. Of course, organizational identity is constantly made and remade as a result of intra-organizational dynamics as well as ongoing societal shifts (Navis and Glynn, 2010; Pedersen and Dobbin, 2006).

Since we argue that the process of institutional bricolage involves identity reconstitution, the problematization of the organizational identity by organizational members that perceive a threat or opportunity related to institutional complexity is a necessary trigger. While not focused on institutional complexity, there is a literature on how organizations defend or remake identity due to external threats (e.g. Dutton and Dukerich, 1991; Elsbach and Kramer, 1996; Ravasi and Schultz, 2006). For instance, Elsbach and Kramer's (1996) study of university responses to identity threats suggests that managers may strategically attempt to reinvent or rediscover organizational identity after periods of identity dissonance. Below we document how threats related to institutional complexity triggered efforts to reconstitute identity via institutional bricolage of logics, thus bridging disparate research streams on institutional logics, bricolage and organizational identity.

## THE SETTING

J.C. Jacobsen founded the Carlsberg brewery in 1847 and in 1876 he established the Carlsberg Foundation, which took ownership of the company after his death in 1886. Since then, Carlsberg has grown to be a large multi-national corporation, active in 150 markets, operating 85 breweries across 46 countries and employing 41.000 people. In recent years, Carlsberg has grown very aggressively through mergers and acquisitions; it has grown from being a local brewery to a regional one (started exporting in 1868 to Scotland) to, after the acquisition of Scottish & Newcastle in 2008<sup>18</sup>, being the fourth largest brewery group in the world.

In 2008, Carlsberg also signed the UN Global Compact to symbolize the beginning of a Carlsberg Group-wide commitment to corporate social responsibility (CSR). Since then, they have been formalizing their approach to CSR, formulating and implementing what they refer to as their ‘glocal approach’—emphasizing the balance between operating globally and locally in different CSR focus areas. This balance is especially challenging in a global brewery group comprised of a wide range of companies that have been united through mergers and acquisitions. The Corporate Communication department has been the driver of the CSR implementation although a separate functional subunit of CSR was installed in 2008 along with a CSR governance structure that was to underpin the implementation of CSR across the entire organization.

A number of CSR policies and guidelines have been developed in recent years, covering areas such as labor and human rights, business ethics, environment and marketing communication. In some of these areas, different organizational actors

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<sup>18</sup> The take-over was made together with Heineken and later the activities were split between the two.

involved in policy development are informed by different institutional logics. We study the role of competing institutional logics in Carlsberg's development of CSR by focusing on initiatives related to Responsible drinking (RD) —one of the most prominent focal points for CSR development within Carlsberg and across the brewery (and alcohol) industry. The concept of RD is commonly associated with activities aimed at preventing the misuse of alcohol (e.g. binge drinking, youth drinking, drunk driving). In the development of a new and more strategic group-wide approach to responsible drinking, a group of people at Carlsberg headquarters engaged in what we consider to be institutional bricolage as they combined elements of different logics to construct a '*responsible drinking Guide Book*'. This book was intended to forge a linkage between the communication and CSR employees, who are advocates of a social responsibility logic, and the marketing and sales people who are primarily carriers of a market logic, thus providing an overarching corporate approach to responsible drinking. Consequently, embracing the RD concept entails that organizational actors find ways to manage the inherent institutional complexities (i.e., multiple institutional logics) related to the issue.

Table 8.1 provides a comparative overview of the market and social responsibility logics as they are manifest in Carlsberg Group's headquarters. In daily operation and practice, Carlsberg Group is dominated by a '*market logic*', characterized by profit maximization and a set of overarching goals that are pursued via classic textbook focus areas such as marketing, brand building, return on investment, management control, market expansion, global standardization and economies of scale. This list reflects the very dominant and broad societal logic of the market (in contemporary western society) as theorized by Friedland and Alford (1991). The Group's ambition to be '*the fastest growing global beer company*' is a vision and a strategy that dominates and is very present in the daily operations at headquarters. The rules for achievement are to increase market share and operational efficiency; this is especially evident in the

Group’s current efforts to centralize and optimize their supply chain. As some interviewees noted, the company is increasingly moving towards a ‘FMCG model’ (fast moving consumer goods).

**TABLE 8.1**  
**Comparative overview of the logics represented in the RD project\***

	<b>Social responsibility logic</b>	<b>Market logic</b>
Belief systems (what goals are pursued within the field)	Live up to ethical responsibility toward stakeholders/society	Build competitive position Increase profits
Focus	Stakeholder relation Environmental impact Societal concerns i.e. health issues and public opinion in general	Return on investment Brand positioning Global standardization
Rules for achievement	Live up to ethical standards	Efficiency Increased market share Clear positioning
Associated Practices (means for pursuing the goals and values)	Not encourage more than moderate drinking	Sell the beer, as much possible, no matter what it takes
	Contributing to minimizing the downsides of the product	Run campaigns that get the products sold and claim distinction
	Encouraging and helping consumers with public transportation to and from concerts	Invent new products that satisfy consumers needs for alcohol/beer products – “getting drunk”

In contradistinction to the market logic, the issues surrounding Responsible Drinking invoke a *social responsibility logic*—a belief system focused on caring about how an organization’s practices impact broader society. A socially responsible brewery, for instance, might work hard to try to minimize societal problems related to the use of their products. This may lead to educational and marketing campaigns that aim to encourage people to drink in moderation or even not to drink in specific contexts such

as when pregnant or driving. Concrete efforts in Carlsberg include initiatives to prevent underage drinking at concerts they sponsor, and/or to provide free water to encourage consumers to supplement their alcohol intake. However, the market and social responsibility logics often come into conflict since such “responsibility” initiatives often come at the cost of restricting efforts to maximize profits and shareholder value.

Carlsberg Group is best understood as a late adopter of corporate social responsibility, as they did not create their global CSR organization until 2008—well after most other major global brewers created CSR initiatives. While the social responsibility logic does not yet have an overtly strong influence on Carlsberg organizational practice given that its embrace is so recent, when visiting the corporate headquarters in Carlsberg City, it is evident that there is a strong symbolic and material imprinting of the philanthropic founder.<sup>19</sup> Carlsberg has always had a strong philanthropic heritage—the founder J.C. Jacobsen (1811-1887) actively gave to the arts and science, in addition to running his own laboratory where clean yeast was first invented and shared with the rest of the brewing community. He also donated to the city of Copenhagen its first fire engine after his own brewery burned down in 1867. Further, he established the Natural History Museum of Denmark and the Botanical Garden in Copenhagen.<sup>20</sup> Lastly, he set up the first foundation in the world to have ownership of a company – the Carlsberg Foundation (1876). The foundation still owns 25 percent of MNC Carlsberg Group today and runs the Carlsberg Laboratory (focused on research in Chemistry and

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<sup>19</sup> In April 2012 the Carlsberg City was sold for 2.5 billion Danish kroner, around 400 million U.S. dollar, to a consortium (including Carlsberg who remain a 25 percent ownership). A new neighborhood in Copenhagen is to be developed in the area with around 3000 new accommodations in different price ranges. A number of the historical buildings on the site are not part of the disposal and will remain the property of Carlsberg Group.

<sup>20</sup> The Botanical Garden is the largest collection of living plants in Denmark a collection that is used for research, teaching and public information.

Physiology) where all scientific advancements must be shared according to founder's original charter. In addition, the Carlsberg Foundation supports fundamental research in Denmark within the social sciences, humanities and natural sciences.

The Carlsberg Group headquarters is located in the old Carlsberg City in Copenhagen where brewing used to take place (today the operating brewery in Denmark is in Frederica), where the old home of the founder still stands, and where there is a company museum, the Carlsberg archives and the Carlsberg Laboratory. Hence, the logic of social responsibility is available and accessible to the people working at headquarters. Most employees will at least at one point during the day see an artifact symbolizing the founder and or the foundation. Indeed, many of the interviewees actually mentioned the importance of "social heritage" explicitly during interviews:

*'At headquarters, we often discuss that CSR is part of our heritage, and that there is almost like a red thread leading back to our founders, that they acted as socially responsible citizens before the CSR term was invented, of course in a more traditional and philanthropic way. When the company was doing great, then the society should feel it too, leading to a close interaction with the community. Further, part of the overhead was donated to society via the Carlsberg Foundations. It was clear for me when I was hired in to Carlsberg [in 2004], that 'Oh wow, there are so many practices in our history that points to the possibility of CSR once again becoming an important part of the way we do business, but as it was, CSR was not at all part of the Group's strategic agenda.'*

(Top executive within communication, 2011)

Towards the end of the 90s, brewers became aware of a new form of scrutiny within and across Europe - it revolved around the fact that brewers and other alcohol producers were seen to be at the core of one of society's main health challenges. Beer and alcohol were seen to be particularly problematic in relation to young people. Some industry stakeholders thought that the alcohol industry was targeting its products towards young people as well as pushing boundaries in their commercial

communication (e.g. by making provocative advertisements with sexual images to distinguish their products). The industry was criticized for setting aside societal considerations in the pursuit of market share, wanting to sell the product no matter what the social implications might be for broader society. Consequently, the alcohol and brewery industry came under attack, and health organizations such as the World Health Organization amplified the push for more regulation and higher taxation.

Consequently, brewers experienced increased restrictions on their advertising across Europe, as well as higher tax and duty rates. In countries like Finland, the taxation on beer is 60-80%, and in 2010 Russia experienced a 200% beer duty increase due to a change in the categorization of beer as an alcohol (Carlsberg Group, 2010; Panimoliitto<sup>21</sup>, 2010; Brewers of Europe, 2010). Further, in some European markets, advertising of alcohol is prohibited in all media while other markets impose restrictions on television commercials and billboards.

These institutional changes have spurred different responses across the brewery community, and in Carlsberg Group, people within corporate communications and public affairs were the first to react to such shifts in the political environment. Communication department employees started by framing these changes as something that should be of concern to the organization and that a behavioral change would have to be made if the company wanted to ‘*maintain its commercial platform*’ or have a ‘*license to operate*’ long term. By the mid 2000s, industry associations such as the Brewers of Europe indicated that inappropriate marketing activities were the main cause for the change in public perception. They argued that people marketing beer had been too shortsighted and irresponsible in their eagerness to sell the product. Thus, marketers were framed as the culprits, or at least accomplices, and the ones that needed

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<sup>21</sup> ‘Panimoliitto’ is the Finish Federation of the Brewing and Soft Drinks Industry.

to change behavior and make sure they did not urge any inappropriate use of beer in their marketing communications.

Correspondingly, some Carlsberg employees also expressed the view that sales and marketing people did not understand their own role in fomenting increased regulatory attention and pressure to change. Instead of radically altering their established practices, they invented new tactical operating procedures—for example, they categorized different markets into *grey* and *dark* markets<sup>22</sup> to indicate the level of regulation in different markets, and created manuals and guidelines for operating in these regulated markets. On more than one occasion, people involved with the implementation of social responsibility in the Sales and Marketing department expressed that the challenge and the root of the problem was that: *‘the accountability for the long term maintenance of our marketing platform does not lie in Marketing, it is not there today!’* (Manager within communications, 2011). The identified problem was that marketing did not take ownership because they considered it to be irrelevant in relation to their goals and objectives, which are thoroughly rooted in a market logic. Instead they wittily re-labeled the CSR unit the *‘de-sales department’* thereby signifying that the goal when implementing CSR is not only irrelevant to the people within marketing and sales, but actually in direct conflict with the market logic. This is the conflict which CSR advocates attempted to overcome via the development of a responsible drinking Guide Book.

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<sup>22</sup> Dark markets are considered to have high regulations or total prohibition leaving little to no room for marketing communication e.g. no outdoor promotion or TV promotion. In *gray* markets there is some legislation and restrictions e.g. TV ads after 9 p.m. or no humans in commercial promotion of alcohol.



### *Data Collection*

The case that we use to illustrate our theoretical argument and conceptualization of institutional bricolage and identity reconstitution is extracted from a larger ongoing inductive study of institutional complexity and logic combination efforts within the Carlsberg Group. The first author has been collecting data *real time* in the organization since 2010, both at headquarters and in local subsidiaries<sup>23</sup> to investigate how organizational actors proceed in a situation where noticeably distinct institutional logics interact and are combined into a new constellation.

In Carlsberg's conceptualization of responsible drinking the organizational actors deal with different logics and the controversy and immediacy of Responsible Drinking (RD) to Carlsberg Group's product, beer, is intrinsic and closely linked to the legitimacy of the organization. In headquarters, the development of a concrete artifact has been followed – the development of the 'Responsible Drinking Guide Book' – that has been initiated to instigate change in organizational identity and behavior. Firstly, the Guide Book is meant to inspire cross functional collaboration or '*alignment*' between the marketing, sales, communication and public affairs departments. Secondly, the aim is to influence the organizational structure and make 'social responsibility' a more ingrained part of Carlsberg Group's organizational identity and practice. In the present article we use elements of this ongoing research project for illustrative purposes.

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<sup>23</sup> The data collection is still ongoing. Data collected in local subsidiaries has not been included directly in this paper.

## *Data Sources*

The Guide Book has been under development since September 2010 and was finalized in June 2011 in a 1.0 version. The following data sources have informed the case writing: 13 interviews with key RD stakeholders, the Responsible Drinking Guide Book at different stages of development, over 150 pages of organizational/industry documents and artifacts, as well as 25 hours of observations of meetings and presentations and 11 planning and feedback meetings with the organization.<sup>24</sup> The *interviews* were conducted on the topic of CSR in Carlsberg, the RD project, CSR policies, and meetings on RD that had been observed. The informants were selected based on their association with the area of RD as important input givers and/or decision makers. The informants were managers within the Communications, CSR and Marketing departments. *Organizational documents* have been collected from the time of establishment of the CSR department in 2008 up until 2012. The documents include all CSR policies and guidelines, presentations of the CSR department, including those related to strategy and competitor analysis that had been made for the Carlsberg Group executive committee (from 2008 until 2010) as well as more specific documents related to RD and the development process (e.g. materials from industry associations and subsidiaries) The documents contributed to a greater understanding of Carlsberg, its history, the organizational actors, the RD project and its methods and aims.

The first author also attended seven meetings at global headquarters regarding the development of the 'RD Guide book' in the period from December 2010 until May 2011. The meetings provided valuable information about the RD project process, organizational stakeholders, organizational structure, past events and practices,

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<sup>24</sup> These meetings also included discussions about the data collection and the findings from subsidiaries.

strategies for implementation, and upcoming events. Eleven feedback meetings with the organization were conducted over the course of the research process, both with people from within the CSR unit, but also with members of the executive committee. Lastly, the first author also attended senior management presentations made in relation to the global re-launch of the Carlsberg brand in 2011 as well as public presentations made at Copenhagen Business School. Together, these sources have given great insight into the different logics represented within the RD project and the organizational actors engaging in a process of institutional bricolage to get people *'on board'*.

**INSTITUTIONAL BRICOLAGE:  
BRIDGING LOGICS AND RECONSTITUTING IDENTITY  
INSIDE AN ORGANIZATION**

We conceptualize the construction of the Responsible Drinking Guide Book<sup>25</sup> via logic bridging as a kind of bricolage process, and aim to illustrate different mechanisms related to what we label institutional bricolage. We begin by outlining the outcome of the process—the RD Guide Book and show that it is an assembly of bits and pieces from two different logics that have been brought together to create an altered balance between the two logics. The Guide Book may be understood as a kind of ‘boundary object’ (Star and Greisemer, 1989, Bechky, 2003), an artifact that combines the social responsibility and market logics by integrating elements from the past and present, as well as from different geographical places.

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<sup>25</sup> The RD Guide Book consists of the documents: ‘The RD Guide Book’, ‘Why to do RD’, ‘How to do PR’ as well as, 4 schemas to be used before and after planning a RD initiative: ‘PR Campaign Mandate’, ‘PR Campaign Media Outreach Checklist’, ‘PR Campaign Servicing Media Checklist’ and ‘PR evaluation Scheme’

At the core of our argument is that institutional bricolage inside an organization fundamentally involves the reconstitution of identity. Greenwood et. al. (2011) conceptualized organizational identity as a filter that shapes how organizations react to institutional complexity, but we believe that acts of combining logics often involve efforts to alter core aspects of an organization's identity. In our case, we emphasize how institutional bricolage may involve recovering aspects of the history of the organization to give tangible life to a marginalized or latent logic (the social responsibility logic in our case), and to engender a conversation about organizational identity. Schultz and Hernes (2012) argue that the past is often evoked in processes of identity reconstruction as well as the articulation of claims for future identity. We argue that the construction of the Guide Book and the artifact itself involve these fundamental processes.

The case of the development of a guidebook illustrate that institutional bricolage requires that actors within the organization mobilize to successfully frame key strategic issues related to marginalized logics as fundamentally related to organizational identity, and to persuasively convince others of the importance of the melding logics. In our case, the market logic was dominant, and our efforts focus on how actors inside the organization tried to convince a broader array of actors of the importance of the more marginalized social responsibility logic by emphasizing its rootedness in the identity of the organization across time and space.

### *The Responsible Drinking Guide Book*

Fieldwork indicated that the communication and CSR people at headquarters were intent on making the RD Guide Book function as a *boundary object* (Star and Griesemer, 1989; Bechky, 2003) that would be a centerpiece in redefining

organizational identity, enabling interaction across different organizational divisions and geographically dispersed subsidiaries. The Guide Book was constructed to provide a rationale to encourage marketing people and senior management across the organization to effectively and in a coordinated way engage in responsible drinking (RD) initiatives:

***'Aligning RD with sales & marketing process [headline]***

*Performing Responsible Drinking initiatives often requires input from different functions within the local company. It is recommended that alignment is created across Marketing & Sales, Communications, External Affairs, CSR and PR. When you are considering doing large scale Responsible Drinking initiatives you may even want to consider setting up a cross-functional task force to drive them.'*

(RD Guide Book, 2011:9)

Through the Guide Book construction process, different cross-functional resources were combined, consisting of a mix of locally constituted elements as well as those drawn from wider discourses. The organizational elements included both resources from headquarters and subsidiaries as well as elements representing the organizational past and present. An overview of these elements is provided in table 8.2. The first two columns portray the presence of the two logics while the third column illustrates instances where the two logics are combined. The third row also include elements of time and space, two features that were activated to enable institutional bricolage and the reconstitution of the organizational identity – 'who we are' and 'what we do', essentially producing an organization wide commitment to the RD issue.

**TABLE 8.2**  
**Exemplary overview of the elements united in the RD Guide Book**

	<b>Social responsibility logic</b>	<b>Market logic</b>	<b>Combined</b>
Arguments	Engage in the solving societal challenges in relation to alcohol	Maintain product legitimacy - avoid stigmatization, risk avoidance (costs) Increase or maintain market shares	<i>'The purpose of Responsible Drinking initiatives is primarily to do something good for the benefit of consumers and society, and secondarily to build the reputation of our business and our brands'</i>  Drawing on heritage and local best practices from key markets in the different regions: Northern & Western Europe, eastern Europe and Asia ( <i>time and space</i> )
Layout		Modeled after GSMI ( Group Sales, Marketing & Innovation) process for doing projects	Unification of past and present ( <i>time</i> ) Elephants signifies HQ ( <i>space</i> )
Concepts	Responsible Drinking - Drink driving, underage drinking ect.	SWOT analysis, KPI's, ROI, brand building, evaluating performance	Drink in moderation ( <i>time – future</i> )

<p>Pictures</p> <p>Positive pictures signifying the concept of RD</p> <p>Elephant gate signifies the philanthropic heritage</p>	<p>The brands (corporate of product) visibility in the RD communication – the linkage to brand building</p>	<p>Pictures from RD campaigns and events where the local units have executed RD campaigns with a social and commercial impact</p> <p>Elephant gate signifies heritage and headquarter (<i>time and space</i>)</p> <p>Campaign pictures signify the subunits (<i>space</i>)</p>
<p>Organizational members</p>	<p>Marketing and Sales</p>	<p>Alignment across functions and/or Cross-functional task forces</p> <p>Guide future interaction and ‘alignment’ of practices (<i>time and space</i>)</p>
<p>Cases</p>	<p>Improved reputation</p>	<p>Brand building and social impact</p> <p>Current practices within the represented subunits and competitors (global industry collection) - ‘best practices’ (space and time)</p>

*Social responsibility logic.* In the Guide Book, the social responsibility logic informs the overarching argument that the local subsidiaries should engage in solving societal challenges in relation to alcohol. It also signals that the RD Guide Book is the authorized Carlsberg Group tool to engage with societal level issues. In other words, the Guide Book presents the official Group response to a challenge that the CSR unit in headquarters considers to be widespread in societies in which the Group operates. This argument is supported by the introduction of four areas that are considered to be standard in relation to preventive alcohol action: ‘drunk driving’, ‘under-age drinking’, ‘binge drinking’ and ‘moderate consumption’. These areas reflect the societal problems related to beer and alcohol consumption that have been constituted and conceptualized in a wider alcohol industry context, for example through debates in local and regional industry associations e.g. British Beer and Pubs Association, the Portman Group (a UK alcohol CSR advocate and consultancy), and Brewers of Europe. Hence the four areas are presented as generic and fairly standardized RD focus areas applied across the industry, which in and of itself signifies ‘that the alcohol prevention program works’ and again authorizes the overall Guide Book initiative.

The pictures in the book signify that RD has a positive impact. This impact is especially evident in relation to the case examples used. The case examples have been collected from a range of local subsidiaries; they have been carefully selected in view of their reflections of local experience with RD, their size in the Carlsberg portfolio and their relationship to headquarters. Many cases illustrate instances where local subsidiaries have engaged in creating a solution to the issue of RD—for example, providing transportation to and from concerts to prevent drunk driving or what they call ‘Drink Driving’.



*Market logic.* In the Guide Book, the market logic informs the argument that RD will enable the organization to maintain product legitimacy while limiting the stigmatization of beer as a product category (Vergne, 2012). The line of argument was primarily posed within the organization as a threat or a risk, but also as something that could be turned into an organizational opportunity if the local RD initiators '*align with the sales & marketing process*' (p. 10) by finding synergies with the tools and approaches that sales and marketing staff use in their interaction with consumers. The importance of this 'alignment' with sales and marketing is also supported in the layout of the Guide Book which is modeled after the official sales and marketing communication material sent to subsidiaries—the latest iteration branded as the 'Group Way'. The 'Group Way' concept was developed to spread ideas, tools and best practice across the group to create more consistency and efficiency in daily operations. Five stages are singled out: '*Opportunity identification*', '*Strategise*', '*Plan*', '*Execute*' and '*Evaluate*'; the Guide Book is structured accordingly. In addition, the Guide Book contains different generic marketing concepts such as a SWOT analysis, key performance indicators, return on investment and brand building. Pictures similarly illustrate a product brand dimension, and it is suggested that the visibility of RD communications can contribute to brand building and improved image for the company and its products.

Overall, the role of the Guide Book is to provide tangible and strategic organization-wide communication directives for staff in subsidiary units. It is emphasized throughout that the message should be kept positive! For instance, this point is clearly emphasized in a fact-box in the Guide Book:

*IMPORTANT: Avoid “negative” key messages (e.g. “don’t binge drink”). The risk is that your initiative becomes associated with the problem (e.g. “beer causes unsafe roads”) rather than offering solutions to consumers and to the general public (e.g. “beer provides safe transport back home from happy evenings out”).*

(RD Guide Book: 17)

This extract illustrates the conscious effort to create frames that combine RD and Carlsberg beer in a way that supports a renewed branding effort. It is not only about doing ‘good’, but also about seizing the opportunity to promote the company and/or the product brand. In a similar vein, the Guide Book strategically avoids related topics such as drinking during ‘pregnancy’:

*‘You may also have seen some stakeholders mentioning “pregnancy” as a subject of Responsible Drinking. However, since “pregnancy” is best addressed through brewers associations or even better, social aspects organisations, it is been given less attention in this booklet (sic)’*

Thus, our case of institutional bricolage of the social responsibility and market logics became highly strategic – social elements that were considered to be irrelevant or too risky in relation to the company’s market goals were edited out of the RD Guide Book. While the Guide Book project aimed to bridge logics, it is also clear that it required a committed effort on the part of social responsibility advocates since Carlsberg still prioritized profits over social welfare. Alongside the framing of the RD issue as being ‘aligned’ with the market logic described above, Guide Book development also entailed a subtle framing of RD as being an issue of significance to the organization’s identity – ‘what we do determines who we are’. The claim that is put forward in the Guide Book is that social responsibility is not something new; it is actually an ingrained element in our heritage (historical and material) and ‘who we ARE’. In this way, time and space elements become resources in support of the overall agenda to combine different logics and convey to the recipient that the social responsibility logic should be a more salient component of a reconstituted organizational identity.

For instance, when entering Carlsberg City, one goes through the main gate: the elephant gate, the most famous building at the Carlsberg site, which symbolizes the founder and his commitment to brewing and society. Above the gate is the founders motto: ‘*laboremus pro patria*’ – let us work for our country. Thus, for organizational actors in headquarters, the organization’s heritage is present symbolically as well as substantively in the buildings and materials that surround their workplace. These images were prominent in the RD Guide Book which has the elephant gate on the front page and at least five elephants included in the layout as ‘place holders’ (see Figure 8.1). Hence, the elephant was used to frame the message and create the argument that ‘social responsibility’ is not something new, it *is already* part of ‘who we are’.

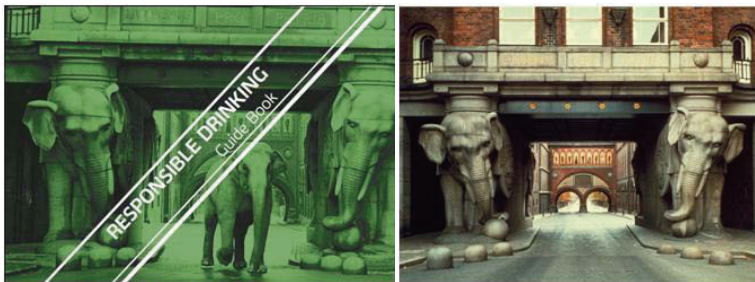


FIGURE 8.1: *The front page of the Responsible Drinking Guide Book (left) and a ‘clean’ picture of the elephant gate (right).*

Nonetheless, fieldwork indicated that the organizational members working on the RD Guide Book in headquarters experienced a rather close and perhaps unquestioned tie to the social responsibility logic, yet the market logic remained dominant. The whole book and its supplement was framed as an argument for the ‘*business case of responsible drinking*’ and the Guide Book was consistently discussed by sales and marketing personnel in terms of related initiatives such as the ‘Group Way’. Thus, the

Guide Book was importantly shaped to fit into the sales and marketing toolkit; the aim was that the Guide Book would become an integrated part of the communications that subsidiaries receive from headquarters.

### *The Process of Institutional Bricolage*

Below, we describe the process of institutional bricolage—the bridging of market and social responsibility logics inside Carlsberg. Our focus is on institutional bricolage inside an organization, although we acknowledge the role of external influences and the dynamic relationship and mutually constitutive nature of intra- and extra-organizational processes. We argue that at the core of intra-organizational institutional bricolage are efforts by actors to reconstitute organizational identity in ways they assume to be most appropriate or that support their own interests (Borum and Westenholz, 1995). This process first requires the problematization of organizational identity followed by a negotiated social process of transforming an organization's identity to reflect the bridging of logics. In the case of Carlsberg, we highlight how marginalized actors (in the communications and CSR departments) attempt to reconstitute organizational identity to account for their interests (social responsibility) by redefining brand image and developing a new integrated, firm-wide communications platform—the Guide Book plays a key role in relation to both.

#### *Triggering Institutional Bricolage: Problematizing Organizational Identity*

As in most organizational change efforts, a trigger is required—some sort of problematization of the current state of affairs, and the emergence of leaders who propose solutions. What is different here is that when external logics threaten the

dominant logic of a firm, the problematization of organizational identity is typically required. This problematization results from complicated internal negotiation processes that center around how to bridge or find a settlement between the dominant and insurgent logics. The Carlsberg CSR department has a broad agenda of changing extant organizational practices and identity to become more socially responsible. In many of the targeted areas they work with (e.g., labor and environment), their goals and aims are compatible with the dominant market logic; in fact, using less energy or water to produce beer, often may lead to reductions in expenditures. However, in relation to the area of responsible drinking (RD), the contradictions between the market and the social responsibility logics are vivid; selling as much as possible to increase market share (market logic) while not encouraging excessive drinking (social responsibility logic) is especially challenging since the target audience includes young people just above the legal drinking age (varying across the product portfolio).

Not surprisingly, however, organizational actors informed by the social responsibility logic are a minority within the organization. In relation to the specific area of RD, marketing employees are generally resistant to social responsibility ideas and practices—for instance, they pejoratively labeled of the CSR unit as the '*de-sales department*'. This led to overt conflict and frustration on the part of activist-employees in the CSR unit who believed that there were latent links between the two logics that could be exploited. Of course, they were also painfully aware that their interests were marginalized in the organization. Thus, CSR unit employees faced a situation common to other intra-organizational activists (e.g., see Creed and Scully 2000 on gay and lesbian employees), often requiring astute efforts of tempered radicals (Scully and Meyerson, 1995) to foment change.

In order to convince organizational audiences (e.g., top management) that the social responsibility and market logics could be bridged, the CSR unit drew upon wider

efforts across the brewing industry as evidence that Carlsberg's closest competitors (e.g., ABInbev, Heineken, and SABMiller) were all engaged in such efforts already and that Carlsberg was a laggard. In a sense, the CSR unit argued that there was a "legitimacy imperative" —RD simply was *'a given'* in the industry. For instance, a typical argument made internally by advocates of logic bridging was that:

*'You cannot be a brewer, selling an alcohol product without working with responsible drinking , you have to do it. You can not be a brand company like ours that sell alcohol products to young people, without having a marketing policy that addresses how to act responsibly in the commercial arena, that is a given. Otherwise you might risk loosing your license to operate. '*

(Top executive within communication, 2011)

The emerging perception of Carlsberg Group as lagging behind in this area became increasingly problematic for organizational actors. In many ways, the socially responsible aspect of Carlsberg's organizational identity was to some degree *compartmentalized* (Pratt and Foreman, 2000; Kraatz and Block, 2008) in the Carlsberg Foundation; social responsibility apparently had little impact on day to day practice. In addition, pressure for an RD approach from subsidiary units began to mount. Many of the subsidiary companies had been working with the concept on a local scale individually and through industry associations, and they began making inquiries about a more strategic group way of approaching RD. As the project manager later expressed: *'Today we are just sitting there and [re-]inventing the wheel all the time'* (RD project manager, 2011). Further, the idea of moving towards a more global approach to RD coheres with other simultaneous agendas within the group such as the centralization of various parts of the supply chain and the initiative to unite the entire organization under a common corporate brand.

### *Institutional Bricolage and the Reconstitution of Organizational Identity*

The notion of bricolage is often invoked to conceptualize how a particular actor or entrepreneur brings different elements together to create something novel. However, in the case of intra-organizational institutional bricolage, it is necessarily a group process that requires negotiation among a variety of actors. That is, institutional bricolage must be understood as a social process where actors create a ‘solution’ to a problem related to conflicting logics by ‘combining’ existing elements from more than one extant logic to guide future behavior and practice—thus reconstituting organizational identity (Schultz and Hernes, 2012). However, it cannot be a group of actors working in solitude or isolation. They must interact and debate with different members across the organization. In our case, the bricoleurs are all organizational actors who actively take part in constructing a response to institutional complexity and who are intent on redefining Carlsberg’s identity in a way that blends social responsibility and market logics. As a result, bricoleurs had to develop an understanding of, and navigate, different logics, as well as enroll other key actors who were committed (wittingly or unwittingly) to one logic or another as this extract from the project manager early in the development process clearly articulates:

*‘I can’t change the world on my own just by standing on a beer crate telling the glad tidings. There need to be others who also address this [responsible drinking] in their own words, and in their own way, who also have this as a conviction, and as a value, and as a goal. So every time we succeed in getting someone like Camilla [(pseudonym) manager in Group Sales, Marketing and Innovation] to say: ‘this is something that I want to work with and for’, we are one step closer to the goal.’*

(RD project manager, 2011)

The constellation of bricoleurs may even change during the process as the direction and the outcome start to crystallize. In the case of Carlsberg, the initial part of the development process was dominated by actors who were primarily influenced by, or

embedded in, the social responsibility logic while latter parts of the process involved actors associated with both logics. The key element in this regard is that the constellation of bricoleurs represent the different logics that are being ‘put together’, and it is through their dynamic social interactions and negotiations that institutional logics get combined in one way rather than another.

Although the group of bricolours may be dynamic, there may still be a few bricoleurs who are active throughout the process, adding some level of continuity to the overall process. At Carlsberg, the hiring of a best practice manager, the RD project manager [lead bricoleur], marked the beginning of the development of the new RD strategy. The RD project manager had been working for a hard liquor company, which has distinguished itself within the alcohol industry by successfully linking responsible drinking and corporate branding. The spirits company had had a global campaign urging people to ‘enjoy their brands responsibly’, with the corporate brand as the sender of the message. Duymedjian and Rüling (2010: 148) proposed that the *‘manager-bricolour holds intimate knowledge of the human, material and symbolic resources of their organization’*, but Carlsberg’s lead bricoleur had intimate knowledge of a specialized area or problem with which the organization needed to deal. However, he did not have an intimate knowledge of the organization instead he relied on other bricoleurs and their knowledge of the organization, and constantly interacted with different organizational members across headquarters to get a sense of the latent connections (Duymedjian and Rüling, 2010) between the two logics.

**‘Making do’: Reforming Brand Image.** In the current literature, ‘Making do’ (Lévi- Strauss, 1962) is understood to imply that bricoleurs are more prone to act and actively engage in addressing problems or seizing opportunities rather than deliberating about whether the resources at hand can create a workable outcome



(Barker and Nelson, 2005:334). This implies a more dynamic and interactive creative process and an outcome that relies on prior approaches and artifacts (Garud and Karnøe, 2003) as well as existing practices. In our case, the process of figuring out how to respond to RD, and negotiate between market and social responsibility logics led to a coupling of RD efforts to broader issues related to brand image. This was also necessitated by the fact that the response to RD and the development of the Guide Book became animated by broader efforts to reconstitute the identity of the organization as a whole.

The resources put aside for the Group's responsible drinking initiative were at first very limited. In the hiring process, while looking for the right candidate to lead the responsible drinking project, Carlsberg strategically reviewed the future challenges of their business. Through this review process, the senior management of the group came to realize that they had a large challenge in relation to the image of beer as a category, a tendency that they saw in Northern and Western Europe and emerging in Eastern Europe as well. From their market statistics, they could see a change; previously, beer was understood to be a good wholesome product, but today young people consider hard liquor to be more 'cool', while mature males tend to change their preference to wine as they get older. The senior management decided that they had to revitalize the image of beer. They discerned that the image of beer needed to consist of a range of aspects including social responsibility. At this point, there were limited resources to deal with the image issue, therefore management decided to upgrade the 'Responsible Drinking' position in the CSR department to include a wider business development scope, the ultimate aim being to improve the image of beer. Hence, the idea of RD and the very development of the RD Guide Book were imagined as a component of a larger project of transforming the image of beer.

Case examples and practices from around the organization were applied as ‘evidence’ that RD can be done. Part of the work of collecting the cases had already been undertaken earlier by one of the associate bricoleurs as it was noted ‘*his drawer is full of cases*’. These cases had been collected in relation to an earlier development of a ‘marketing communication policy’ and a guidebook intended for the same audience - marketers within and across the group. Importantly for research on bricolage, “making do” in the context of institutional bricolage involves the pursuit of ‘new’ (in the given context) or unorthodox ideas (see also Barker and Nelson, 2005:357).

**Co-Shaping: Uniting the Organization.** The element of bricolage that has been adopted most widely is the idea of combining resources for new purposes (e.g. Weick, 1998; Strandgaard-Pedersen and Dobbin, 2006; Boxenbaum and Rouleau, 2011). Building on this work, we have emphasized that institutional bricolage importantly involves the reconstitution of organizational identity. In the Guide Book development process, the organizational actors at headquarters combined existing resources in two distinct ways: By combining cross-functional resources, models and agendas that represent the two distinct logics and by drawing on the existing practices of subunits. As the efforts unfolded, interactions across the organization proved crucial not only to the Guide Book development but also, perhaps more importantly, as a key resource activated by the bricoleurs in their attempt to reconstitute organizational identity. After all, the transformation of organizational identity requires the building of solidarity and commitment to new ideas and practices throughout an organization.

As the Guide Book developed, organizational actors carefully reviewed existing organizational practices within the area of RD. In this process, they relied heavily on interaction with local CSR-champions across different subunits to provide concrete examples of RD initiatives. Some local subsidiaries provided information and

examples for a 'best practice catalogue', one of the Guide Book's supporting documents. They provided background information on RD practices, details of the actual initiatives, their impact, as well as contact information of the people with experience in carrying out RD in practice. Further, regional communication and CSR managers were asked to comment and provide feedback on the Guide Book based on their local experience and knowledge.

Consequently, the construction of the RD Guide Book needs to be understood in the context in which it was created. Carlsberg Group has been growing rapidly over the last ten years, and the idea of reaching some level of integration across subunits had become a major priority for the company. Thus, the involvement of regional communication managers and subunits in the development of the Guide Book was thought of as a way to establish, maintain and substantiate the relationship between headquarters and subunits. In this regard, existing local practices were gathered and 'objectified' (Czarniawska and Joerges, 1996) so that they could travel within and across the group and materialize in new practices. Thus, consideration and inclusion of local practices served two purposes: To sustain the linkage between headquarters and subunits as well as to serve as an argument and an illustration of 'who we are' by virtue of what we do.

The idea of *co-shaping* is closely linked to the aforementioned 'combination of resources for new purposes'; still they differ because co-shaping is not just a question of combining different resources. What defines co-shaping is that actors with different interests are involved in the actual development process, which means that the outcome may be more legitimate within the different represented logics (Garud and Karnøe, 2003). In a comparative study of the creation of wind turbines in Denmark and USA, Garud and Karnøe (2003) deduce that bricolage is a form of entrepreneurship

that is emergent and allows for a mutual *co-shaping* of, in their case, technology. Bricolage is therefore understood as a: ‘...*process of moving ahead on the basis of inputs of actors who possess local knowledge, but through their interactions, are able to gradually transform emerging paths to higher degrees of functionality*’ (2003:296). Their point is that the shaping of the process and the outcome occurred at several interaction points between different interest groups (e.g., floor workers, designers and policymakers). Garud and Karnøe (2003) note that entrepreneurship through a bricolage process may be particularly relevant in situations where there is complex and non-linear dynamics between the different actors, artifacts and rules. Their study thus suggests that the concept of bricolage may be particularly helpful in the study of institutional complexity.

While meeting and negotiating, organizational actors were able to find some common ground in the perceived threat to the legitimacy of the organization related to the theme of alcohol abuse and in the social responsibility logic as an important historical aspect of organizational identity. However, they brought different understandings of the RD problem to the negotiations. The marketing employees saw ‘responsible drinking’ as a problem of risk avoidance. This problem was evident in a discussion during a meeting: ‘*what mindset do we enter with? do we see this as de-sales, new opportunities to gain a competitive advantage?*’ (Observation notes, 2010). The sales and marketing representative at the meeting was very skeptical at the beginning of the meeting and said: ‘*I don’t think that it [RD] can be sectioned out like that, it cannot be used as marketing, everybody is doing it [...]. There are some consequences, though: How significant are the negative consequences?*’ (Observation notes, 2010). At this point it became clear that to the marketing representative, RD is not a thing that represents an opportunity; instead, it should be framed as ‘risk avoidance’. As the meeting continued and appealing examples and cases of a coupling of social responsibility and market logics were presented, this person started to open up and wanted to help

operationalize RD ideas. She even offered to help frame the cases and shape the RD Guide Book with a market logic vocabulary.

Following this meeting, the Guide Book team at headquarters engaged in a process of institutional bricolage to align RD efforts (the social responsibility logic) with the dominant market logic by creating what is commonly referred to as the “*business case for responsible drinking*”. The business case would make RD a new concept that was no longer considered to be “fluffy” and “vague”, but something that made sense within the dominant market logic. The key actors within the RD project expect that the development of “*the business case*” would make it possible to implement RD in organizational practice as emphasized in this statement:

*‘We [in Group HQ] want to move away from ‘responsible drinking’ as being a question of belief – to being a business question! One way to get people on board is to make a shift in the way we talk about it. All other topics in our company are driven by business and financial targets, primarily financial targets, so that is what we are brought up with. Therefore we must link ‘responsible drinking’ to that agenda, then it will be much easier to get people on board.’*

(Manager in group sales, marketing and innovation, 2011)

Hence, linking RD to the market logic was really a question of making the RD concept something that was immediately relevant and understandable for the organizational members who have the power and the resources to carry out RD initiatives. Concurrently, the effort involved making the responsible drinking agenda come alive and become part of the organization’s interaction with varied audiences; and as we have argued, a core aspect of their reconstituted identity.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have sought to contribute to the institutional logics perspective (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012) by exploring the intraorganizational processes by which institutional complexity is resolved. Our understanding of the mechanisms and processes by which organizational actors deal with multiple institutional logics remains limited (Greenwood et al, 2011; Pache and Santos, 2010). We drew on the bricolage literature (Duymedjian and Ruling, 2010; Boxenbaum and Rouleau, 2011) to focalize theoretical and empirical research attention on the importance of artifact construction as a key aspect by which institutional complexity gets worked out inside organizations. To distinguish our effort from bricolage research more generally, we label the processes we analyze as institutional bricolage. Our main argument is that institutional bricolage—resolving problems related to institutional complexity inside an organization—fundamentally involves the reconstitution of an organization’s identity. While organizational identity has been identified as a critical aspect of the institutional logics perspective, little attention has been paid to the processes by which extant identities get challenged and reconstructed.

As our case of Carlsberg suggests, such situations are moments of acute uncertainty and opportunities for reflection. A group of organizational members were consciously and deliberately trying to change (e.g., via ‘making do’ and ‘co-shaping’) organizational practice as well as audience perceptions of their product. We highlighted how the marginalized social responsibility logic offered a slightly different path that turned out to be symbolically and materially powerful because it was anchored in core foundational aspects of the organization and its heritage (Schultz and Hernes, 2012). While we do not know at this stage whether efforts to reconstitute identity will be successful, it appears that the ability to connect different spaces and the future to the past in this way facilitated the ability to substantively engage in a process

of institutional bricolage that combined the social responsibility and market logics (see also Borum and Westenholz, 1995; Garud and Karnøe, 2003). The recombination of existing resources was salient throughout the process; existing models were brought in and modified to fit with other existing models to craft a solution to a problem that the organization faced. This provides an intra-organizational correlate to the idea that established institutional paths provide resources and possibilities for change and the creation of new institutional configurations (Schneiberg, 2007).

Pache and Santos (2010) make the claim that differential internal representations may lead to organizational paralyses or break-up. Although this may be the case in some instances, our case suggests a qualification that, under certain conditions, organizational actors may alternatively engage in negotiation and institutional bricolage where they seek to reconstitute their identity to address institutional complexity. When organizational actors start to negotiate across multiple logics, the logics may become more dynamic and take a form that facilitates integration; as we argued, this may depend on a somewhat profound trigger that makes organizational legitimacy problematic, providing a collective opportunity to renegotiate the relationship among logics. As Selznick (1957: 21) proposed, when the organization is understood as an institution, self-maintenance becomes more than just an issue of organizational survival; it becomes a struggle to protect the uniqueness of the organization as it faces changed circumstances and new problems. Therefore, when logic bridging is framed as a means to somehow preserve at least part of the uniqueness of the organization's identity, it gives diverse organizational members a common goal to work towards.

We also highlighted the importance of social mobilization inside the organization—how marginalized organizational actors, namely the communication and CSR people, deliberately made the conversations and negotiations around the Guide Book an issue

of organizational identity. The tinkering and blending of techniques and models infused with different logics was consciously intended to erode the boundaries between the once separated ideas and practices, and strike a new balance between the different logics. Thus, our case observations indicate that a key condition for institutional bricolage of logics within the organization is that internal activists have to be able to skillfully frame key issues as centrally involving identity—‘who we are’ and ‘what we do’—and then try to convince others that a marginalized (and to some extent compartmentalized) logic is a core and foundational organizational identity trait.

In addition, our case suggests how institutional bricolage may entail an active search for resources and connections across varied organizational units. For instance, examples of subsidiaries local RD practices were used to reaffirm that the concept of responsible drinking and the social responsibility logic were not (only) a new headquarters idea coercively implemented top down. Instead, it gave the Guide Book development process a more democratic and bottom up flavor of inclusion. This is an aspect that is especially prominent in the case selections from around the Group and in notes like this: ‘*Contributions to the catalogue were kindly made by your colleagues across the Carlsberg Group*’. Messages that serve the same purpose mentioned above, to denote that the social responsibility logic is *already* an ingrained aspect of the organizational identity, not just in headquarters where the philanthropic heritage is materially present but also in ‘*your colleagues*’ practices.

While we have argued that the bridging of logics requires a reconstitution of organizational identity, future research should focus on the detailed and varied micro processes and cross-level mechanisms through which institutional bricolage happens. We suggest that future research address questions related to how organizational actors might use different identity claims in their response to complexity; how and at what levels – subunit, organizational or industry, might we consider identity to be relevant



in relation to institutional complexity? And how organizational and industry (collective) identities interact and influence organizational responses to complexity?

Finally, scholars of the management of multinational enterprises may find this study useful in so far as the management at Carlsberg headquarters chose to engage local subsidiaries and draw from their practice in conceptualizing their 'responsible drinking' initiative. In that regard, they sought out more of a consensus building approach to managing the issue. They signaled that they were aware that the issue may be somewhat different across different locations, but that a unified approach was necessary. It would be especially interesting to have more empirical studies of multinational enterprises (MNEs) to uncover how multiple logics are managed across different societal contexts by the same organization. We know little about how MNE headquarters influence subsidiaries' management of complexity. How do complexity issues travel within and across organizational units? Are logics that influence the different subsidiaries comparable across different societal contexts? For instance, is the social responsibility logic the same in Russia and the U.K.? Do efforts of identity reconstitution initiated at headquarters resonate with various local subsidiaries? While our study focused more on detailing institutional bricolage and identity reconstitution efforts at a MNE headquarters, it is important to understand how these processes play out across the entire enterprise. Research of this nature would help expand the scope of the institutional logics perspective while also enhancing our understanding of multinational enterprises and challenges related to globalization.

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## 9. Paper 3: WHAT IS BREWING? BEYOND CONFLICTING LOGICS IN CARLSBERG'S RESPONSES TO INSTITUTIONAL COMPLEXITY

LÆRKE HØJGAARD CHRISTIANSEN

Copenhagen Business School

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### **Abstract**

Organizations are often confronted with multiple demands imposed by their environment, and while the organization as a whole may face the same pressures, responses may differ across the organization. This case study explores how organizational actors within five separate divisions of a global brewery group – headquarters and four subsidiaries – experience and respond to the same institutional complexity. That is, the attendance to both social and commercial aspects in relation to the issue of 'alcohol-related harm'. The comparison showed that the organization pursued a number of different responses simultaneously, even within the same units, these were categorized into four different types of logic interplay: *separation*, *co-existence*, *industry bricolage*, and *organizational bricolage*. This paper contributes to the literature on institutional logics by illustrating how and why different logics are sometimes perceived to be irreconcilable, while in other instances there is an embrace of complexity and synergy. While focalizing the embrace of complexity aspect of the study, I theorize four different aspects that prompt organizational identification with the issue and three mechanisms that drive logic bridging in *organizational bricolage*.

## INTRODUCTION

How and why is the interplay between logics constructed in the creation of organizational responses to institutional complexity? The challenges related to organizations dealing with institutional complexity and multiple logics is an area that is currently receiving a lot of interest among scholars (e.g., Greenwood, Reaynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, and Lounsbury 2011; Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012; and, Lounsbury and Boxenbaum 2013b). Early studies focused on shifts in logics, where one logic would be dominant in an organization or field, until another one would take over (e.g., Thornton 2002; Townley 2002). More recently, studies explored co-existing logics that remained in some kind of collaborative engagement but remained separated in organizational practice (e.g., Marquis and Lounsbury 2007; Reay and Hinings 2009). Finally, there is a new turn on the rise, in which scholars find logics to be potentially complementary or even blending in organizational practice (e.g., Battilana and Dorado 2010; Højgaard Christiansen and Lounsbury 2013/chapter 8). Even though research has depicted logic interplay from different approaches, moving from total conflict towards a softened version where elements from different logics can somehow be unified and mixed as actors are increasingly depicted as partially autonomous from the social structure (Thornton et al. 2012: 7,101), we still have to understand how and why the interplay between logics is constructed by organizational actors, when does blending occur, and when is it not considered an option.

Institutional logics are a theory and method for understanding the pressures that organizations face in their environment. Institutional logics can be described as supra-organizational patterns of activity (Friedland and Alford 1991), a belief system that represents a particular worldview, a valuable end, and the appropriate means to achieve this end. One strand of research on institutional logics has for some time been focusing on shifts in logics and its consequences (e.g., Christensen and Molin 1995; Thornton

and Ocasio 1999), although organizations are increasingly depicted as being influenced by more than one logic simultaneously (e.g., Kraatz and Block 2008). Consequently, increasing focus has been given to the interaction and interplay between institutional logics and the organizational response to institutional complexity (Greenwood et al. 2011).

Approaches to logic interplay have often tended to be focused exclusively on the conflicts between logics and how they may be decoupled or co-exist by some means. Most work depicts the presence of multiple logics as a problem that has to somehow be handled or managed. In a study of the Canadian healthcare field, Reay and Hinings (2009), for example, investigated the persistence of a multiplicity of logics and propose that the interaction between logics is managed through collaborative relationships between field-level actors. This study is part of a more recent softening of our understanding of the relationship between logics, and scholars are exploring how the interaction between co-existing logics might also entail a more constructive interplay (e.g., Kraatz and Block 2008; Battilana and Dorado 2010; Jarzabkowski, Smets, Bednarek, Burke, and Spee 2013); for example, in studies of hybridity. Here the focus is on organizations that represent a mix of models, such as microfinance organizations, which are the object of study in a research article by Battilana and Dorado (2010). They suggest that a sustainable balance between logics is attainable if the organization's identity reflects this balance, in their case between a social and market logic. Their attention to the intra-organizational dynamics of practice and identities is intriguing, especially since this is an underdeveloped area (Kraatz and Block 2008; Greenwood et al. 2011; Thornton et al. 2012). Notably, studies that explore organizational meaning-making and practices in relation to logic interplay are rare (Zilber 2013).



I seek to extend on these recent prosperous developments and calls by exploring how and why the interplay between logics is constructed in the creation of organizational responses to institutional complexity, and by paying particular attention to the organizational actors' ideas and interpretations. At this point research has found that logics interact in different ways, although far more emphasis has been put on controversy rather than the potential positive relations that might also exist (Jarzabkowski et al. 2013); however, we need to know more about organizational actors' experiences and meaning-making in these situations of interplay. If we gain a better understanding of how and why this interplay between logics is constructed in the creation of organizational responses to institutional complexity, we might also get a better understanding of how these ideas materialize in different practices, which later become institutionalized.

In this paper, I present a case study of different units within Carlsberg Group, the fourth largest global brewery group, who are faced with the same challenges in relation to handling the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' and increased pressures from government, civil society, and the changed public view on alcohol and its role in society. The analysis has centered on the units' conceptualization of *responsible drinking* (RD), which is assumed to be an organizational response to the increased pressure. The concept of RD is associated with activities aimed at preventing the misuse of alcohol. The perceived challenge in the RD conceptualization is the inherent interplay between the organizational engagement in the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' (social responsibility logic) and the aim of selling the product (market logic); the divergence between these institutional logics are vivid and have noticeable practical implications. Using an iterative approach, I investigate organizational actors' understanding of the interplay between logics through a combination of interviews with key actors involved in the conceptualization of RD at organizational and industry level, studies of organizational and industry documents, as well as observations of

meetings. I explore how and why organizational actors experience and construct the interplay between logics in the conceptualization of RD. More specifically, I investigate how organizational actors in five separate units within Carlsberg Group – headquarters, and four subsidiaries in UK, Poland, Denmark and Finland – experiences and responses to the same institutional complexity. The comparison showed that the organization pursued a number of different responses simultaneously, even within the same units. These were categorized into four different types of logic interplay: *separation*, *co-existence*, *industry bricolage*, and *organizational bricolage*, which all materialized in different kinds of response practice. This paper contributes to the literature on institutional logics by illustrating how and why different logics are sometimes perceived to be irreconcilable, while at other instances there is a perceived synergy and the embracing of complexity. While focalizing the embrace of complexity aspect of the study, I theorize four different aspects that prompt organizational identification with the issue and three mechanisms that drive logic bridging in *organizational bricolage*.

I begin by summarizing the current literature regarding institutional logics and the interplay between logics, while highlighting the potential for case studies made at the organizational level. Next, I describe the research setting and methods, and present my findings and analysis, which will be followed by a discussion and conclusion.

## **INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS AND COUPLING**

Institutional logics is a theory and a method for understanding the institutional pressures that societal-level culture exerts on organizations through different meaning systems that form the action and interactions of organizations and individuals (Thornton, Jones, and Kury 2005; Thornton and Ocasio 2008). Thornton and Ocasio (1999: 804) define institutional logics as: “*the socially constructed, historical pattern of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals*

*produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality.*” The fundamental idea is that logics constrain and enable actors’ behavior, as well as shape their actions because logics represent sets of expectations for social relations and behavior (Goodrick and Reay 2011). At the core of the institutional logics perspective is the idea of incompatible prescriptions from different institutional logics, which was introduced by Friedland and Alford (1991) in their groundbreaking article. Scholars are puzzled by how organizations handle the multiplicity of logics since the following of one logic might sometimes require the defiance of another (Kratz and Block 2008; Pache and Santos 2010).

This institutional multiplicity (or complexity) is a fundamental focus point that continues to be debated within the logics literature as a source for change, conflicted co-existence, and finally, as potentially complementary or even blending in organizational practice.

Early studies on logics focused on how conflicts in logics could cause institutional change, which arose from within organizations; this made it possible for scholars to counter the critiques that were often raised at institutional theory for being overly static and focused on homogeneity within industries (Hirsch and Lounsbury 1997). The fundamental idea is that organizations, influenced by ambiguous demands, have some degree of autonomy in prioritizing these different demands, although they still acknowledge the embedded agency of the organizational actors (Thornton and Ocasio 2008; Seo and Creeds 2002). Early institutional logics studies consisted mainly of industry- and field-level analysis that illustrated the effects of shifts in institutional logics over time (Lounsbury and Boxenbaum 2013a), (e.g., Christensen and Molin 1995; Haveman and Rao 1997; Thornton and Ocasio 1999; Lounsbury 2002). The common conception was that one logic would be dominant in a field, and then gradually there would be a shift towards a new logic. Despite many of these early studies being macro-level studies, a few of them addressed the micro-level, focusing

on the transformations occurring at the organizational level. For instance, Christensen and Molin (1995), who, via the use of a longitudinal case study of the Danish Red Cross, showed that changing institutional logics shaped and defined the problems, solutions, and participants, as well as the interests that determined the developing shape of the organization.

Today, however, institutional scholars acknowledge that organizations are exposed to multiple and even conflicting institutional demands simultaneously (Friedland and Alford 1991; Kraatz and Block 2008; Thornton and Ocasio 2008; Reay and Hinings 2009), and that homogeneity is not simply a temporary stage. Instead, the different prescriptions and sets of expectations from different legitimating audiences conflict in organizations' operations and practices; therefore, organizational actors have to find ways to manage these contradictions in their practices. Studies of organizational responses to institutional complexity have therefore recently been made (e.g., Battilana and Dorado 2010; Pache and Santos 2010).

Still, the organizational dynamics involved in creating organizational responses to institutional complexity has been given very little attention empirically (Greenwood et al. 2011; Pache and Santos 2010). To address this lack of attention, Pache and Santos (2010) produce a general model from a comparative case study, proposing that organizations respond to competing logics by selectively combining practices from each of the individual logics. Even though this study and others (e.g., Battilana and Dorado 2010; Jarzabkowski et al., 2013) is taking the institutional logics perspective in a new and interesting direction, emphasis seems to have somehow remained on organizational-level structures and practices. A similar observation has recently been made by Zilber (2013), who notes that too little attention is paid to organizational actors' ideas and interpretations. She goes on to make a call for increased attention to the underlying meaning systems and how they change and evolve. However, this

attention to underlying meaning systems is actually a focus of the research stream, which has come to be known as Scandinavian institutionalism. This stream has traditionally studied the intra-organizational level and how organizations respond to institutional pressures (Boxenbaum and Standgaard Pedersen 2009; Westenholtz, Standgaard Pedersen, and Dobbin 2006), and some studies have even addressed the processes related to the organizational integration of multiple logics (e.g., Borum and Westenholtz 1995; Waldorff and Greenwood 2011; Christiansen and Lounsbury 2013). I find this line of research to be promising, notably because at this point we know that logics interact in different ways, although to some degree we have focused more on the controversy than the potential positive relations that might also exist (Jarzabkowski et al. 2013); we need to know more about organizational actors experiences and meaning making in these situations of logic interplay. If we gain a better understanding of how and why this interplay between logics is constructed in the creation of organizational responses to institutional complexity, and if we gain a better understanding of organizational actors' experience of logic interplay, whether conflicting or synergetic, it would provide us with a better understanding of how these ideas materialize in different practices.

In this paper, I draw on the concept of 'institutional bricolage' (Christiansen and Lounsbury 2013/chapter 8; Glynn 2008) and the recently developed conception of a softened version of logic interplay, where elements from different logics can somehow be unified and mixed, as actors are increasingly depicted as partially autonomous from the social structure (Thornton et al. 2012: 7,101). This depiction of actors as relatively autonomous and capable of mixing goes suitably with the concept of bricolage (Lévi-Strauss 1962/66). The notion of bricolage refers to the way a "bricoleur" builds a structure (i.e., knowledge) by using whatever is available, within a restricted environment, to get the job done. The "bricoleur" uses the remains and debris of events, fossilized evidence of the history of an individual or society, to construct

something new, for which the individual parts were not originally intended (Lévi-Strauss, 1962/66). The concept is increasingly being adopted by researchers within organizational studies (Duymedjian and Rüliling, 2010; Boxenbaum and Rouleau, 2011); for example, Boxenbaum and Rouleau (2011) used the concept of bricolage to explain the process of new knowledge production. Others (Pedersen and Dobbin 2006; Glynn and Abzug 2002; Glynn 2008) emphasize that organizations tend to be constructed by “bricks” that are available in their institutional environment. As organizations have to operate in a complex environment, they have to respond to a multiplicity of institutional pressures. Thus, organizations are made up of different elements derived from different institutional domains (logics). This idea is specified in a recent article where Lounsbury and I (Christiansen and Lounsbury 2013/chapter 8) explore how institutional logics may be bridged via a process of ‘institutional bricolage’, which we define as the process through which organizational actors combine elements from different logics to construct new artifacts, in this case a guidebook to reconstitute their organizational identity. Our main argument was that institutional bricolage fundamentally involves a reconstitution of an organization’s identity. This paper touches on a slightly different but connected aspect *identification*, in this respect I draw on the work that has been made within organizational identification (e.g. Elsbach and Bhattacharya, 2001; Dutton, Dukerich and Harquail, 1994; Ashforth and Mael 1989). Traditionally this perspective describes organizational identification as being indicated by organizational members’ self-perceptions of “oneness” with the organization (Mael and Ashforth 1992). In this paper I extend that to the industry level, a collective industry level identification. In other words this is not a question of organizational member’s identification with the organization; rather it is about the links that are perceived between the organizational identities and the identities of an industry collective (group).

In this paper, while elaborating on the current literature on logic interplay and institutional bricolage, I consider that the interplay between logics might be constructed differently within and across an organization and explore how and why different logics are sometimes perceived to be irreconcilable, while at other instances there is an embrace of complexity and synergy. This is done through a case study of Carlsberg Group and their different responses to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’.

## **METHODS**

### **Research Setting and the Case**

In recent years, the brewery industry’s traditional challenges have intensified. Alcoholic beverages are now commonly associated with being unhealthy, this general perception combined with encroaching ‘tobacco conditions’ and the tightening of legislation in a number of countries, increasing regulation and taxation of alcohol, threatens to further damage the industry’s legitimacy. Regulatory pressures come from global, regional, and national bodies, e.g., the World Health Organization’s (WHO) 2010 global strategy to reduce the harmful use of alcohol, which calls for intensive action to reduce the availability of alcohol; and the Global Alcohol Policy Alliance call for similar approaches to that taken with the tobacco industry, by addressing advertising, increasing taxation, and reducing the availability of alcohol. This change of circumstance has come to be known as the ‘new public health movement’, which focuses on the promotion of preventive measures to fight existing and developing health threats so as to prolong the life and improve the life quality of populations. It began in the nineties and, today, manifests itself in health organizations such as the WHO (Goldstein, Goon and Yach, 1995; Tulinsky and Varavikova 2010). In the wake of the new public health movement and the increased scrutiny of products that are

considered to have a negative impact on the broader public health such as tobacco, fast-food, soft drinks, and alcohol, the changes in our understanding of these products and their legitimacy are a considerable challenge for the companies that produce and sell them. As a consultant within the European alcohol industry elaborated:

*“[...] the regulatory environment has changed, the political environment has changed, and government has become far more interventionist. I think also in the health fraternity there’s been a view that now that they’ve won the tobacco fight, that alcohol and obesity are the next two issues that they are most interested in solving.”*

In the alcohol and brewery industry, the concept of RD is commonly associated with activities aimed at preventing the misuse of alcohol. The industry has established common ground within this area and in professional associations such as ‘Brewers of Europe’ and ‘British Beer & Pub Association’, where breweries work with self-regulation to comply with the norms and values of society. Meanwhile, some brewers and alcohol producers are doing their own separate RD initiatives.

In light of these changes, I have been conducting a case study of Carlsberg Group’s concept-ualization of RD to explore how and why organizational actors construct the interplay between different institutional logics. The organization has to, on the one hand, deal and engage in the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ (social responsibility logic), while on the other hand, it has to sell its products (market logic). RD is one of Carlsberg’s key CSR areas, and an area that is considered to be the prominent CSR area within the brewery (and alcohol) industry. Working with the RD concept entails organizational actors finding ways to manage the inherent institutional complexities related to dealing with this issue.

The Carlsberg Group is a global player present in 150 markets, operating 85 breweries across 46 countries, and employing 41.000 people. Today, Carlsberg Group is partly owned by the Carlsberg Foundation, which gained ownership of the company in 1887



after the founder, J.C. Jacobsen (1811-1887), passed away. In Denmark the foundation supports research within the social sciences, humanities, and natural sciences. Still, the foundation and its social mission is structurally separate from the company and it was not until 2008 that Carlsberg Group headquarters started working on formalizing their global CSR strategy, meaning that they started to formulate and implement what they call ‘the glocal approach’ in different CSR focus areas. Thus, emphasizing the balance between being global and operating locally. At the global level, the Carlsberg Group is one of the late adopters of CSR within the brewery industry, but many of its subsidiaries have been working with conceptualizing CSR locally.

The RD conceptualization has been chosen through a process of theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss 1967), and it is a significant research object because the aim of the project is to change Carlsberg’s behavior towards their audiences (different stakeholder groups) and thereby their image. At the same time, RD is a concept that does not have one single interpretation; instead, it is a complex construct representing different responses to institutional complexity. The organizational actors’ conceptualizations of responsible drinking involve the interaction between the social responsibility logic and the market logic. The interaction between these two occurred in different ways, which will be elaborated on in the findings section. In this study, I sat out to understand the organizational actors’ interpretations and rationalizations in relation to their way of handling the interplay between the logics. From my early observations at headquarters, I knew that both logics were represented in the Carlsberg Group’s conceptualization of RD; however, I was curious as to how and why they varied across the different units. Table 9.1 presents summary data about the units and their RD engagement, and I will briefly outline each of the units in the following.

**TABLE 9.1**  
**Summary data about the units and RD engagement**

	<b>Carlsberg UK</b>	<b>Carlsberg Poland</b>	<b>Carlsberg Denmark</b>	<b>Sinebrychoff (Finland)</b>
<b>Initiatives</b>	Self-regulation and industry/third party 'education'.	Self-regulation and industry 'education'.	Self-regulation, industry 'education', and steps toward organizational/brand 'education'.	Self-regulation, industry 'education', and implicit organizational/brand 'education'.
<b>Engagement</b>	<p>Early organizational engagement in 2007/2008, on initiative of SVP of Group Communication, a Marketing Communication Policy, Guideline and a RD policy is developed, along with an organization-wide CSR governance structure. Later in 2010/2011, an RD Guidebook is developed in interaction with the subsidiaries.</p> <p>The Portman Group was founded by a collective UK alcohol industry in 1996 to create self-regulation in response to the 'Alcopop' scandal. The industry has been very collaborative since then and has also founded the trust 'Drinkaware' to focus specifically on 'educating' alcohol consumers. The trust unites representatives from government, the health community, and industry.</p>	<p>No/little organizational engagement in RD. RD is only dealt with through the Polish industry association, Browary Polska. It was founded in 2003 to maintain the reputation of the industry through engagement in RD. The aim was to create achievements in educational programs to tackle the issue of alcohol-related harm.</p>	<p>The industry association, 'Bryggeriforeningen', has previously been the primary driver, but the company has also had some sporadic RD initiatives such as wristbands for minors to prevent youth drinking at their 'Grøn Koncert' – a traveling concert series they sponsor. Since late 2012, marketing has been working with the integration of RD into the branding of one of the leading product brands.</p>	<p>Implicit organizational engagement in RD; the organization seeks to change the local alcohol culture through their 'beer and food' program and their wide product portfolio, urging enjoyment rather than binge drinking (change in drinking occasions). Explicit RD initiatives are made through industry associations.</p>

<b>Owners &amp; Actors</b>	Industry Associations, CSR and Communication departments.	Industry Associations.	Industry Associations.	Industry Associations.	Marketing and Communication.	Industry Associations, Marketing and Communication.
<b>Assigned Role</b>	Behind competitors (other brewery groups).	'Frontrunners' in Carlsberg Group.	Early stage of development.	Pilot for new approach.		'Frontrunners' both in terms of industry and organizational efforts.
<b>Group relation</b>	Founded in 1847, export since 1868, global in 2008 after acquisition of Scottish & Newcastle.	Export to UK since 1868, local Carlsberg brewery built in 1973. Merges with Tetley in 1992 and becomes Carlsberg UK in 2003.	In 2001, becomes the majority shareholder of Carlsberg Okocim Group, and in 2004 Group changes the company name to Carlsberg Polska.	Becomes a fully owned subsidiary of the Carlsberg Group in 2000.		Founded in 1819; in 1972 the collaboration with Carlsberg begins, and in 1999 it is acquired; company keeps its original name.
<b>Market position</b>	4 <sup>th</sup> largest brewery group in the world.	4 <sup>th</sup> largest, 15% market share.	3 <sup>rd</sup> largest, 18% market share.	Market leader, 63% market share (beer).		Market leader, 53 % market share.

*Carlsberg Group headquarters* (referred to as headquarters from now on) has been working with its conceptualization of a global CSR approach since 2008, right after a new SVP of Communication was appointed (later SVP of Communication and Group CSR), and, in general, the actors expressed that, for their size, they were late adopters compared to competitors. Still, several subsidiaries had been working with the area for years. A central part of the development from 2008 to 2010 has been work with different CSR-related policy areas: Environment, Labour & Human Rights; Health Safety; Business Ethics; Responsible Supplier Management; Community Engagement; Marketing Communication; Community Engagement; and Responsible Drinking. These efforts were supported by the development of a CSR governance structure, which has been created to secure functional ownership for the different areas. In relation to RD, it is marketing that is formally the functional owners of RD and the marketing communication policy. Despite this, CSR are still the initiators and primary drivers of the implementation of both areas, and the RD manager, who was hired in 2010 to create a strategic group approach to RD, is physically positioned in the CSR department. The CSR department is generally considered to be the primary driver of the Group RD conceptualization, although the process involves interaction and negotiations with marketing-related actors as well, despite their commitment to the RD idea agenda being rather uneven.

*Carlsberg UK* is one of the ‘original export markets’ (from 1968), and it is the fourth largest brewer in the UK, with a 15 percent market share. The UK unit is considered to be one of the ‘frontrunners’ in Carlsberg Group, notably, for the industry’s collective approach to dealing with the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’. Their engagement is primarily driven through industry level organizations such as British Beer & Pub

Association and Portman Group<sup>26</sup>, which focus on self-regulation through industry CSR codes of conduct, marketing policies, and guidelines. In addition to these initiatives, ‘Drinkaware’ has been established as *the* RD organization, with an aim to: “*Increase awareness, improve attitudes and affect positive changes in behaviour related to alcohol consumption*” (Drinkaware, Annual report, 2010: 3). The Drinkaware trust was founded by the collective industry in 2007 after an agreement between the government and the industry. Carlsberg UK and other brewers and alcohol producers have committed to promoting Drinkaware and the idea of moderate drinking. *Carlsberg Poland* (Polska) is a merger of several local Polish breweries that were acquired by Carlsberg Group during the zeroes (Bosman, Kasztelan, and Piast breweries), and today it has the third largest market share in the Polish market. Carlsberg Poland engages with the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ exclusively through initiatives made through the industry association because an organizational approach is depicted as being both irrelevant and illegitimate in the eyes of organizational audiences. Meaning, that the understanding is that brewers should not engage in ‘social matters’ directly. Furthermore, the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ is not considered to be a large problem within the Polish community, therefore the impetus of the industry initiatives are the ideas and inspiration that come into the country through international brewers such as Carlsberg Group and others, as well as Brewers of Europe. Hence, many of the industry initiatives have been modeled on initiatives made by other European industry associations.

*Carlsberg Denmark* first became a separate subsidiary in 2000. That being said, Carlsberg Denmark and Carlsberg Group have a shared history and had shared a location until October 2012, when the unit moved 500 meters down the street.

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<sup>26</sup> The Portman Group is the UK social responsibility body for drinks producers, focused on industry self-regulation.

Carlsberg Denmark is the market leader, with a 63 percent market share, and in 2012 they were selected as the pilot country (by headquarters) to develop an organizational approach to RD, driven by marketing and linked to the product brands. Their aim was that RD should become an integrated part of the organization's interaction with the consumers. Prior to this development, RD initiatives were primarily made by organizational actors within communication or initiated by the local industry association, 'Bryggeriforeningen'.

*Sinebrychoff*, one of the newer members of Carlsberg Group, was acquired in 1999 and is one of the few subsidiaries that have kept their original name. The company was founded in 1819 by Nicholai Sinebrychoff and remained a family-owned brewery until Carlsberg acquired it. Sinebrychoff is the market leader in Finland, and in 2012 they had a 46 percent market share. In the 1800s, the company owners developed extensive healthcare programs for their employees. Furthermore, the founders were very philanthropic and engaged in the local community through donations and the establishment of different foundations that, for example, assisted children in elementary schools and took care of the elderly. This history and societal commitment is still present symbolically in artifacts, such as original painted portraits of Nicholai and Anna Sinebrychoff, corporate books telling the history of the brewery, and in local decoration e.g. in the main entrance, there is a complete family tree outlining the Sinebrychoff family up until today. The company engages in RD initiatives that are subtle, such as their 'beer and food program', which indirectly urges consumers to consume in moderation. The more explicit RD initiatives addressing the potential misuse of the product directly are made through the industry association.

### **Data Collection**

To understand the conceptualization of RD in Carlsberg, data has been collected at headquarters, and four subsidiaries, one (Carlsberg Denmark) of which was doing a

pilot implementation of RD supported by headquarters. The analysis has centered on the units' conceptualization of responsible drinking (RD), which is assumed to be an organizational response to the increased pressure. The concept of RD is associated with activities aimed at preventing the misuse of alcohol. Carlsberg's conceptualization of RD has been chosen because it entails that organizational actors find ways to handle the inherent interplay between the organizational engagement in the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' (social responsibility logic) and the aim of selling the product (market logic); the divergence between these institutional logics are vivid and have noticeable practical implications. More specifically, I investigate how organizational actors in five separate units within Carlsberg Group – headquarters, and four subsidiaries in UK, Poland, Denmark and Finland – experiences and responses to the same institutional complexity. The following data sources have been utilized: Interviews with key RD stakeholders, analysis of organizational/field documents, as well as observations of meetings. An overview of the data inventory is presented in Table 9.2.

**TABLE 9.2**  
**Data overview**

Data type	Headquarter	Subunits	Field level data	Data sources and content
Interviews <sup>27</sup>	17 (12 informants) Global managers within CSR, communication, public policy and sales, and marketing & innovation.	14 Local managers within CSR, communication, and sales & marketing in UK, Finland, Poland, and Denmark.	9 Project managers and CEOs working with RD within industry associations locally and globally (e.g., Drinkaware and World Wide Brewing Alliance), and a CSR manager from a competitor.	(See the individual rows)
Observations	Approximately 25 hours.	Two meetings in pilot subsidiary.	-	Discussion meetings, work meetings with PR consultants, weekly meeting, Global Carlsberg re-launch, and public presentations.
Documents	170 documents (1-30 p. each).	59 documents (1-60 p. each).	88 documents (1-289 p. each).	Articles, presentations, policies, guidelines, reports, website information, RD campaign material, archival documents on the Carlsberg Founder, and J.C. Jacobsen.
Feedback from the organization	11 meetings.	-	-	Discussion and feedback from managers within headquarters on the data collection and the ongoing analysis.

<sup>27</sup> Some of the interviewees appear in both in headquarters and subsidiary column because they served two functions. Please see appendix 1 for a complete overview of the interviewees.



***Semi-structured interviews:*** A total of 36 interviews were conducted at Carlsberg Group head-quarters, the local subsidiaries, and field-level organizations such as industry associations and special interest groups (local, regional, and global). The initial informants were selected based on their association with the area of RD as important input givers and/or decision makers. Carlsberg informants were managers within Communication, Marketing and/or CSR. As the emerging themes appeared, I proceeded with purposeful sampling (Locke 2001).

The interviews were based on an interview guide (please see appendix 2) that was developed prior to and during data collection. I used the initial organizational data collection, as well as the first pilot interview, to form the initial interview guide. It was later altered as the theory started to take form. In the interviews, informants were asked about their conceptualization of RD; the aims, strategies, opportunities and challenges in RD as well as in the implementation of it; and the informants' own role in relation to the project and their own experiences with RD and CSR, for example, in relation to policy making and implementation. In later interviews (including all subsidiary interviews), I also probed about the source of their inspiration, such as competitors, industry associations, other industries, and the local country organizations. The interviews ranged from 45 to 90 minutes, were recorded, and then transcribed. The long interviews were usually formal during the recording, followed by more informal conversations during lunch, over coffee, and so on. The informal conversations were noted down in a logbook afterwards.

***Archival sources:*** Organizational documents were collected from when the CSR department was established in 2008 and up until 2013 (see Table 9.2). Data from archives were collected based on the information received during the interviews, observations, and organizational data. I chose not to define the issue and associated concepts a priori, instead let it emerge from the data in a bottom-up fashion; therefore,

this study is exclusively based on the informants' descriptions and interpretations made in relation to the issue and their understanding of relevant external constituents. I collected the organizational documents in three ways: First, my main contact at Carlsberg initially gave me access to about a hundred documents, including all CSR policies and guidelines, presentations of the CSR organization, strategies, competitor analyses, as well as all presentations that the CSR unit had made for the Carlsberg Group executive committee (in the period from 2008 to 2010). Second, I collected more specific documents related to RD in parallel with the interviews and observations. During the observations of meetings and conversations, different documents would be presented and/or discussed, and during their interviews, informants would also refer to documents as sources of inspiration, i.e., a marketing communication guideline form 'Brewers of Europe', a market report on CSR policy implementation, and a manual from the Danish Enterprise and Construction Authority. Finally, I did follow up desk research on organizations, events, and campaigns mentioned by the informants. The archival sources contributed to my understanding of Carlsberg Group, the organizational actors, and the RD conceptualization. I used these to, at first, get familiar with the research setting and in preparation for unit visits, and later on to compare and elaborate on my observations from the interviews and meetings.

***Observations of RD project meetings:*** I attended seven meetings at headquarters about the development of the 'RD Guide book' in the period from December 2010 to May 2011. These meetings included discussion meetings, work meetings, meetings with PR consultants, and a weekly staff meeting. In addition to the meetings observed at headquarters, I observed two meetings regarding the execution of the RD project in the spring of 2013 at the subsidiary chosen for "pilot implementation". These meeting observations provided valuable information about the interaction and negotiations occurring in the RD projects' development process, the organizational stakeholders,

organizational structure, past events and practices, and strategies for implementation and upcoming events. But most importantly, it allowed me to get a better insight into organizational actors' ideas and interpretations in relation to the process of logic combination.

Together, these sources gave me insight into the different logics represented within the RD conceptualization, i.e., the different belief systems, their prioritization, and the organizational actors' attempts to handle the interaction between different means and goals.

### **Data Analysis**

An iterative approach has been utilized, travelling back and forth between the data, pertinent literature, and the emergent theory to develop the theory further. This method allows theory to emerge from the data, which leads to a better insight into the research field. While this is an inductively inspired study<sup>28</sup>, I will describe the method used in my research and explicate the process through which the theory was extracted from or 'grounded' in the data (Glaser and Strauss 1967). The data was initially coded in the software program Nvivo 9, which helped me structure the analysis and keep track of the different data elements in the analysis, and further allowed me to gain an overall impression of themes, logics, and links within the dataset. The data analysis consisted of three steps. First, I coded the initial material from headquarters to explore what logics were represented across the dataset. In this first step, the coding was open so as to allow for the discovery of different themes in the material. Even though the coding was focused on institutional logics, other themes emerged, which then formed the

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<sup>28</sup> While I consider my approach to be inductively oriented, others might find that my analytical approach has been more *abductive* in nature (Eriksson and Kovalainen 2008), since I did focus on logics. However, according to Locke (2003) using an inductive model does not mean that prior theory cannot be integrated.

foundation for the next two steps as the analysis took shape. First, broad themes were identified, focusing on the rationalizations and referents made to the different logics. Then, I studied the rationalizations made within the themes to find what belief systems they represented; these were grouped into three broader categories of institutional logics, two of which are elaborated in the next section and outlined in Table 9.3. The third logic at play, was resembled a “community logic” (Marquis, Lounsbury and Greenwood, 2011). However, after thorough analyses of the empirical material and discussions with other scholars, I decided not to classify this communal aspect as a separate logic (community logic) but instead as a question of level of identification with the issue through industry collaboration and a mutual assurance. This aspect therefore shaped the organizational responses; however, it was not a question of logics but rather one of the organizational actors’ levels of identification with the issue as something that was significant for the industry and/or for the organization as a separate entity. In the second step, I identified the same two logics in Carlsberg UK and explored how the logics were coupled in the material from headquarters and Carlsberg UK. Here, I found two different ways of combining logics – organizational bricolage and industry bricolage (although they initially had different names), which will be elaborated in the findings section. I also made explored why the logics were coupled in this particular way. From my data collection in Sinebrychoff, Carlsberg Poland, and the ‘RD pilot project country’, Carlsberg Denmark, I learned that there was at least two additional way of coupling, and I therefore conducted an additional analysis including the new material. My aim was to get a broader, but still fine-grained, understanding of the ways in which Carlsberg Group constructs the interplay between logics in their RD conceptualization. Thus, in the final step, I searched thoroughly for how and why the logics were coupled, focusing on places in the data where the different logics would appear together. This included exploring conflicts that were presented and how they were managed. More specifically I coded the interviews and observation notes once again for “extension”

(Lincoln and Guba, 1985) to develop and extend the comparison between the different units. The coding was systematized in an Excel spreadsheet to get an overview of the patterns within and across the cases.

Before moving onto the findings, I want to note that I consider the empirical material to be rich and multifaceted in such a way that enables the development of empirically grounded ideas and conceptualizations about the constructed interplay between logics in general. However, I do not claim that I can prove exactly how these mechanisms work ‘universally’. Rather, the purpose of this empirical study is exploratory; it seeks to explore the intra-organizational interplay between logics and display the mechanisms that enable bridging and synergy, which may in turn inspire future research.

### **THE COUPLING OF LOGICS**

The empirical observations from the different organizational units helped me understand, from a micro-level perspective, how the local organizational practices in relation to RD was related in the way that the interplay between the social responsibility and the market logic was handled. In the different units, there were both similarities and differences in how the interplay was handled; these will be outlined in the following. Table 9.3 gives a comparative overview of the logics, illustrating the characteristics of the logics.

**TABLE 9.3**

**Comparative overview of the logics represented in the RD conceptualization**

	<b>Social responsibility logic</b>	<b>Market logic</b>
Belief systems (what goals are pursued within the field)	-Live up to ethical responsibility toward stakeholders/society.	Build competitive position  Increase profits
Focus	Stakeholder relation.  Environmental impact.  Societal concerns, that is, health issues and public opinion in general.	Return on investment  Brand positioning  Global standardization
Rules for achievement	- Live up to ethical standards in field.	- Efficiency  - Increased market shares  - Clear positioning  - Reduced governmental legislation
Associated Practices  (means for pursuing goals)	- Not encourage more than moderate drinking.  - Contributing to minimizing the downsides of the product.  - Encouraging and helping consumers with public transportation to and from concerts.  - Help run RD campaigns.	- Sell as much beer as possible, no matter what it takes.  - Run campaigns that get the products sold and claim distinction.  - Invent new products that satisfy consumers' needs for alcohol/beer products – and for “getting drunk”.
Exemplary quotes	<i>“We [‘brewers’] have a very clear position on how to combat abuse, we have a very clear understanding that brewers should play or ought to play an active role in relation to this matter. It is our product and therefore we must, of course, also help to ensure that consumers consume it in a responsible and sensible manner”</i> (Public Affairs Manager).	<i>“The Business Case for Leadership[on RD]: Proactive stance on responsibility can build positive brand association; manage reputational risk; build platform for advocacy; and open new markets”</i>  (RD Guidebook document: ‘Why do responsible drinking campaigns’, 2011:32)

### ***The Social Responsibility Logic***

The social responsibility logic has a strong history in Carlsberg. Even though a Corporate Social Responsibility unit has only rather recently been developed and a commitment has been made to the Global Compact in 2008, the company has a heritage that is present in the understanding of Carlsberg's social responsibility towards society. The following interview extract illustrates the importance of the organizational heritage:

*“We have a long history as a business, trying to do the right thing from a societal perspective and obviously, that culture is very important to us and there is almost **an inherent culture in the business as well around responsibility**, if you go back to Jacobsen and people like that. Part of the reason that Jacobsen sat up part of what he did, was a desire to, in his mind, **develop society and improve society** [...] that is still at the heart of Carlsberg as a business. And you only have to see what the business does in Denmark in terms of the foundation, **it clearly has a strong role in society**”*  
(Strategy & Marketing Manager, Carlsberg UK).

Many informants across the different units emphasized that this heritage and the Carlsberg Foundation are an important part of ‘who we are’, and some even explicitly reflected on how it shaped their behavior and actions. One of the units, Sinebrychoff, had its own local heritage, which seemed to have a similar significance for the local organizational actors:

*“You just have to remember that the company has been in the market for a 162 years, we ought to be here the next 200 years. And you don't change a country's drinking culture over a night, it takes generations, but we need to do our part, because we have to earn our mandate to produce alcohol.”*  
(Communication Manager, Sinebrychoff)

Although there is an external pressure in relation to social responsibility, the logic is also perceived as an important part of organizational actors' claimed organizational identity. Hence, the presence of the social responsibility logic in Carlsberg and in the conceptualization of responsible drinking is not exclusively about conforming to an

external societal pressure. In my empirical observations, I have noted that this societal engagement, the foundation, and the philanthropic heritage were cherished by informants and gave them a feeling of tradition and pride based on the fact that society would benefit from the company's fortune.

Another aspect of the social responsibility logic is that this investment in society and the greater good of society is also a long-term investment for the company. One of the most fundamental assumptions in the social responsibility logic is that the company is an integrated part of society, and that they are fundamentally interlinked; when the local community and society does well, so does the company and vice versa. In many ways it resembles what has recently been labeled a 'community logic' (Marquis and Lounsbury 2007; Marquis, Lounsbury and Greenwood 2011); that is, a logic and idea that has its roots in Tönnies' (1887) conceptualization of *Gemainschaft* (community) as a common purpose and will, which steer the individual's beliefs and actions. The individual has a responsibility to act for the greater good of the community of which she or he is a part; this aspect is evident in both of the selected quotes above.

### ***The Market Logic***

The dominant logic within Carlsberg is characterized by profit maximization via classic textbook focus areas such as marketing, brand building, return on investment, management control, market expansion, global standardization (same model works everywhere), and economies of scale. This list reflects the very dominant and broad societal logic of the market (in contemporary Western society) as theorized by Friedland and Alford (1991). I found that this logic was a cognitive truth that nobody questioned, in as much as all initiatives and all work practices have to be legitimized within the market logic.



In all of the units, the strength of the market logic meant that ‘marketing professionals’ were the key constituents; are responsible for the majority of the organizations interaction with external audiences. This communication is primarily directed towards consumers but reaches far beyond this group to policy makers, social aspect organizations, and broader society. Therefore, the marketing professionals’ support and engagement were critical for how the interplay between logics occurred. Marketing’s control and power was generally recognized by organizational actors from CSR, Communication, and Public Affairs, who were all the most committed to the implementation of RD and the ones to push for and argue for the values and ideals of the social responsibility logic. In general, the commitment and engagement of the marketing practitioners were agreed to be decisive in relation to RD, as the following quotes illustrate:

*“We [CSR and Communication] are trying to raise the bar a little. Our general strategy is the same, we have a group strategy in relation to RD which is made centrally and implemented locally, but this local implementation means that one must move through the marketing driven process”*

(Headquarters CSR Manager)

*“The Management need to recognize that ‘marketing’ also has a responsibility in relation to maintaining our commercial platform in the years to come. There will be little interest in complying with our marketing standards [policies and guidelines] until it becomes part of their KPI’s [key performance indicators]. What gets measured gets done, right!”*

(Headquarters Public Affairs Manager)

I identified two different types of effort to create a commitment among the marketing practitioners. The first was of a more regulative nature (Scott 2008), as initiatives consisted of industry and organizational self-regulation, as well as the implementation of different kinds of governance systems. These efforts were present in all the units to a greater or lesser extent. In this regard, I will note that headquarters has been doing follow-up surveys on the ‘implementation of the Carlsberg Group Marketing

Communication Policy’; although, many of the units were following local industry self-regulation systems. In this regard, several of the informants noted that these systems were more or less similar and modeled on the same industry association idea. The second type of effort is a more ‘normative’ (Scott 2008) conception of a legitimacy imperative, emphasizing that the engagement in RD was the norm and expected by all internal and external audiences, “*a must have CSR area.*” The arguments made internally were that it was impossible to be a brewer selling an alcohol product without engaging in the problem of the potential misuse of the product. In addition, references were often made to the developments within the tobacco industry, and the fact that tobacco producers had taken a wrong approach, while explicating that there were parallels between tobacco and alcohol. Although, all references to tobacco were followed by explicit justifications as to how there were still crucial differences: “*one of the most, and the biggest difference, is that moderate smoking is not good for you, and it’s not good for the people around you, whereas moderate drinking is*” (Manager, industry non-profit organization).

Although the market logic dominated in all of the organizational units’ approach to RD, they represented some form of unification of the social responsibility logic and the market logic. While both logics were present, there were differences in how and why the interplay between them was enacted in local RD approaches and initiatives.

### **Carlsberg Group’s Types of Coupling**

From my comparison of the different units (see comparative overview in Table 9.4), it became evident that there were two primary dimensions on which the different units varied: level of identification with the issue (collective and/or organizational construction of responses) and in the perceived interplay between the two logics.

**TABLE 9.4**  
**Comparative overview of the units conceptualization of 'Responsible Drinking'**

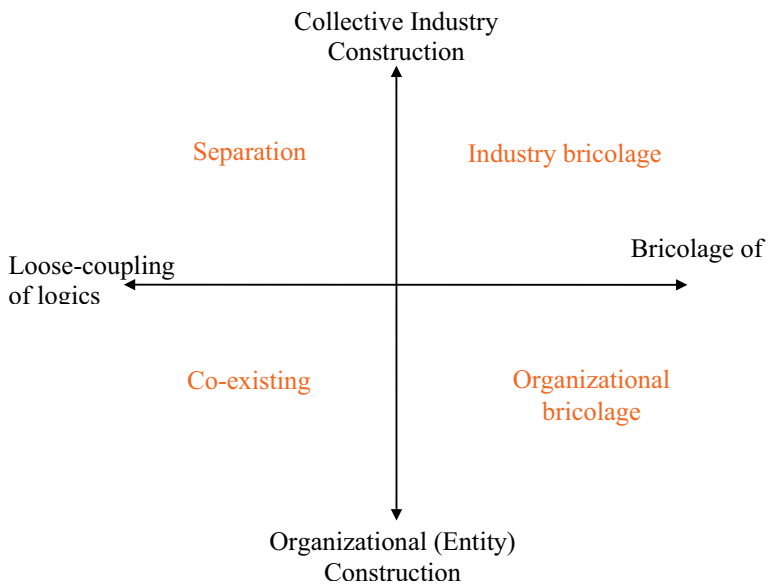
	<b>Headquarters</b>	<b>Carlsberg UK</b>	<b>Carlsberg Poland</b>	<b>Carlsberg Denmark</b>	<b>Sinebrychoff</b>
<i>Alcohol-related harm is perceived as...</i>	A significant problem.	A significant problem, not high on the local community's agenda.	Not a big problem, not high on the local community's agenda.	A significant problem.	A significant problem.
<i>Identification with the issue of 'alcohol-related harm'</i>	Organizational level identification with the issue.	Collective level identification with the issue.	Collective level identification with the issue.	Organizational level identification with the issue.	Organizational level identification with the issue.
<i>Perception of RD</i>	Our responsibility, but it is the subsidiaries that need to deal with it in practice.	Our responsibility, but it is a shared industry responsibility.	Not an organizational responsibility – could have negative influence on sales.	Our responsibility – focus on the positive message in committing to solving a societal problem.	Our responsibility – focus on the positive message in committing to solving a societal problem.
<i>Responsible drinking initiatives</i>	The local units primarily drive the agenda. HQ gives guidance rather than a global approach: <i>Policies and Guidelines</i> .	The organization openly commits to industry initiatives: <i>Following industry guidelines and mediating industry RD initiatives, e.g., educational materials made with specialists.</i>	Initiatives are never associated directly with the organization: <i>industry RD initiatives and guidelines.</i>	Moving towards an organizational promotion of moderate drinking through product branding (-no warning messages).	The organization promotes moderate drinking through product branding (-no warning messages).
<i>Primary owners</i>	CSR and Public Affairs Department.	Industry Associations and an industry trust (NPO) formed with relevant stakeholders, i.e., health specialists and government.	Industry Association.	Marketing and Communication.	Communication and Marketing.
<i>Primary type of coupling</i>	Co-existing (but with efforts to move towards organizational bricolage).	Industry bricolage.	Separation.	Organizational bricolage.	Organizational bricolage.

The first dimension represents the significant differences in the level of identification with the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’. The level of identification with the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ was one of the main dimensions determining the response. The organizational members understood and constructed the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ as a concern for the organization or the industry as a whole, which determined whether or not they engaged in organization-led RD initiatives. In other words, if the organizational members understood themselves as being part of the united industry collective, i.e., ‘we are brewers’, they would act in accordance with industry standards and support collective RD initiatives, while a conception of the issue as a concern for the entity triggered an engagement in organization-led initiatives. Although this study touches on the aspect of level, the object of study are the organizational actors, and their interpretation and actions in relation to the interplay between logics. Hence, all aspects of the findings that move beyond the organizational ‘border’ have been included based on the bottom-up approach described in the method section.

The second primary dimension was related to the interplay between the logics. In relation to the different approaches to RD, actors’ accounts illustrated a variation in how much synergy they saw between the two logics, for example, some saw them as heavily conflicting and attempted to keep them more or less separate. In these instances, there would be no or few organizational initiatives to tackle the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’, and then RD initiatives made in industry collaboration were understood to be more prosperous; whereas others believed there were large synergies between them and attempted to unite them in their daily practice and conceptualization of RD.

These two empirically-derived primary dimensions are used to dig deeper into how and why a certain way of coupling was selected and they provide the categorical backdrop for the elaboration on the four types or categories of logic interplay present in

Carlsberg Group’s responses to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’. The differences found in relation to the level of identification and coupling in the comparison between the different units made certain patterns evident. Taking point of departure in the organizational actors’ accounts and in the RD initiatives that were taken within each unit or its associated industry association, four different types of logic interplay were derived. These four different types of logic interplay have been visualized in Figure 9.1 and will be elaborated on in the following.



**Figure 9.1: The four different types of logic interplay.**

The types of logic interplay could either be the unit’s only response, or co-exist alongside other types of response (without any linkage). Table 9.5 display the data constitution of the different types of logic interplay (please see dissertation appendix 3). In the following, I will describe the four different ways of responding to the institutional complexity related to the conceptualization of RD. As I have explained in the method section, this is a study of the organizational actors, thus it is these actors’

understandings and interpretations that is focal; however, these are clearly contextualized within common industry ideas and frames of appropriate behavior. By uncovering these four types of response, we gain a better understanding of how and why logics are sometimes perceived to be irreconcilable, while at other times the embracing of complexity may be perfectly natural to the organizational actors, and perhaps even perceived as creating synergy.

### ***Separation***

In the Carlsberg Group, separation occurred when the organizational actors sought to engage in responsible drinking solely through industry organizations; in this case, RD and industry initiatives were never directly associated with the organization. In other words, there was a loose coupling of the social responsibility logic and the market logic, but this coupling was more of a collective industry response.

The organizational actors handling the complexity through separation did not consider the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ to be a big problem, ostensibly because they did not perceive the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ to be high on the local societal agenda. At the same time, the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ was not perceived as being ‘our problem’ or ‘our responsibility’. In fact, the widespread perception of RD within the model of separation was that it was most likely to have a negative impact on sales if such initiatives were to be pursued (which they were not). The potential conflicts in uniting the social responsibility logic and the market logic are substantiated in the following citation from a subsidiary brand manager:

*“We don’t see it [RD] as something that’s going to help us with the consumer at the end of the day. And when we’re trying to grow a brand as being the sort of beer of choice for young consumers, then actually putting out responsible drinking messages almost goes against that to be honest.”*

This extract illustrates how organizational actors drawing on the market logic perceived RD to be incompatible with their daily practices and the goals they are

pursuing. One informant from a subsidiary communication department gave the following example of the difficulties in uniting different goals:

*“We [in communication] have been probing marketing, to somehow base the plot of an ad on the responsible drinking message [...] and they said: ‘No, it’s impossible for us, because our brand and the strategy of the brand is to communicate completely different things. Our brand strategy is not based on social issues, it’s based on the benefits which the consumers wants to have from drinking our beer.’”*

This model of separation was not surprisingly favored in contexts where the market logic dominated considerably, and the marketers would emphasize how their efforts are measured through their short-term financial gains by local management and headquarters. Therefore, they argued that these efforts should be prioritized. Consequently, in this model, organizational actors only use few organizational resources to pursue initiatives that do not contribute to ‘short-term’ financial gain.

Still, at the communal level, there was an identification with the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’, meaning that the social responsibility logic and market logic were coupled; however, this coupling did not occur in organizational practice. A concrete example of the materialization of the separation model is the industry association’s development of responsible drinking campaigns against ‘drunk driving’, youth drinking, and ‘binge drinking’, and most industry associations have these types of initiatives that are completely detached from the member organizations. In 2009 Browary Polska (the Polish Brewery association) made a campaign in collaboration with the local police force called *“Appearances can be deceptive, ID is not.”* This campaign aimed to reduce sales to minors by getting retailers and potential witnesses to stop minors, under the legal drinking age, from buying alcohol. The industry

association made campaign packages with “*educational material*”<sup>29</sup> that had been made in collaboration with psychologists and the police. These packages included posters and stickers for the local retail store, information material for the sales personnel on how to handle minors attempting to buy alcohol, as well as a brochure for parents. As a follow up on this campaign, the CEO of Browary Polska noted:

*“[...] a real difference was made with these activities, aimed to reduce young people’s access to alcohol. We as an industry, worked together, there was absolutely no focus what so ever on individual companies, brands, breweries, or anything like that. It was just the association, just one industry, and working together we really made a significant change.”*

In this citation, the CEO highlights how this was not about the branding or marketing of companies; instead, the sole purpose was to create a significant social change – a change in the public perception of youth drinking and a change in the public’s alcohol behavior. However, as this citation also indicates, this community engagement is more or less decoupled from the organization, and the RD initiatives, or the development of these, were never in anyway associated directly with the organization. This separation is crucial within the separation model because a coupling with the market logic is experienced as being highly illegitimate and, “*the consumers are not ready for that [...] because the current brand messages are too far from the responsible drinking idea*” (local Communication Manager).

### ***Co-existing***

In the model of co-existing logics, the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ is understood as a significant problem for the industry and for the organization. Here, the focus is on the organization’s own role in aggravating consumers’ inappropriate use of the product via

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<sup>29</sup> In general, informants refer to the communication that regard RD and do not include any direct marketing messages as ‘educational material’.



its marketing communication. The risk that is therefore tackled in this model is the risk of being labeled as an organization that is directly linked with the problem of ‘alcohol-related harm’, and as an organization that will use any means to sell its products, no matter what consequence this might have for the consumer. Within this conceptualization, market goals and social goals are seen as being in stark contrast to one another, and there is only a very loose coupling (Weick and Orton 1990; Boxenbaum and Jonsson, 2008) in initiatives such as self-regulation. Self-regulation is created both at industry and group level, as the Carlsberg Group has its own ‘Marketing Communication Policy’. Although commitment to these self-regulation initiatives are often also made as a collective at industry level, I found that the commitment in practice is something that occurs within the organization and it is fundamentally about actors’ claims of an organizational commitment.

Industry associations such as British Beer & Pub Association and Portman Group<sup>30</sup> deal with industry self-regulation and engage in developing industry CSR codes of conduct and standards, such as marketing policies and guidelines, standards that have the aim of maintaining the ‘*commercial platform of the industry*’. Although these self-regulations are targeted at internal organizational marketers who draw on the market logic, it instigates a forced coupling; it is an attempt to put top-down restrictions, rules, and boundaries on the means for pursuing market goals. One informant elaborated on this need for the restriction of marketing:

*“Have you seen Mad Men? Back when marketing was first invented it was the ‘wild west’ and all kinds of claims were made to get the product sold [...] that is how it is, simply. That is why the legislators have had to find a way to put restrains on these ‘animals’ [marketing practitioners] and again we rather restrain ourselves than have others do it, it gives, both us and society a better outcome.”*

(CSR Manager, headquarters)

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<sup>30</sup> The Portman Group is the UK social responsibility body for drinks producers.

This citation illustrates the conflict and that this idea of social responsibility is not an integrated part of marketing practice. However, the CSR and communication employees see a legitimacy imperative for at least covering ‘the basics’ so that the organization’s marketing practitioners do not aggravate or are seen to encourage ‘irresponsible drinking’. In that respect, they attempt to change marketing’s behavior via self-regulation. Hence, the codes of conduct are formal demands that the organizational actors within marketing are compelled to adopt; however, not without attempts at *defiance* and *manipulation* (Oliver 1995; Pache and Santos 2010):

*“In terms of x [brand name] and what we do activity wise, they [competitors] probably look at us and see how much we can almost get away with, and see what are the boundaries that we’re trying to reach, and they might do the same themselves.”*

(Brand Manager)

The excerpt above indicates that there is a shared understanding across the industry (within the market logic) that there is some sort of ‘status’ (market logic) in approaching the boundaries of the industry guidelines. A brand manager gave an elaborate example:

*“Well, so for example this music video campaign is kind of pushing the boundaries in terms of what a beer brand can do, linking up with an artist that, you know they’re literally 25 years old, so it’s not like they’re quite old, they’re just on the boundary. And you know thankfully I don’t think we got any complaints or anything, but there’s always something in the back of your mind that thinks maybe someone could complain about this, because it is essentially a band who are doing a music video that’s got lots of x [beer brand] in it, and there’s people dancing around, there’s hot women dancing around, and so there’s always the potential for something to go wrong [...] I don’t think we went out with the intention to push the boundaries; we went out with the intention to kind of get our brand message across. But if that means that there’s elements in there that could be interpreted by some people as crossing the line, then I guess that’s always the risk.”*

(Brand Manager)

From my findings, it becomes evident that although these guidelines are used and applied by employees working with marketing (embedded within the market logic), the

logics are competing and frictions occur as the guidelines set boundaries for the creativity of the marketing people. At the same time, the marketing practitioners do not find it appropriate to make an organizational pairing of the logics that moves beyond the marketing guidelines. In this model of co-existence, there is little collaboration between the different groups of actors in relation to initiatives: CSR and communication are working with the conceptualization of initiatives on one side for marketing, and marketing might or might not be tied down by these restrictions. It is clear that this is a top-down regulation (official commitment from top-management) of their practices, where marketing's fundamental belief and commitment to the social responsibility logic is of little relevance so long as they restrain themselves.

### ***Industry Bricolage***

In this model, the issue of 'alcohol-related harm' is perceived as being a significant problem, both for the overall industry and for the organization. The organizational actors talk about how consumers' inappropriate use of the product is a 'risk' and a threat to the legitimacy of the beer product. In contrast to the separation model, organizational actors actually believe that the problems related to alcohol consumption are their responsibility, and they want to help solve these problems. At the same time, however, they see it as a shared responsibility that all alcohol and beer producers must commit to together. A motivator and argument that is often used is: "*We have to maintain the commercial platform of the industry*" and avoid a potential stigmatization of the product. Many informants indicated that they saw the fate of the tobacco industry as a worst-case scenario and that they feared that alcohol and beer were moving in the same direction. 'Alcohol-related harm' is therefore understood as a significant problem that must be dealt with. This model is characterized by collaboration: The organizational actors are claiming a collective industry unity in relation to the issue of 'alcohol-related harm'. This collaboration also entails that the

industry engage in dialogue and cooperation with government and health specialists, who represent a social logic.

In the UK, the model of industry bricolage materialized in the RD initiatives developed by the special interest organization ‘Drinkaware’. Drinkaware is a UK charity whose strategic objective is to: *“Increase awareness, improve attitudes and affect positive changes in behaviour related to alcohol consumption”* (Drinkaware, Annual Report, 2010: 3). The turnover of the Drinkaware Trust is based on contributions from across the alcohol drinks industry, and in 2010 the total incoming resources amounted to £ 5.3 million. In 2004 the UK government urged the drinks industry to fund alcohol education and proclaimed that these educational efforts should be separate from the industry. Hence, the Drinkaware trust was founded in 2007 after an agreement between the government and the industry, with a governance structure that was to make it independent from the drinks industry. Even though organizational actors emphasized that Drinkaware is totally separate from the industry and the organization, there were still some linkages, since the commitment to Drinkaware was made quite openly. On Carlsberg UK’s and all the other industry funders’ packaging and commercial material, there is the Drinkaware organization’s label (Figure 9.2) with the text, *“Enjoy Responsibly [...] drinkaware.co.uk for the facts”*, a line that also appears on their website. Furthermore, when Drinkaware needed help communicating their responsible drinking efforts, they would get in direct contact with the member organizations and get assistance from marketing experts, or collaborate in relation to specific events, e.g., Carlsberg would share its sponsor space with Drinkaware at soccer matches to publicize the responsible drinking message. In this example, elements from different logics (domains) are coupled for a somewhat similar cause; the social responsibility logic (health specialist, etc.) to get people to drink less and the market logic (organization and industry) to secure their commercial platform through a commitment to solve the problem of ‘alcohol-related harm’.



**Figure 9.2: Commercial material with a reference to Drinkaware.**

It is clear that the organizational actors experience that brewers have a responsibility in terms of informing the public about the potential harm of a product. At the same time, they also express the concern that audiences perceive a unification of the social responsibility logic and the market logic to be illegitimate, as this UK manager explains:

*“I think that the area of education is always a difficult area [...] for drinks industry first hand to be educating, I think there is quite a strong level of cynicism around, which I think is unfair in some ways, but I think it is just the real world that we operate in. And so I actually think it is more effective that we have somebody like Drinkaware, who are independent from industry, but are funded by the industry, to go and do the educational piece.”*

This excerpt underscores that an industry bricolage in relation to the conceptualization of responsible drinking is considered to be more credible in the eyes of the public. The division of expertise in relation to meeting different goals was also understood to be important. Some of the organizational actors liable to exhibit this model of industry bricolage also argued that it could potentially be a problem to pursue the different goals (logics) simultaneously. A local senior manager within marketing elaborated:

*“I see it as you are almost losing sight of the objective, if the objective is to try and educate people to drink alcohol more responsibly and treat alcohol more responsibly, then that is our sole objective, we have all then got the same objective, so why wouldn't you effectively be pooling what you are doing and working together against that objective, rather than going off and trying to [...] make sure you are [...] I think that there is the risk that people see it as an opportunity to score points with politicians or whatever it is for their benefit and then I think at that point, if you end up being a disparate group then you are not going to be effective at all.”*

The argument made here is that the market logic and the aim of competitive advantage might take over if the two objectives are paired in relation to RD initiatives made with the organization as the sender. The result could be that the social objectives are not met. Another finding that can be read from the above citation is that it is only at the collective level (in industry collaboration) that the market logic is understood to be compatible with the social responsibility logic; hence, the need for separation is primarily a question of separating the RD initiatives from the organization.

Still, within the Carlsberg Group, there are some organizational actors who are working with pairing their branding (market logic) with the social responsibility messages, and this leads us to organizational bricolage.

### ***Organizational Bricolage***

In this model, organizational actors consider the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ to be a significant problem that the organization needs to engage in. Contrary to the model of industry bricolage, the execution of RD initiatives are considered to be an opportunity to engage in shaping a societal agenda around an issue that is of significant importance to the organization’s legitimacy and future survival. In that sense, this is a much more proactive model on the part of the organization; in this model, the organizational actors try to escape the image of brewers as being ‘*part of the problem*’, and instead they want to be ‘*part of the solution to the problem*’. The organizational actors are therefore consciously focusing on developing a positive message to send to the consumers, and

thereby engender positive associations to the product. Correspondingly, in the organizational bricolage initiatives that the units undertook, the idea was to link the RD conceptualization to the branding of the products, as one informant noted: “*we want to link it to who we are, and what we sell*”, and as another noted, “*we don’t sell beer, we sell brands.*” Notably, in this model the issue entered a marketing realm, hence, there was a broader participation of actors, representing both logics (CSR, communication and marketing people).

In relation to the pilot project at Carlsberg Denmark, there was a commitment from headquarters and the local senior management to pursue a conceptualization of RD, where a new coupling between the social responsibility logic and the market logic was being made. In a meeting around this conceptualization, the participants had a discussion concerning the importance of creating a positive message:

Commercial Insights Manager, Pernille<sup>31</sup>: “[...] *now we have to be careful now, we do not want to go against ourselves on this and provoke this stigmatization of the product. We should drop these types of warning messages and focus on binge drinking. We need to have a soft version like: ‘you will miss the concert’ or ‘don’t be the class clown’ [...] the focus has to be on life quality.*”  
[Later in the same discussion]

Brand Manager, Jens: “*I am really not comfortable with that ‘warning label’ idea, it will not go through [...] we will definitely aggravate the stigmatization with a ‘warning label’ [...] ‘we are not cigarettes’ [he whispers]. We need something like ‘drink with class’, rather than structures, and rules. I seriously have a huge problem with putting this ‘health authority warning label’ on the product.*”

This extract from a meeting discussion illustrates how organizational actors using this model of organizational bricolage seek to avoid the negative message; these actors want to avoid a message that emphasizes alcohol, and beer in particular, as a problem. In addition, the actors selectively chose to focus on specific elements from a social

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<sup>31</sup> The names are pseudonyms.

domain, e.g., they chose the most ‘appropriate’ RD area in relation to their target audience, that is ‘youth drinking/ and ‘binge drinking’; they did not choose areas such as ‘alcoholism’ or ‘pregnancy’. Moreover, they seek positive angles that are different from warning messages. The extract also illustrates that they seek to disassociate their own RD initiatives from what they consider as the ‘worst-case’ RD type of initiatives: The tobacco industry’s warning labels, as well as previous warning campaigns from health authorities and industry associations, with messages like ‘*drinking will shorten your life*’, etc. In this respect, I want to emphasize that there is widespread understanding both within the organization and the industry that drinking in moderation is not health damaging. On this point, a regional industry representative noted:

*“[...] the industry doesn’t like it, but there are a lot of parallels between alcohol and cigarettes – there are also some very significant differences between alcohol and cigarettes. And one of the biggest differences is that moderate smoking is not good for you, and it’s not good for the people around you, whereas moderate drinking is.”*

(Industry representative UK)

This idea of moderate drinking is very central to the whole conceptualization of RD, but significantly so in the model of organizational bricolage, where the attempt is to promote the idea of moderate drinking together with the product. In Sinebrychoff, this idea of promoting drinking in moderation was made in a subtle and sophisticated way in a ‘food and beer’ campaign. The campaign centered on the coupling of beer and food and was promoted in recipes in magazines, pamphlets, in-store material, and product placement (a particular beer next to a particular type of food). The campaign did not explicitly state that the consumer should drink in moderation; instead, it attempted to emphasize that the occasion for drinking is while eating. With this campaign, the attempt was to alter the image of beer as well as consumers’ behavior. A communication manager involved in the development of the ‘food and beer’ campaign explained this point in relation to ‘beer and food’ events:



*“We teach people how to combine cheese and beer, and things like that, and we always teach how to make a perfect draft beer. We let people get behind the bar, to make their own draft beer so that they start respecting the product, and they learn that; ‘hey you have to know something about beer – beer is not just something you pour quickly down your throat. Instead you should really, once you order a beer, think, ‘what did I order, how does it look,’ and then **enjoy it!**”*

Again, this example from Sinebrychoff illustrates that the organizational actors attempt to make a change in their consumers’ behavior by emphasizing the positive sides of the product, not by putting out warning messages. They seek not to mention the problem of ‘alcohol-related harm’ directly, so they do not end up taking ownership for the problem.

In this model of organizational bricolage, a coupling of the market logic and the social responsibility logic is considered to be legitimate when the RD message is aligned with the character and message of the product brand. This connotes that the RD campaigns were quite different from the ones in the two other models, which focused on risks and problems and ‘warning’ campaigns, e.g., ‘don’t drink and drive’. The focus of the involved organizational actors was solely on the positive message in committing to solving a societal problem.

## **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

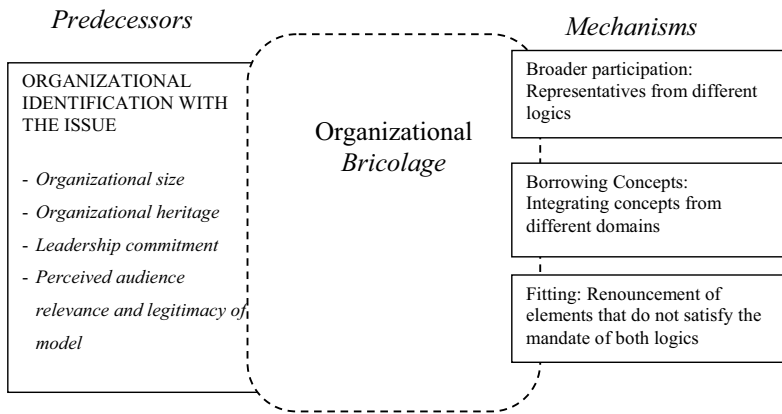
In this study, I have explored how and why the interplay between logics is constructed by using a case study approach to analyze Carlsberg Group’s initiatives in tackling the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’. While the literature has focused on organizations’ responses to institutional complexity and multiple, co-existing logics, it has assumed a static and singular type of organizational response (Greenwood et al. 2011). Here, I have studied different units within one organization while focusing on the same

multiplicity of logics. This multiplicity of logics is intrinsic to organizational identification with the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’. I compared headquarters’ and four subsidiaries’ (in the UK, Poland, Denmark, and Finland) approach to the issue, while focusing on how the interplay between logics (market and social responsibility) was interpreted and handled by the organizational actors within each unit. While comparing and contrasting the interplay between logics in the different units, I was able to discern certain patterns in the organizational actors’ interpretations and practices that might not have otherwise been accessible. Above all, it was the similarities and differences in relation to logic interplay that gave me a better understanding of how and why a certain conception and type of interplay was selected. In contrast to most previous studies (e.g., Pache and Santos 2010), this case study showed that the organization had at least four types of responses, and that these were not simply connected to each of the units; instead, most of the units engaged in several types of responses (and logic interplay) to the same issue. While I considered all types of interplay between the logics, I was particularly interested in understanding the situations where the logics were considered to be more comparable and thus a response that bridged the logics was sought. In this respect, the case study showed that organizational actors’ conception of the issue as a concern for the organization as an entity was a central predecessor for organizational (institutional) bricolage. Furthermore, from my empirical analysis, I was able to extract four aspects that were decisive for organizational identification with the issue, as well as three mechanisms that drove the organizational bricolage process. These will be summarized in the following.

Digging deeper into each of the different types of logic interplay allowed me to compare them and gain a deeper understanding of how and why the logic coupling occurred from an organizational perspective. Based on the comparison between the different units, I have identified some common predecessors and the mechanisms that

characterized the organizational bricolage (institutional) in Carlsberg Group when it occurred (Figure 9.3). The organizational bricolage only happened in situations where the organizational actors interpreted the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’ as a concern for the organization as a distinct entity. I identified four aspects that were intimately connected with the organizational identification. First, the units that engaged with organizational bricolage were all relatively big in the market in which they were operating; both Sinebrychoff and Carlsberg Denmark have a very large market share, 53 percent and 63 percent respectively, which meant that they are highly visible, and which to the informants meant that they had to be ‘frontrunners’ and agenda setters. Second, the organizational heritage was seen as a significant argument for engaging in RD initiatives in the units where there was a philanthropic history, and the social responsibility logic therefore had an existing anchor in the organization, in present or prior practice. The third aspect was leadership commitment, and it was important for the new process in Carlsberg Denmark, which had both management’s and Carlsberg Group’s support. This aspect was not evident in Finland, which had engaged with the issue for a longer period; therefore leadership commitment might only be imperative in the early stages of organizational bricolage. In contrast, my observations at headquarters showed that leadership commitment was more divergent, and that the efforts of RD and organizational bricolage were marginalized and given a low priority compared to other organizational agendas. The fourth and last aspect of importance was that organizational members perceived audience relevance and legitimacy, that is, informants in Carlsberg UK and Carlsberg Poland did not consider organizational RD efforts to be relevant in relation to their audiences; on the contrary, they did not conceive these as being legitimate since RD efforts were considered to be in too stark a contrast to the organization’s core purpose of selling the product. Thus, any coupling with marketing was considered to be solely about “image management”, and therefore considered illegitimate. In Sinebrychoff I observed a similar tendency, albeit slightly different. Here, the organizational bricolage of logics occurred, but it was much more

implicit, and an explicit coupling was seen as less authentic. RD was instead claimed to be something that was a natural and fundamental part of the organization’s identity claim (Albert and Whetten, 1985), ‘the Sinebrychoff way’. In that sense, their approach is similar to what Matten and Moon (2008: 409) label implicit CSR, which refers to the role that the organization has within formal and informal institutions for society’s interests and concerns. In other words, the organization is assumed to have an integrated role in society and is therefore expected to act accordingly. Together, these different aspects prompted the organizational identification with the issue, creating both a sensibility to the issue and impetus for organizational bricolage in relation to the RD conceptualization.



**Figure 9.3 Organizational Bricolage**

Three mechanisms drove the creation of an organizational bricolage in relation to the conceptualization of RD. First, the conceptualization was created through an engagement of actors who represented the different logics, which then enabled broader participation and collaboration. In addition, this mechanism also created the

understanding that RD was more closely linked to ‘who we are and what we do’ or in the words of one of the informants “*what we are and what we sell*”. Second, the collaboration created an opportunity for borrowing and integrating concepts from different domains, e.g., SWOT analysis and KPI’s (market domain), and the concept and focus on ‘youth drinking’ as a problem and using the terms ‘teaching’ (social/public information domain), which indicates a communication of facts and knowledge to the “unknowing” consumers. Finally, there was the mechanism of fitting or editing (Sahlin and Wedlin 2008), this occurred because the RD conceptualization had to represent both logics and hence satisfy the mandate of both logics; an aspect that is consistent with Waldorff et al.’s (2013) observation in relation to constellations of logics in the Danish and Canadian healthcare systems, and hence supports this aspect of their findings.

This figure is not intended to be a universal model, or sought to represent an exhaustive list of factors and mechanisms; rather, it is a case specific contextualized model. Still, I do believe my findings may apply in other settings as well, therefore, I hope that they will spark further research on the interplay between logics, types of interplays, and the mechanisms of organizational (institutional) bricolage.

By elaborating on how and why each of these types of logic interplay was selected, I contribute to the literature in two ways. First, the common assumption within the study of institutional logics posits conflicts between logics, although recent studies (e.g., Battilana and Dorado 2010; Pache and Santos 2010, *forthcoming*; Jarzabkowski et al. 2013; Christiansen and Lounsbury 2013) are beginning to move beyond conflicting logics to explore how logics might also bridge or even blend. In contrast to prior studies that explore the organizational-level logic interplay (e.g., Battilana and Dorado 2010; Pache and Santos 2010), this study moves beyond a focus on organizational-level structures and practices by focusing on the organizational actors’ ideas and

interpretations. This study showed that, in some situations, logics may support or even sustain one another (in both of the bricolage types). In these situations, the organizational actors expressed that there were synergies because the goals of the market logic could not be sustained without meeting the demands from other logics, in this case the social responsibility logic. Also in these situations, the actors clearly believed that if the Carlsberg Group failed to achieve legitimacy within the social responsibility logic, it could potentially lose or compromise its legitimacy within the market logic through a loss of market share to organizations more adept at achieving or maintaining legitimacy within the social responsibility logic. I therefore propose that future studies should elaborate on this type of synergy creation and on how logics might sustain one another. Furthermore, while this study was focused on the organization, it illustrated the organization's interaction and embeddedness within a larger industry. Although it is not within the reach of this study, I think that the category of 'industry bricolage' gave an indication that similar mechanisms might be at play at industry level. I therefore suggest that a fruitful direction for future studies would be to address logic coupling and blending in situations where industry associations, government, health specialists, and non-profit organizations come together to deal with societal problems, such as 'alcohol-related harm'.

Second, the study is distinct in its approach to the organizational response to complexity because it showed that the different units consistently engaged in several types of responses simultaneously. Greenwood et al. (2011) made the call for studies that look at organizational responses in the plural sense, rather than the singular form that tends to dominate most of the current literature (excluding Binder 2007). This study suggests that the organization's role in institutionalization is to be seen as a non-linear process, with different models existing simultaneously. Thus, the organization's role in this process should perhaps not be restricted to influencing the institutionalization process in one direction but in several. It is puzzling that we have

come to consider the topic of institutional complexity in such a unitary way. This study indicate that scholars studying the role of organizations in institutionalization processes need to consider more than the interplay between logics, they also need to take into account that organizations are multifaceted, fluid constructs that generate different types of response, which may or may not interact or connect with the same institutionalization processes at the field level. This might have notable implications for future studies; researches should not assume that when one organizational response has been identified, then that is the only one. We need to look deeper inside the organizations to see how different functions and professions might have different attachments to the organizational environment (e.g., focus on government, consumers or the broader society) and construct a range of responses to the same complexity. Therefore, there is a necessity to explore and develop this aspect in greater detail via in-depth case studies; exploring this response plurality within and beyond organizational borders.

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## 10. CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I have studied how organizational actors (managers) experience and construct the interplay between logics in their responses to the complexity they face in relation to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’. In this dissertation, I examined the research question: *How does Carlsberg Group handle multiple institutional logics in their responses to the complexity they face in relation to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’?*. In my pursuit of answers to this question, I have explored (1) the interplay between different levels of identity claims (organization and industry) in the creation of an organizational response, (2) the organizational actors’ construction of interplay between logics, and (3) intra-organizational challenges related to multiple logics, including the question of how they might be reconciled.

This study has been conducted as an inductive case study of Carlsberg Group’s responses to increased pressure from government and civil society to accommodate to a changed public view on alcohol producers and brewers’ responsibilities. The dissertation centers on Carlsberg Group’s conceptualization of Corporate Social Responsibility in relation to ‘responsible drinking’, i.e., activities aimed at preventing the misuse of alcohol. In real time, I have followed the interpretations and response(s) of organizational actors’ as these developed over a period of two and a half years (2010-2013). I have also looked at how they were expressed in documents dating back to 2003. This process has been accomplished with a focus on one particular project and its conceptualization over time at the organization’s headquarters and their chosen ‘pilot project’ subsidiary. In addition, I have traced the development inductively from headquarters to three subsidiaries in Finland, the UK, and Poland, and to industry associations, local, regional, and global.

Theoretically, I have followed the line of many Scandinavian Institutionalists (e.g., Boxenbaum and Strandgaard Pedersen 2009; Boxenbaum and Jonsson 2008; Westenholz, Strandgaard Pedersen, and Dobbin 2006; Westenholz 2012) who have studied organizational responses from an interpretive perspective. Moreover, in my approach to this study, I have explored an organization as an entity and illustrated that different actors (within different functions or units) within this organization interpret and respond to “the same” issue in various ways. Many of these studies have focused on the organizational translation of globalized models or the local editing of these models (Sahlin and Wedlin 2008); in this understanding, recognizable concepts travel across space and time and are translated to fit the local context, meaning that concepts are somewhat similar across organizations. I have proposed slightly different processes of institutional bricolage, emphasizing the construction of concepts (conceptualization) in which the local context, the actors’ interpretation and the creation of the concept (in this case responsible drinking) are central, and where elements ‘borrowed’ from different logics are combined. Perhaps this institutional bricolage should not be seen as entirely distinct from the concept of translation, but rather as a specification or a modification, because the analytical object is not the traveling of ideas, which are altered and modified as they travel through space and time, but rather a situated collection of different ideas or elements (representing different logics) that are combined in the construction of a concept.

Hence, the contribution of this dissertation is the empirical exploration and theorization of the relationship between institutional logics and identity within an organizational context. This study accentuates how different interpretive frames shape the organizational responses to an issue that is comprised of multiple logics; the responses vary according to the organizational actors’ claim about different levels of identity in relation to the issue and to their different constructions of interplays among logics. Notably, this empirical study showed how different interpretations materialized in

various concrete practices (responses), i.e., industry ‘responsible drinking’ campaigns without organizational involvement, marketing communication policies and codes of conduct, and collective industry campaigns with organizational involvement and organization-driven campaigns. To wit, the identified understandings of logic interplay and identity claims were substantiated by showing how they were embodied in concrete organizational strategies and practices (Ravasi and Phillips 2011) in relation to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’.

Based on my empirical observations, I have depicted the organizational responses and their construction process as being shaped by two logics, the logic of social responsibility and the market, as well as organizational actors identity claims and whether they emphasized their collective identity as members of an industry (‘we are brewers’) or their distinctive organizational identity (‘we are Carlsberg’). These aspects were depicted separately in paper 1 (chapter 7), where the interplay between collective and organizational identities were explored in a temporal perspective; paper 2 (chapter 8) elaborates on the organizational bridging of logics via bricolage; and paper 3 (chapter 9) illustrates how and why logic interplay is constructed and is shaped by organizational actors’ level of identification (collective or organizational identity claims) with the issue. In the following, I will highlight the general theoretical and practical contributions of this dissertation, and suggest possible directions for future research.

### **Theoretical Contributions**

This dissertation’s combined contribution is primarily to the institutional logics literature and secondarily to the literature regarding organizational response to complexity and finally to the institutionally oriented perspective on organizational identity. This dissertation contributes to these literatures in five different ways.

First, the intra-organizational dynamics involved in the organizational responses to multiple logics has received little focus empirically (Greenwood 2011). Although some recent studies have enriched our understanding of the organizational-level structures and practices (e.g., Pache and Santos 2010; Battilana and Dorado 2010), scant attention has been paid to the organizational actors' interpretations and understandings (Zilber 2013). In contrast to previous intra-organizational studies (excluding some Scandinavian work, e.g., Westenholtz 2012), I have deliberately focused on organizational actors' cognition and construction of interplay between multiple logics. In the comparative part of this study, I derived four different ways that logic interplay was constructed: separation, co-existing, industry bricolage, and organizational bricolage. While focusing on the organizational bricolage, I theorized some of the elements that make organizational actors embrace complexity and perceive a potential for the creation of synergy. According to this theorization, organizational identification with the issue and the presence of both logics are fundamental to the embracing of complexity and synergy. Furthermore, the organizational actors' perception of organizational size and position in industry, organizational heritage, leadership commitment, audience relevance and legitimacy of combined models (the concrete outcome of a coupling of logics, e.g., RD campaign) contribute to shaping the interpretation of the issue at hand.

Second, this dissertation contributes to our understanding of organizational responses to institutional complexity by illustrating that the organizational response to issues (institutional pressures or perceived threats) are not as unitary as implied in previous studies; there is not just one response within an organization, but several. Aside from Binder's (2007) ethnographic case study, which showed that different units within the same organization responded to the same institutional pressures (different logics) in different ways, there has been very little focus on plural organizational responses in the

same organization (Binder 2007; Greenwood et al. 2011). This research project showed how variations in response occurred within and across the organizational realm, over time and across levels and space. Paper 1 (chapter 7) showed that the dominant response changed and developed over time; paper 2 (chapter 8) the illustrated how organizational actors crafted a response via a process of institutional bricolage and combined different logics by drawing upon extant organizational resources from different times and spaces in an effort to reconstitute their organizational identity; paper 3 (chapter 9) showed how different units engaged in several types of responses, simultaneously. A possible implication of this finding is that the role of the organization in institutionalization processes might have to be reconsidered. If several models exist simultaneously in each organization, institutionalization may be a non-linear process in the sense that an organization may simultaneously influence the institutionalization process in several directions, not just in one direction.

Third, while this study has focused on the interplay between logics, it has depicted it as both a source of conflict and synergy. The focus on the organizational actors' cognitions meant that it was possible to identify instances in which organizational actors envisioned synergies and that a coupling of logics was necessary for the survival of the company and even the industry. In these situations, the organizational actors engaged in institutional bricolage (industry or organizational), where they integrated constructs from different domains (and logics). This finding is consistent with recent theoretical developments, where actors are depicted as relatively autonomous and capable of mixing elements from different logics (Thornton et al. 2012); but, more importantly, it also depicts situations where there is an experienced synergy between logics – a more positive relation between the different logics, which is rare (Jarzabkowski et al. 2013). Most studies have elaborated on how conflicts can be

overcome and disregard that organizational actors might also in some instances experience the bridging of logics as an opportunity.

Fourth, this dissertation provides insights into the interplay that exists between logics and identity, a link that has been theorized by some (e.g., Thornton et al. 2012; Crumley and Lounsbury 2007) but seldom elaborated empirically (see, e.g., Battilana and Dorado 2010; Lok 2010 for exceptions). My research suggests that actors make collective and organizational identity claims in response to an issue compromised of multiple logics; claims that both constrain and enable the construction of the interplay (whether limited or tightly coupled) between logics in practice. It also showed that a shift of emphasis from collective to organizational identity claims occurred in parallel with an altered interpretation of the issue as a feature more closely related to the product – the organization’s output – and therefore considered to be significantly more important to the organizational actors. The new interpretation of the issue (paper 1/ Chapter 7) emphasized and constructed synergy between logics (paper 3/ Chapter 9) as organizational actors noted that their engagement in the issue was of significance for the organization’s (and industry’s) survival; this understanding led to collaboration, broader participation (representatives from different logics), and an integration of various concepts’ and fitting – through the renouncement of elements that did not satisfy the mandate of both logics (see also Waldorff et al. 2013).

Finally, the study elaborates on some aspects of relevance to the institutional identity perspective, notably the line of work that explores the institutionally embedded nature of organizational identities (e.g. Battilana and Dorado 2010; Glynn and Abzug 2002; Glynn and Navis 2011). While focalizing organizational actors’ identity claims in relation to the issue of ‘alcohol-related harm’, the study empirically illustrates interplay between collective and organizational identities and how the balance between these two levels of identity shifted over time. The shifts seem to have occurred as the



intensity of the external pressure intensified, prompting organizational actors to consider the issue a threat to aspects of its distinct organizational identity. The dissertation contributes to our understanding of the interplay between these two levels of identity with insight into the development of interpretations and actions as they unfold over time.

### **Relevance for Practitioners**

The analysis in this dissertation is relevant for practitioners working within MNC, who might learn something about the unification of different interests and gain more clarity about the different ways they themselves construct the interplay as well as how it is constituted in their organizational practice. The element that might interest them the most may be the possibility of transforming a conflicted co-existence among different belief systems into potential synergies and closer collaborations among relevant parties.

Furthermore, this dissertation gives insight into how MNCs and other organizations might deal with the challenge of producing products that are on the verge of becoming stigmatized (Vergne 2012), such as products associated with an unhealthy lifestyle. The dissertation showed the range of different responses that was made at different levels simultaneously. Carlsberg engaged in industry collaboration to create a common industry platform, as this was a challenge they faced as a common alcohol industry (alcohol, wine, and beer)<sup>32</sup> and they therefore took part in initiatives, such as self-regulation, warning/information labels (e.g., Drinkaware label), and a common pledge to fight ‘alcohol-related harm’; they would simultaneously work with these initiatives on an organizational level to build them into their organizational identity claims.

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<sup>32</sup> Although sometimes the different categories worked independently of one another, e.g., brewers would collaborate in brewers of Europe and the Global Brewers Initiatives.

### **Future Research Directions**

I have advanced a few steps in the direction of exploring interactions between institutional logics and identity. For instance, I illustrate that organizational actors' construction of logic interplay was shaped by whether there was an organizational identification with the issue, in other words, a perceived alignment with organizational identities. It would be interesting in the future to develop the interactions further and deepen insight into a shift in focus from collective identity claims to organizational identity claims and the variance in constructed logic interplay. Moreover, Lounsbury and I (2013) argued that the bridging of logics requires a reconstitution of organizational identity. It would be interesting to see future research focus on the detailed and varied micro-processes and cross-level mechanisms through which institutional bricolage occur.

Another interesting idea for a future study would be to focus on how organizations mold their environment; in this regard, it would be interesting to study 'peak organizations' such as foundations, trusts, and industry associations within the brewery and alcohol industry, which I suspect have played, and still play, a central role in the development of the issue of 'alcohol-related harm'. At this point, there is only a limited amount of organizational studies examining how organizations shape their environment (Barley 2010; Greenwood et al. 2011). This focus on molding and shaping has however been a focus for scholars within social movement theory (e.g., Benford and Snow 2000; Snow and Soule 2010), who have explored the effects of social movements on states, organizations, and industries. Even though the object of study has primarily been social movements, scholars have noted that firms and industries can also act as social movements (Soule 2012), e.g., via their lobbying activities. I assert that 'peak organizations' are very significant agents of (social)

change, and, with a framework that combines institutional theory with social movement theory, a future study could highlight both the peak organizations' efforts to influence their environment as well as the outcome of these efforts. Perhaps this line of work will become focal for or during my planned postdoctoral studies at Stanford University under the guidance of Sarah Soule.

## RESUMÉ

I denne afhandling undersøges, hvordan det multinationale bryggeri, Carlsbergs Group, responderer på problematikken omkring alkoholmisbrug, en respons der kommer til udtryk i organisationens arbejde med fokusområdet 'responsible drinking'. 'Responsible drinking', vedrører initiativer inden for forskellige indsatsområder fx unge og alkohol, druk og spirituskørsel, der alle har til formål at reducere alkoholmisbrug.

Alkoholproblematikken er ikke et nyt fænomen, men den gængse opfattelse af problemet har ændret sig i takt med det ændrede fokus på sundhed og livsstil. Det er derfor ikke længere udelukkende et spørgsmål, der vedrører et fåtal alkoholikere, men har i stedet udviklet sig til at være et spørgsmål om en generel sundhedsrisiko. Som resultat af denne udvikling forventes det nu i højere grad, at bryggere og alkoholproducenter bidrager til at håndtere de problematikker der relaterer sig til deres produkter, samtidig med at det sikres, at producenterne ikke forværrer problemet ved at lancere potentielt problematiske produkter og anstødelige reklamekampagner. I 2010 påbegyndte Carlsberg Group udviklingen af en ny strategisk tilgang til 'responsible drinking', som adskiller sig fra den tidligere tilgang, der var præget af datterselskabets eget lokale engagement i problematikken (eller mangel på samme). Efterspørgslen efter en integreret og strategisk tilgang til området har givet anledning til adskillige måder at håndtere problematikken, både i hovedkvarteret og i datterselskaberne. Fælles for disse er dog at de repræsenterer en form for samspil imellem sociale og kommercielle dimensioner, mellem ansvarlighedslogikken og markedslogikken. I denne afhandling studeres den konkrete konceptualisering af organisationens håndtering af alkoholmisbrugsproblematikken, idet der fokuseres på de forskellige involverede aktører, særligt deres konstruktion af interaktionen imellem de sociale og kommercielle aspekter. Forsknings-spørgsmålet, der har guidet dette studie, er:

*'Hvordan Carlsberg Group håndterer forskellige institutionelle logikker i deres i svar og ageren i forhold til den kompleksitet som alkohol-problematikken indebærer?'*

Generelt set affødte Carlsberg Gruppens engagement i alkoholproblematikken en mulighed for at studere konstruktionen af den organisatoriske håndtering af institutionel kompleksitet. Afhandlingens primære omdrejningspunkt er konstruktionen af interaktionen mellem den sociale ansvarlighedslogik og markedslogikken, to logikker der til tider anses for at være uforenelige, men som også kan opfattes som forenelige. Der trækkes derfor på eksisterende litteratur og forskning i interaktionen imellem logikker og omkring organisationers håndtering af institutionel kompleksitet.

Empirisk har jeg fulgt konceptualiseringen af de organisatoriske svar, der kommer til udtryk i organisationens 'responsible drinking' initiativer ved at fokusere på de involverede aktører. Konceptualiseringen er blevet fulgt på tværs af organisationen og til de relevante industriniveauaktører, selvom det primære fokus er på organisationsaktørernes fortolkninger. I arbejdet med afhandlingen fulgte jeg aktørernes fortolkninger og udviklingen i håndteringen af problematikken i selve forløbet (*real-time*) over en periode på to et halvt år (2010-2013) igennem interviews, observationer og organisatoriske dokumenter, der går tilbage til 2003. Jeg har fokuseret på et specifikt projekt, der omhandlede håndteringen af problematikken via udviklingen af en strategisk tilgang til 'responsible drinking' og fulgt udviklingen i organisationens hovedkvarter og i deres udvalgte 'pilot marked' (det danske datterselskab). Derudover har jeg udført interviews i yderligere tre datterselskaber i henholdsvis England, Polen og Finland for at få en detaljeret forståelse af de forskellige måder, hvorpå organisationen konstruerer dens håndtering af alkoholproblematikken og interaktionen imellem den sociale ansvarlighedslogik og markedslogikken.

Baseret på de empiriske observationer fremstilles organisationens håndtering af problemet og dens konstruktionsproces som værende formet af de to logikker, samt organisationsaktørernes identitetsforståelse, dvs. om de fremhæver deres kollektive identitet som medlemmer af industrien ('vi er en industri') eller deres identitet som en distinkt entitet ('vi er Carlsberg'). Disse aspekter behandles separat i artikel 1 (kapitel 7), hvor jeg undersøger interaktionen imellem kollektive og organisatoriske identiteter i et tidsmæssigt perspektiv, i artikel 2 (kapitel 8) som udpensler organisationens arbejde med at forbinde logikkerne via 'bricolage', og i artikel 3 (kapitel 9) der illustrerer hvordan og hvorfor interaktionen imellem logikkerne konstrueres og formes af organisationsaktørernes identifikationsniveau (fremhævelse af henholdsvis den kollektive eller organisatoriske identitet) i deres håndtering af problematikken.

Hovedresultaterne af undersøgelsen peger på følgende bidrag til litteraturen:

1. Processen hvorigennem *organisationer håndterer kompleksitet* er ikke statiske men dynamiske og foranderlige over tid. Endvidere er der ikke bare én håndtering, men flere forskellige konceptualiseringer selv indenfor den samme organisatoriske enhed. Dette forskningsprojekt har vist at variation opstod indenfor og på tværs af den organisatoriske sfære, over tid og på tværs af niveauer og rum.

2. *Interaktionen imellem logikker* kan både være årsag til konflikt og synergi. Mit fokus på organisationsaktørernes forståelse (erkendelse) betød at det var muligt at identificere tilfælde, hvor aktørerne opfattede synergier og at en kobling af logikkerne var nødvendig for organisation og industriens overlevelse. Derudover bidrager afhandlingen også med empirisk indsigt i det samspil, der eksisterer imellem logikker og identitet, som ofte er blevet teoretiseret inden for litteraturen omkring institutionelle logikker.

3. *Samspillet mellem organisatoriske og kollektive identiteter* kan ændres over tid i takt med at organisationsaktøernes fortolkninger og konstruktion af håndteringen udvikles. Ved at belyse organisationsaktøernes identitetsforståelse i forhold til alkoholproblematikken, viser studiet samspillet mellem organisatoriske og kollektive (industri-) identiteter empirisk, og hvordan balancen mellem disse to niveauer ændredes over tid. Ændringen synes at være fremkommet i takt med, at det institutionelle pres øgedes, hvilket gav anledning til at aktørerne anså alkoholproblematikken for at være en trussel i forhold til dele af organisationens individuelle identitet. Afhandlingen bidrager til vores forståelse af samspillet imellem de to identitetsniveauer ved at illustrere udviklingen i fortolkninger og handlinger, som de udfoldedes over tid.

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## **APPENDICES**



## Appendix 1 – Overview of Interviewees

Interviewee		Internal/organization	Industry	Interviews
<b>Regional and Global</b> (15 Interviewees)				
<b>Carlsberg headquarters (HQ)</b>				
Interviewee 1		RD project manager		5
Interviewee 2		CSR Manager		1
Interviewee 3		Communication and CSR SVP		1
Interviewee 4		Public Affairs Manager		1
Interviewee 5		Communication Manager (Regional/HQ and DK)		1
Interviewee 6		Communication Manager (Regional/HQ and UK)		1
Interviewee 7		Marketing Manager		2
Interviewee 8		CSR Manager		1
Interviewee 9		Public Affairs Manager		1
Interviewee 10		Public Relations Manager (HQ and Sweden)		1
Interviewee 11		HR & CSR (HQ and UK)		1
Interviewee 12		Business Development Manager (HQ and DK)		1
<b>Global and Regional Industry</b>				
Interviewee 13			Global CSR manager AB Inbev	1
Interviewee 14			Secretary-General The European Foundation for Alcohol Research and Consultant for World Wide Brewing Alliance	1
Interviewee 15			Brewers of Europe /Bryggeriforeningen (DK)	1
<b>Denmark (4 Interviewees)</b>				
<b>Carlsberg Denmark</b>				
Interviewee -		<i>See no. 5 HQ</i>		-
Interviewee -		<i>See no. 12 HQ</i>		-
Interviewee 16		Marketing Manager		1
<b>Industry Denmark</b>				
Interviewee -		<i>See no. 15 Global and Regional Industry</i>	Brewers of Europe /Bryggeriforeningen	-

<b>UK (7 Interviewees)</b>				
<b>Carlsberg UK</b>				
Interviewee -		See no. 6 HQ		-
Interviewee -		See no. 11 HQ		-
Interviewee 17		Sales and Marketing Director		1
Interviewee 18		Brand Manager		1
<b>Industry UK</b>				
Interviewee 19			Alcohol Policy Manager Portman Group	1
Interviewee 20			Senior Policy Advisor British Beer & Pub Association	1
Interviewee 21			Industry Relationship Manager Drinkaware	1
<b>Finland (6 Interviewees)</b>				
Interviewee 22		Communication and CSR manager		1
Interviewee 23		Marketing manager		1
Interviewee 24		Commercial manager (Off trade - retailers)		1
Interviewee 25		Commercial manager (On trade - hotel, bars and restaurants)		1
Interviewee 26		Brand Manager		1
<b>Industry Finland</b>				
Interviewee 27			Managing Director Panimoliitto (The Federation of the Brewing and Soft Drinks Industry)	1
<b>Poland (3)</b>				
Interviewee 28		Communication Manager (external consultant)		1
Interviewee 29		CSR Manager		1
<b>Industry Poland</b>				
Interviewee 30			CEO Browary Polskie	1
<b>Total no. of interviewees</b>	<b>30</b>		<b>Total numbers of interviews</b>	<b>36</b>

## Appendix 2 – Example of Interview guide

### Interview guide – ‘Responsible Drinking’ in Carlsberg UK

#### Peter Campbell (pseudonym), Marketing Manager

##### **Theme 1: What is Responsible Drinking in Carlsberg UK**

This theme seeks to shed light on how responsible drinking is conceptualized and executed in Carlsberg UK, including key responsible drinking initiatives, their targeted objectives, and their intended target group(s).

(Examples of initiatives: Best Bar None, staff information and education on responsible drinking and responsible marketing, on-trade information/education, 'moderation line' in your marketing communication, “Why led the Good Times go bad” (by Drinkaware))

- Of the many different RD initiatives in Carlsberg UK, which do you consider the most important? (Why?) What are the objectives of this/these initiative(s)?
- Who (internally, partners) are involved in the development and execution of key RD initiatives?
- Who do you identify as the primary target audience for the key RD initiative(s)? Why do you target this/these audience(s)?
- There are many different objectives and perspectives on RD. What is your experience in making different ends meet in a single RD initiative? (Could you give an example?)

##### **Theme 2: Responsible Drinking and Positioning**

This theme explores Carlsberg UK’s positioning strategy in relation to Responsible Drinking. It seeks to shed light on whether Carlsberg UK’s RD initiatives are different from, or similar to, competitors’ (other brewers/alcohol producers’) initiatives. It also explores what might have led to this positioning.

- Do you consider any of Carlsberg UK’s RD initiatives to be positioned differently than those of its competitors (who do you consider the key competitors on the UK market)? (why/why not?)(if yes what and how?)
- How do you believe that other actors (competitors, associations, NGOs) within the industry perceive Carlsberg’s RD initiatives compared to other competitors?
- Does the RD issue influence Carlsberg UK’s (and/or Carlsberg’s) positioning (brand) within the industry (in relation to product brands, company or Group)? (How so?)
- What, in your opinion, led to this positioning of Carlsberg UK’s RD initiatives?

### **Theme 3: The origin of Responsible Drinking in Carlsberg UK**

This last theme explores the context in which 'Responsible Drinking' became an issue in Carlsberg UK, including the actors involved, the targeted objectives, and events that provoked its emergence. This theme is important in order gain an understanding of the development of the RD agenda within Carlsberg UK.

- Who and what initiated (or motivated) the implementation of RD in Carlsberg UK?
- Were there any particular event(s) that led to the initial engagement in responsible drinking?
- From where do you and Carlsberg UK get inspiration to specific RD initiatives (e.g., industry associations, competitors, customers, and/or partners)? Could you give an example?

Appendix 3- Table 9.5 Constitution of the different types of logic interplay (paper3)



TABLE 9.5 Constitution of the different types of logic interplay			
Headquarters	Carlsberg UK	Carlsberg Poland	Carlsberg Denmark
Separation	<p>"In relation to RD, it has often been started with an idea that has been developed without following the process. Marketing has its particular process they go through, that is commercially driven. Then we have a non-commercial department over here [gestures far apart], which is led by communications people, they say 'we have to have something to communicate and we have discovered this issue in relation to 'drink driving', could we do something in relation to that?' But then these can become very random initiatives that are not anchored in the organization or that process". (CSR Manager).</p>	<p>"[...] it is better to be in a group, in order to have a dialogue with government. The Brewer's Association was set up because the CEOs they saw quite important areas where they could just integrate and be seen as THE brewing industry [...] all the non-competitive areas" (CEO, industry association).</p> <p>"I don't think the Polish consumer is ready for responsible drinking campaigns as competitive ones. Because when they observe the [beer] brands' communication, they are too far from being, from having the message of responsible drinking" (Communication Manager).</p>	<p>"I think as an industry it's very important that we do these big things, [RD campaigns] that everybody or the biggest breweries can see that the whole industry is speaking with one voice, that we have the same goals, that we actually care" (Marketing Manager).</p>
Co-existing	<p>"The rules are the foundations, they're always there, and they always have to be considered. But they're almost the day job, you know that they're there [...] you don't need to put too much thought behind it, as long as you don't upset the foundations. Whereas the objectives that are coming down [from management], those are the things that are going to get you a bonus, and those are the things that are going to get you noticed, and those are the things that are going to grow the business, so those are almost the bigger issues if you like". (Brand Manager).</p>	<p>"The challenge at this point is to get it completed, organization-wise, and to get it into the mindset of our marketing practice. The challenge is also that people consider these things [MC policies and RD initiatives] to conflict with marketing" (Communications Manager, 2011).</p>	

<p><b>Industry bricolage</b></p>	<p>"We leave out all the things that we cannot or will not to discuss, and then we discuss everything else [...]. So the category image and the regulation that we have been hit by, as well as the coupling between the two. To have this forum with global competitors where we meet and discuss these challenges, that model is rather unique in a Danish context" (Public Affairs Manager, 2013).</p>	<p>"I think the other thing is, our expertise is not education ultimately, we are better off funding the people that are experts in how you educate [...] and to try and add value to what they do, as opposed to thinking that actually we are experts in education ourselves [...]. We recognize the importance of it, but we just do not consider ourselves experts there" (Marketing Manager).</p> <p>"It seems as an industry, we are quite reactive to some of these issues including responsible drinking. There does not seem to be a big [...] push on anybody actually going out there and doing anything totally out of the norm. There is nothing setting companies especially apart" (CSR Manager).</p>		
<p><b>Organizational bricolage</b></p>	<p>"We would like to differentiate ourselves as providing the responsible beer product, and that could drive our volume up, so that we sell more beer, but at the expense of products that are more irresponsible" (Business Developer, 2013).</p>		<p>"My ambition is that we will make a difference in this area, and surpass our competitor, in fun and intelligent activations of this area. Because, we don't believe that people should drink our products recklessly just so we can sell some more" (Marketing Manager, 2013).</p> <p>"If we are to do RD, then I think that we should put our heart into it, because we believe in it and actually make sure that it fits with our brands and our brands' values. It has to be something we do, not just to please external stakeholders, but because we actually want to take responsibility [...] and the people who drive the brand identity [product] actually believe that this is the right thing to do" (Business Developer, 2013).</p>	<p>"You don't have to put it with the big block letters: 'hey you read here this is responsible drinking!', but everything we do just by self communicate that this is the Sinebrychoff way of doing" (Communication Manager).</p> <p>"Therefore, everybody in Sinebrychoff always work on the good side, on the safe side. We want to maintain the good reputation in place. 'Cause that's the key to grow value. That's the key" (Commercial Manager).</p>

## Appendix 4 - Co-author statement

Title of paper	<b>Strange Brew: Bridging Logics via Institutional Bricolage and the Reconstitution of Organizational Identity</b>
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1. Co-author (PhD student)	<b>Lærke Højgaard Christiansen</b>
Contribution (%)	<b>75</b>
2. Co-author	<b>Michael Lounsbury</b>
Contribution (%)	<b>25</b>

1. Co-author (PhD student)	<b>Lærke Højgaard Christiansen</b>			
<b>I hereby declare that the above information is correct</b>	Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
Date: June 22, 2013				
Signature: 				
2. Co-author (PhD student)	<b>Michael Lounsbury</b>			
<b>I hereby declare that the above information is correct</b>	Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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