

Valuation Beyond the Market: Power, concepts and categories

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SUMMARY

This thesis takes the core concept of valuation beyond the market and looks at it from three different angles: (1) a field-level study that investigates how domination becomes naturalized and thus, the role of systemic power in determining how practices, beliefs and attitudes become the dominant or valued way of working in an emerging field, (2) a literature review that organizes concepts from valuation studies by approaches to generate non-economic value and raises questions about the relationship between organizations and the value they create, and (3) an organization-level study that investigates how categorization, a valuation process, can be a way to scale social impact and create institutional change.

The first paper is called “Systemic Power in the Field of Impact Investing: Pathways to domination and emerging field ideologies”. It is an equal authored paper with Lisa Hehenberger and Johanna Mair. It is an empirical study of the emerging field of impact investing in Europe. In it, we investigate the power dynamics that mark the trajectory of a field in an emergent stage and identify the process of suppression and three modes by which field ideologies take shape. We ask: *How is domination naturalized? How can we surface underlying sets of ideas held by groups of actors in emerging fields of practice in order to study the process of domination?* The study traces the emergence of a field ideology that values certain ideals, for example, scaling over local solutions and measuring impact vs. telling stories. We introduce the concept of field ideologies and aim to contribute to organizational theory discussions of domination and institutional theory more broadly.

The second paper is called “The Vocabulary of Valuation: Tools for investigating the changing nature of social purpose organizing”. It structures and relates valuation studies concepts to non-market settings and develops the concept of the born-rational organization

and a research agenda for what valuation does to organizations and what valuation can mean for this type of organization. In it, I ask: *What areas of future research emerge from an integration of valuation literature with management work on socially- and environmentally-driven organizations?* The paper establishes the need for empirical research that investigates valuation topics at social purpose organizations. It aims to contribute to organizational research on non-market value creation and highlights the need to investigate value- or impact- creation strategies.

Lastly, the third paper is called “Categories as Impact Drivers: How a social-purpose organization enables the emergence of a new category as a means to scale and as a mode of institutional change”. It is an empirical study of a national nonprofit organization in the United States and how it seeks to maximize its impact. In it, I ask: *How does an organization create a category as an impact driver?* The study investigates how a ‘born rational’ organization acts and organizes and ultimately, how it adopts a unique approach to scaling and change through a category. I develop a process model of category creation for impact that involves two interlinked processes: impact reactivity and category impact work. The study aims to contribute to organizational theory discussions of approaches to social challenges, scaling and change. It also calls for attention to categories in non-market strategy.

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List of Abbreviations

EVPA – European Venture Philanthropy Association

GECES – Expert Group on Social Entrepreneurship set up by the European Commission

G8/GSG – G8 Taskforce and later Global Steering Group for Impact Investing

LKR: Little Kids Rock, a social purpose organization that is the subject of Paper 3

MB – Modern band – a new category of music meant to stand next to orchestra, band and choir in American music education. It is not restricted to popular music, but meant to encompass what matters to kids – whether that be mariachi or hip hop

MSL – Music as a Second Language – the pedagogy of modern band that codifies the philosophy behind it

SPO: Social purpose organization

INTRODUCTION

Research motivation

This thesis brings discussions of unique ways of organizing for achieving non-financial goals (Mair & Marti, 2006; Mair, Marti & Ventresca, 2012; Mair & Hehenberger, 2014), including impact investing and a social purpose organization funded by an impact investor, in conversation with concepts of value and valuation from sociology literature and the effects of measures on organizations and on society (Carruthers & Espeland 1991; Espeland & Stevens, 1998; Espeland & Sauder, 2007, 2016). While working with the different literatures, gaps emerged around how aspects of institutional life in these settings are edited or altered and the subtleties that shape social structures. More broadly, the major rationalization trend among social purpose organizations (Hwang & Powell 2009; Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Mair & Hehenberger, 2014; Dart, 2004; Maier, Meyer & Steinbereithner 2014) lay the backdrop for understanding questions of value in different ways – primarily how editing of various types occurs, but also how value can be created.

Thesis structure

The first piece, co-authored with Lisa Hehenberger and Johanna Mair, investigates power dynamics in the field of impact investing in Europe. Drawing on institutional theory discussions of power, and with an analytical framework that builds on gender theory, this piece illustrates how certain approaches to achieving social impact are suppressed by others. Aspects covered in this study include the dichotomy between “global” and “local as well as the rise of impact measurement and the dichotomy between “measuring social impact” vs. “telling stories.” These tensions are themes that run through the thesis. For example, Paper 2 raises questions about how organizations can be affected by measuring their

impact. Also, as described in Paper 1, the dichotomies can be understood as ideological building blocks. Paper 2 further explores ideas around what it means for organizations to be born into a field that is already starting to share a similar ideology. Similar ideas are further probed in Paper 3, a case study of an organization that is funded by an impact investor.

The second piece is a review of valuation literature applied to non-market, or social and environmental settings. This paper draws from a range of literature, particularly economic sociology discussions of value and quantification and relates them to literature on social purpose organizations. It explains key concepts about valuation and elaborates a research agenda around: what valuation processes do to organizations and how organizations can look at valuation concepts as tools to achieve their goals. In the process, it articulates the concept of the ‘born rational’ organization, suggesting in particular that the valued ideas of ‘scaling’ and ‘big audacious goals’ identified in the first paper, can bring about new ways of working and approaching impact goals.

The third paper builds on the first two through an in-depth empirical case study of a national ‘born-rational’ nonprofit in the United States that was funded by an impact investor, and believed in the need to scale. The project evolved to focus on how the organization was shifting its activities to create a new category of music education as a way to both scale its goals and change the institutional structure of music education. The study builds theory on scaling and change and makes the case for attention to the value-creating power of categories in non-market strategy.

Collectively, the papers triangulate on similar topics from different angles and contribute to new ways of thinking and looking at organizations that aim to create impact, or progress on social issues.

Importance

Ultimately, the theme of valuation and evaluation is the main undercurrent to the thesis. The rationalization and professionalization of the social sector serves as a stage on which valuation plays out. This work is important and timely based on these trends, which deserve scrutiny as institutions and sectors continue to blend and shift. Broader questions about how practices can be lost are also important for understanding shifts in society. Overall, understanding the dynamics of organizations and fields that work to achieve social or environmental goals can ideally spread knowledge and achieve greater impact through learning.

The settings I studied offer unique opportunities for investigating how domination develops in fields, valuing some ways of working and solidifying them into field ideologies (Paper 1), and how the valuation process of category enablement can lead to impact-creation as opposed to economic value-creation (Paper 3). Studying the emergence of the field of impact investing in Europe offered the opportunity to understand the process of suppression when different actor groups ultimate goals for generating social and environmental impact. By studying category enablement at a nonprofit (Paper 3), the role of categories as not only economic-value-creation devices, but impact-creation devices changes how category enablement as a process works. The thesis highlights how bringing concepts of

valuation into non-market settings can generate new insights of relevance for organizations working to create social or environmental value.

PAPER 1

Systemic Power in the Field of Impact Investing: Pathways to domination and emerging field ideologies

Co-authored with Lisa Hehenberger and Johanna Mair

ABSTRACT

As organizational scholars, we often investigate power dynamics retroactively, missing the subtle power dynamics that account for why certain ideas, practices and assumptions are lost and why others become institutionalized. In this study, we sought to identify and explain power dynamics that mark the trajectory of a field of practice in an emergent stage. We were particularly interested in specifying processes and mechanisms leading to domination as a form of systemic power. We view domination as a hierarchical relationship between sets of ideas, and show how domination occurs when sets of ideas, or ideological building blocks, are combined and recombined in a field over time, coalescing into field ideologies. We engage in collaborative research and leverage dichotomies to analyze ideas as relational concepts, where one idea is enacted relative to another. We demonstrate how sets of ideas become dominant through a process of suppression, and specify three covert modes of suppression that naturalize domination. Our study contributes to new ways of seeing power dynamics in intuitively relevant processes and advances the understanding of domination in the literature on organizations and institutions.

Keywords: power dynamics, domination, collaborative research, fields of practice, impact investing.

* The manuscript is the result of a truly collaborative effort among the three authors. All authors contributed equally and names are listed in alphabetical order.

INTRODUCTION

Over the last years, organizational scholars have revived the theoretical and empirical interest in the role of power in determining how structures, models, practices, set of assumptions, rules, norms and values become recognized areas of institutional life (for recent reviews see Fleming & Spicer, 2014; Lawrence & Buchanan, 2017). Probing deeper into how power matters for explaining what becomes taken for granted and appears natural or inevitable is particularly important in pre-institutional settings, such as fields in phases of emergence, where it is not clear why certain ideas, beliefs and practices will become part of the institutional order while others get abandoned as the field evolves.

Organizational scholars have distinguished between two forms of power; *episodic* power – direct and overt influence and force -, and *systemic* power – covert forms of influence entrenched in institutional structures (Lawrence, 2008; Fleming & Spicer, 2007). Episodic forms are relatively easy to identify. In field settings they are openly resisted, debated, and can be traced backwards from a conflict to the events that precipitated it. Systemic forms such as domination work more subtly to shape and restrict what is considered important and the naturalization of domination is a process that creates and reinforces hierarchical relations (Fleming & Spicer, 2014; Lukes, 2005). Domination determines the direction of a field as it becomes an integral and natural part of institutional order and the rules that define activity within and across organizations in fields.

In this study, we view fields as relational spaces where actors come together and develop collective understandings and negotiate collective rationality over time (Wooten & Hoffmann, 2008). We study an emerging field of practice to detect what is unseen – the subtle

dynamics and mechanisms that underpin the process of how domination as a systemic form of power gets naturalized. Exposing the naturalization process is important theoretically as it allows us to better understand how and why some elements of an institutional order appear natural and rational and become taken for granted, but also analytically, as it requires us to develop a more nuanced analytical repertoire to examine institutional processes and field trajectories (Schneiberg & Clemens, 2006).

As it is systemic, domination is difficult to see and theoretical progress on the process that leads to domination requires “some methodological innovations” (Fleming & Spicer, 2014: 281). We innovate by developing a new way of looking by turning our attention to *perspective*, *focus* and *lens*. In terms of *perspective*, we study the impact investing field of practice by engaging in “inquiry from the inside” (Evered & Louis, 1981: 387), as one of the authors was an organizational actor who was part of the phenomenon of study. Through a collaborative research design (Van de Ven, 2007), we carefully assigned roles in terms of data collection, coding and sense-making between insider and outsider authors to ensure reflexivity and transparency. The *focus* of study was the impact investing field of practice in Europe, a field in an emergent stage, and we examined interactions between actors in three different groups each with a clear stake in the future of the field. Our privileged access allowed us to observe negotiations over the definitions and directions of key practices and defining features of the field in situ and in real time (Barley, 2017). Finally, the *lens* that we applied to analyze data was borrowed from gender studies (Martin, 1990; Martin, 2004) that have used opposing dichotomies to understand conflict and contestation (Ely & Meyerson, 2000).

Using relational dichotomies as analytical tools help to see underlying sets of ideas before hierarchies are naturalized. We define these sets of ideas as field ideologies, understood as context-specific dominant sets of ideas and beliefs that pattern work and behavior and become principles that guide action. The way of seeing we develop in this paper helps surface ideologies inductively, understanding them as endogenously created within institutional contexts (Beyer, Dunbar & Meyer, 1988), rather than as exogenous logics or belief systems. Second, we identify suppression as an important process leading to domination that can explain why certain ideas and values are preferred and later mark the trajectories of fields. We further specify the mechanisms underpinning this process and identify three modes of suppression – devaluing, simplifying and privileging. We elaborate on their consequences and refer to the modes and their related consequences as pathways of domination.

Our study makes several contributions. First, our findings advance and complement the current theorizing of power dynamics and institutional processes in emerging fields (Wry, Cobb & Aldrich, 2013). We show how suppression works and elaborate on three distinct modes of how it occurs. Doing so we answer calls to conduct empirical research on power, to study domination and to explain how hierarchical relations become institutionalized (Willmott, 2015, Munir, 2015; Lawrence, 2008, Fleming & Spicer, 2014; Golsorkhi, Leca, Lounsbury & Ramirez, 2009). We also contribute to the broader literature about the dynamics underlying how values, practices, norms and sets of beliefs, or logics, become dominant (Hirsch & Lounsbury, 2015). Second, our innovative methodological approach, which integrates the use of dichotomous categories as analytical tools used in studying gender (Ely & Meyerson, 2000), a focus on studying interactions in ‘microsettings’ (Barley,

2017; Furnari, 2014) convened by various stakeholder groups, and a collaborative effort to analyze and theorize (Van de Ven, 2007), provides a new way to ‘see’ (theoretically) and to ‘look’ (analytically). Finally, in the discussion, we elaborate on how our study informs institutional theory of organizations more broadly.

The study is structured as follows. First, we situate our study in existing work on fields, institutions and power in organization studies and explain the importance of studying fields in phases of emergence before expectations, practices and identities are settled into an institutional order. We also explain how existing work has not adequately attended to the subtle process leading to domination. Next, we provide an overview of the concept of domination as a form of systemic power in fields and note the opportunity to bring sets of ideas and hierarchies among ideas into the study of how domination gets naturalized in fields in emerging phases. Second, we introduce our empirical context in more detail and explain how we sourced and collected our data, and the two steps we conducted to analyze it: (1) how we surfaced stylized dichotomies using a unique analytical lens borrowed from gender theory, and (2) the analysis we conducted to identify power dynamics. Third, we present our findings in two parts: (1) a narrative of the tensions between ideas in the evolution of the impact investing field of practice, inductively leading us to identify two underlying field ideologies (2) the process of suppression, including three modes, leading to the naturalization of domination in our setting. Next, we present a conceptual summary of the mechanism of suppression and three pathways to domination. Lastly, we conclude with a discussion of our contribution to organization studies and more specifically to research at the nexus of power, institutions and fields.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In an effort to push institutional theory on organizations to embrace (or rediscover) more political perspectives on organizations, scholars have reignited an interest in how power operates and with what consequences (Hudson, Okhuysen & Creed, 2015; Wry, Cobb & Aldrich, 2013). Particularly important in this debate is to specify the role power plays in institutional processes and how it manifests in fields and field dynamics (Willmott, 2015; Lawrence, 2008). We build on these efforts and probe the relationship between power and what becomes natural, rational and taken for granted in fields – how power gets naturalized and entrenched in institutional arrangements.

Fields, Institutions and Power

Fields are central analytical and theoretical constructs in institutional analysis (see Wooten & Hoffman, 2008; Zietsma, Groenewegen, Logue & Hinings, 2017; and Leibel, Hallet & Bechky, 2018 for reviews).¹ We view fields as relational spaces where different organizations and their members interact with one another “in an effort to develop collective understandings regarding matters that are consequential for organizational and field level activities” (Wooten & Hoffmann, 2008: 138). Once settled and structured, fields expose collective rationality and pressures that pattern and constrain action and thought (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Institutional theorists therefore view fields as “recognized areas of institutional life” (Di Maggio and Powell 1983: 148) where action can be understood as a choice

¹ Following the tradition of using slightly different terms, we use the term ‘field of practice’ in this paper to allude to an important aspect relevant to our study, namely the focal role of practices and the meaning and ideas around them as anchoring debates on the ambition and purpose of the field. We share however, the core insights about fields.

among a defined set of legitimate and rational options. Participants of fields “partake of a common meaning system” and “interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside of the field” (Scott, 1995: 56). But fields are also structured by the actions and interactions of actors (Giddens, 1984; Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

At early stages of newly emerging fields, groups of organizational and individual actors meet under a common topic of interest working to define expectations, test ideas and formalize ambitions, practices, identities and rules and norms (Grodal, 2018; Wry, Lounsbury & Glynn, 2011). The phase of field emergence therefore constitutes an important setting for studying the genesis of institutional order. Analyzing this phase is important to understand first, how aspects of institutional life become taken-for-granted so that they seem natural or inevitable and second, how ideas and communication (Giddens, 1984; Barley & Tolbert, 1997) become “bits and pieces” of institutions (Schneiberg, 2007), and eventually part of institutional legacies marking the path of field trajectories (Greve & Rao, 2012; Marquis & Huang, 2010). Additionally, by studying fields in the emergence phase, we have the opportunity to understand ideas, actors and organizations as endogenous to field formation processes, which allows us to bring power as a mechanism to the fore (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Power dynamics in fields alter the relations between and create hierarchies among individual and organizational actors, ideas or other aspects of institutional life.

Existing research locates power dynamics at the higher order level of logics or at the actor level where individuals or organizations battle over diverging interests and ambitions. Logic-centric studies that examine early phases of fields locate conflict at the level of logics

and study contradictions and ambiguities between logics (e.g. Greenwood, Suddaby & Hinings, 2002; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008) that result in the triumph of one logic over the others (Lounsbury, 2002; Thornton, 2002) or in continuous conflict or coexistence (Dunn & Jones, 2010; Reay & Hingings, 2009; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007). Scholars adopting a logics perspective have focused on “either macro processes or the emergence and reification of vocabularies of practice” to explain processes of field formation, and power has been typically been seen as exogenous to those processes (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012: 169). Organizations and individuals are perceived as carriers of logics – sets of taken for granted material practices and assumptions and beliefs – that prescribe what they do and how they think. Interestingly, the origin of logics as higher order repositories of institutional prescriptions remains a black box and scholars largely assume that logics exist. For example, the conflict between two logics may lead to new or hybrid practices and organizational forms (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Besharov & Smith, 2014), but these logics are treated as two or more known pre-existing types. What glues material practices to symbolic constructions that make up institutional logics has received less attention (Delmestri, 2009). Power might be at play but it is concealed and implicit in logics. Thus, to understand how and why specific institutional arrangements become dominant and taken for granted in fields, we need additional perspectives (Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008).

Actor-centric perspectives on fields informed by social movement theory (Davis, McAdam, Scott, & Zald, 2005), notably the theory of strategic fields (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012), are helpful to understand how power dynamics play out as explicit power games among well-defined groups of actors with stated interests. Power dynamics involve

conflicts between actors with clearly defined roles as challengers and incumbents where some actors have more power than others reflecting hierarchies among actors (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012; Granqvist & Laurila, 2011; Hiatt, Sine & Tolbert, 2009). In this view, contestation over the purpose of and ambition for the field are based on diverging and often orthogonal interests and goals of actors who have transparent agendas and are constrained by existing power relationships. In early phases of new fields of practice roles such as incumbent and challenger implying power hierarchies do not yet exist. Ongoing power dynamics are more difficult to trace and detect (for an exception see Grodal & O'Mahoney, 2017). Similarly, it may not be apparent what is lost as certain norms, values and practices become legitimate at the expense of others and the role of more subtle or covert forms of power in this process.

There still exists an important, unaddressed gap in the study of how covert, or subtle forms of power that occur through interactions and communications shape what ideas are considered important, subtly working to create a new institutional order in emerging fields (Lukes 1974; Fleming & Spicer, 2007; Lawrence, 2008),

Domination as a Form of Systemic Power in Fields

Organizational scholarship on institutions distinguishes between “episodic theories of power (the direct exercise of power) and systemic forms of influence (power that is congealed into more enduring institutional structures)” (Fleming & Spicer, 2014: 240). At the field level studies have examined the conditions under which these two forms affect institutional change and how they trigger different dynamics shaping transformational processes and field trajectories (Lawrence, Malhotra, & Morris, 2012). *Episodic power* is helpful to describe how aspects of organizational and institutional life are shaped in overt ways to

identify conflict, winners and losers in field projects. *Systemic power* instead operates in covert and subtle ways to create a new or reinforce an existing social and institutional order. The subtle and often covert roles power plays in processes that account for why and how some institutional elements come to appear natural and inevitable makes systemic power particularly interesting for understanding how collective understandings and rationality get defined and negotiated in early stages of newly emerging fields.

Fleming and Spicer (2014) distinguish between two types of systemic power: 1) *domination* as a form of systemic power that “naturalizes” a social order and shapes what is worthy of attention and effort (Lukes, 2005); and 2) *subjectification* which relates to an actor’s very sense of self, including their emotions and identity (Foucault, 1977). The latter helps to understand a particular way of being within a specific social order, which it is not the focus in this paper. Instead, the role domination plays in shaping organizations and fields is intriguing, because it is highly effective as it gets perpetuated without conscious intention (Lawrence, Winn & Jennings, 2001), yet subtle and difficult to detect (Oakes, Townley & Cooper, 1998, Lawrence, 2008, Sadan, 2004) and little is known about how it can be moderated or prevented (Lawrence, 2008). In established or settled fields, domination limits available options or restricts what appears on the agenda rather than restricting action itself (Lawrence, Winn & Jennings, 2001, Lawrence, 2008, Geppert, Becker-Ritterspach & Mudambi, 2016). It manifests through routine practices and interactions and shapes what is considered important, subtly working to create and reinforce order (Fleming & Spicer 2007; Lawrence, 2008). However, the institutional view of domination focuses on its effects and neglects to investigate how it is naturalized in the first place.

The process of how domination becomes naturalized - how hierarchical relations of domination appear as natural in the first place - has received less attention. Analytically we have made limited progress on how domination becomes naturalized as we typically trace back power dynamics once we spot hierarchical patterns of relations indicating domination (Bourdieu, 2001). We therefore retroactively reconstruct the process that leads to domination but miss out on capturing the subtle, not so easy to see dynamics that account for why certain ideas, practices and assumptions lose out over others. Furthermore, we might need to pay more theoretical and empirical attention to ideas and ideologies - understood broadly as sets of ideas that evolve out of specific context (Beyer, Dunbar & Meyer, 1988) - in studying systemic power in fields.

Building on Lukes (2005), Fleming & Spicer (2007) identified the articulation and construction of ideologies as an important driver and feature of domination as a form of systemic power. An ideology constitutes a justificatory repertoire that helps to defend patterns of belief and value, motivates action and strengthens commitment towards specific goals, purposes, and interests (Geertz, 1973; Alvesson, 1987). The current understanding of ideology and domination (Fleming & Spicer, 2014) however overlooks that in new fields of practice, or emerging fields more broadly, such ideologies are part of field projects and ‘under construction’. Thus how sets of ideas solidify into “dominant” ideologies has been understudied and underappreciated in this literature.

While the role of ideas and communication are recognized in institutionalization and structuration processes at the field level (Giddens, 1984; Barley & Tolbert, 1997), existing institutional research overlooks how hierarchical relations among ideas arise as a window to understand domination and the naturalization of systemic forms of power in fields. We

propose that by bringing ideas into institutional discussions of power, we are able to develop a more comprehensive understanding of how institutional arrangements form and become dominant at the field level. We pose two research questions. The first question is motivated theoretically: *(1) How is domination naturalized?* We view domination as a hierarchical relationship between sets of ideas and naturalization as the process that makes domination appear natural. Since systemic power is subtle and difficult to detect (Oakes, Townley & Cooper, 1998, Lawrence, 2008, Sadan, 2004,) and domination is not easily observable (Lukes, 2005), our second research question relates to the analytical approach that we explain in the methods section: *(2) How can we surface underlying sets of ideas held by groups of actors in emerging fields of practice in order to study the process of domination?* We address these two research questions by examining impact investing as an emerging field of practice.

RESEARCH SETTING, DATA AND METHODS

Empirical Context

Impact Investing as a Field of Practice in Europe. We study the impact investing field of practice in Europe as a field in an early stage of emergence. Actors practicing impact investing aim to generate a positive social impact through investing in social enterprises – either directly or through funds and other vehicles such as social impact bonds. As a field of practice, impact investing is based on a set of assumptions, practices, norms and rules that are still in flux and shaped by a variety of actors. In Europe, the practice of impact investing is influenced by models, rules and norms from closely related practices such as

philanthropy, public policy, investment, corporate social responsibility and social entrepreneurship. Impact investors are the practitioners with professional backgrounds in financial institutions, investment funds and grant-making foundations who deploy financial and non-financial resources, to invest in social enterprises and non-profit organizations, the investees, that are the investment targets and who make use of the resources deployed.

The origins of impact investing as a field of practice can be traced back to the beginning of the 2000s. The first actors in Europe used the term *venture philanthropy* to label the field². Besides setting up the first venture philanthropy and social investment funds, they also established a membership association, the European Venture Philanthropy Association (EVPA), in 2004. A few years later, grant-making foundations entered the field and became active participants in discussion and activity, shaping tools, practices and the narrative of the field (Mair & Hehenberger, 2014). Foundations saw in impact investing an opportunity to experiment with innovative financing tools and to more systematically assess the impact of their activities. The entry of additional actors over the course of the following years further shaped field dynamics. Motives for an active engagement in the field differed among new entrants. Financial institutions were attracted by the successful promotion of the term *impact investing* in the United States by the Global Impact Investing Network (GIIN) which was set up in 2009 with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation. They started to consider social enterprises as potential clients and impact investing as a tool to invest in them.

² Venture philanthropy is a practice that in Europe largely overlaps with impact investing as a practice; it involves investing through grants, debt and equity as well as providing non-financial support to social enterprise. We consider venture philanthropy as an integral part of the impact investing field of practice.

The European Commission, the executive governing body of the European Union, became increasingly interested and active in the field as it considered the importance of social enterprises for generating sustainable growth and employment in Europe. In 2011 the Commission launched the Social Business Initiative (SBI) which recognized the existence of impact investors and their role in financing social enterprises:

“Increasing numbers of investors are seeking to combine social or environmental results with their legitimate concern of obtaining a financial return on the investment, while pursuing long-term objectives in the general interest.” (European Commission’s Social Business Initiative Communication, 2011)

The Social Business Initiative marked the beginning of policymakers’ increased involvement in the impact investing field of practice. Policymakers started working on regulating the field, but also on using public funding to build the market. In 2013, in the aftermath of the financial crisis the European Commission introduced the European Social Entrepreneurship Fund (EuSEF) regulation that provided a legal framework for impact investment fund managers, allowing them to register funds through their national financial authorities.

³ The European Commission also set up an Expert Group on Social Entrepreneurship (GECES) in 2012 to continue working on first ideas established by the SBI. More specifically GECES was tasked to develop a European Standard on Impact Measurement⁴ to be applied across the European member countries with the idea to foster and align efforts around the social economy⁵. The Standard was published in 2014 and served as a voluntary

³ http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-17-1477_en.htm

⁴ <https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/0c0b5d38-4ac8-43d1-a7af-32f7b6fcf1cc>

⁵ In the European Union, the social economy term comes from the French “*économie sociale*” that traditionally encompasses cooperatives, associations, *mutuelles*, foundations and more recently also social enterprises. Their objective is to contribute to society and their governance structure normally adheres to the principles of solidarity and democracy. http://ec.europa.eu/growth/sectors/social-economy_en

policy, providing guidelines to impact investors and social enterprises for the important practice of impact measurement, but without becoming a mandatory regulation.

In 2013, during the UK presidency of the G8, Prime Minister David Cameron, announced the set-up of the G8 Taskforce on Social Impact Investment, renamed the Global Steering Group for Impact Investment (GSG) in 2015. The aim was to “*catalyse the development of the social impact investment market*”⁶. Sir Ronald Cohen, one of the most visible figures in venture capital who also set up one of the first impact investing fund in the United Kingdom, was appointed Chair and acted as the main promotor of the Taskforce. The G8 taskforce and later on GSG mobilized and attracted new investors and larger investments from institutional investors, development finance institutions and very large foundations.

Despite attempts to introduce regulations such as EuSEF, the institutional arrangements underpinning the field were not settled. Negotiations about norms, rules and values about why, how and what to invest for impact are still ongoing among different actors taking place in different convenings. For example, financial return expectation is one of the principles that is under debate; some actors claim that the financial return (expectation and realization) cannot exceed the market rate for similar for-profit investments, whereas others believe that social impact and financial return can go hand in hand. While scholars have examined the evolution of this field in the U.S. (Moody, 2008) and the coexistence of new and old models in Europe (Mair & Hehenberger, 2014), the political nature, and especially dimensions of power (Lawrence, Mauws, Dyck & Kleysen 2005) of these processes have

⁶ <https://www.gov.uk/government/groups/social-impact-investment-taskforce>

received relatively scant attention. We view the impact investing field of practice in Europe as a relational space where individuals and organizations develop a collective purpose, agenda and understanding on important issues with a two decade long trajectory and institutional arrangements still emerging. As a field it has grown from including a few fragmented actors in the early days, to a significant number of actors today; as evidenced by EVPA membership that began from nothing in 2004 and counted over 260 organizations as members in 2018. The phases that marked this trajectory in terms of actors, practices, rules and norms make impact investing an ideal setting to study power dynamics at play and to understand domination at the field level. In this context of newly formed or not clearly defined norms and regulations, the role of associations and other collective actors in defining boundaries and mobilizing collective agreements is important. We turned to three important stakeholder groups that mobilized resources and important actors, and acted as windows for us to observe and study interactions that were to determine the structure and boundaries of the field.

Three Groups Shaping the Field. We identified three groups that engaged actors and covered the most important debates in the emerging impact investing field in Europe: EVPA, GECES, and GSG⁷. The formation of the three groups reflects the trajectory of the field – who entered when and why – as narrated before. In aggregate, these groups cover a wide spectrum of impact investing actors, who as the first professionals practicing impact investing constitute important stakeholders, with a strong interest in shaping the field of practice. From the beginning we noted a sense of ownership among these actors, they clearly

⁷ Other networks and groups exist, such as the GIIN that was set up in the United States and acted globally. The insider author and one of the other authors also attended the meetings of these groups.

felt responsible for how the field evolved and how it was perceived externally. Table 1 provides an overview of the types of actors that are involved in the groups.

Insert Table 1 about here

Whereas all three groups include impact investors, the GSG also includes larger institutional investors such as pension funds, asset management firms and very large grant-making foundations. GECES has a smaller representation of impact investors than the other two groups, but a larger variety of actors related to the social economy at large, including cooperatives and charitable organizations that are not present in EVPA. GSG in turn does not include any social enterprise actors.

The three groups have different objectives that are either directly or indirectly related to impact investing, and they are organized and convened in different ways. The European Venture Philanthropy Association (EVPA) is a membership association focusing on growing the field, attracting new actors to the field, facilitating collaboration and diffusing tools and practices. Its mission is to “enable venture philanthropists and social investors to maximize societal impact through increased resources, collaboration and expertise”⁸. GECES is a consultative expert group on social entrepreneurship whose mandate is to assist the European Commission in defining policies to promote social enterprise in Europe, with financing being an important dimension. The tools developed by GECES and with policymakers have the purpose of promoting the ecosystem of social enterprises in Europe that in turn should address some of the most pressing social challenges the continent is facing.

⁸ <https://evpa.eu.com/about-us/about-evpa>

The GSG first included National Advisory Boards in the G8 countries – subsequently the G7 – composed of impact investors from that country and representatives of the national government. GSG now includes 15 countries and the EU, and focuses exclusively on impact investing and aims to expand the field beyond its current boundaries, taking the practice “mainstream”.

The GSG is working to increase momentum by promoting a unified view of impact investment, facilitating knowledge exchange and encouraging policy change in national markets. (GSG mission⁹)

Table 2 provides an overview of the three groups and the sub-settings generated by their activities.

Insert Table 2 about here

EVPA is mainly accountable towards its members, mostly foundations and investment funds, and consults its members when developing practical guidelines. GECES has a policy mandate that extends beyond impact investing to include the interests of the broader social economy, taking into consideration the opinions and perspectives of a diverse set of actors and aiming to achieve consensus. GSG has expressed a clear interest in expanding the scope of the impact investing field of practice to include new, powerful actors, including institutional investors with significant funding capabilities. Although including both practitioners and policymakers in the process of developing reports and publications, the GSG

⁹ <http://www.socialimpactinvestment.org/>

outsources parts of the process to external consultants and the Chair approves final documents and texts.

The composition, the objectives, and working procedure, and the different perspectives made these three groups ideal research sites for examining power dynamics in a field of practice in a stage of emergence. The three groups represented micro-sites where we could observe negotiations over meaning of practices and values that would set the path for the future of the field (Barley, 2017; Furnari, 2014).

Sourcing and Collecting Data

The three groups were our main sources of data. Collecting data from the three different groups allowed us to avoid potential biases from focusing on one set of actors and their ambitions, and allowed us to observe them in different social settings. Our research team was composed of one insider author, and two outsiders, applying a “collaborative research” approach (Van de Ven, 2007: 274). The insider (Gioia, Price, Hamilton, & Thomas, 2010), or boundary spanning (Gulati, 2007), author acted as the Research and Policy Director of EVPA for six years from 2010-2016, and then acted as an advisor from 2016-2018. She was a member of GECES as a private expert for two consecutive three-year mandates (2012-2014 and 2015-2017), where she was a key member of the sub-group on impact measurement in the first mandate and led the work on access to finance in the second mandate. In the GSG, she was a member of the French National Advisory Board when it was set up in 2014, the working group on Measuring Impact in 2014-2015, as well as EVPA’s representative in GSG when EVPA became an observer to GSG in 2015 and onwards. Beyond being a participant observer, a “temporary visitor”, she was an organizational actor, thus “experientially and existentially rooted in the organizational system (...)

that we were acquiring knowledge about” (Evered & Louis, 1981), actively taking part in the meetings (conferences, conference calls, workshops, working groups, etc.) conducted by the three groups from 2012 until 2017, with more detailed information on EVPA from 2006 and onwards, thus enabling privileged access and collecting data to construct a unique and rich dataset. The advantage of having no preconceived notion of what data we should be collecting was that the insider author did not enter with a constraining theory or framework – which would have limited her to *seeing* only what the theory induced us to *look on* (Evered & Louis, 1981). As an insider she was not only present, but engaged in the phenomena of study and was able to collect data in situ and in real time (Barley, 2017). Therefore, she was uniquely positioned to study situated power dynamics as she was in an equal position with stakeholders, working side-by-side on thematic projects. As the data was collected, emerging findings were shared with the two outsider authors and the continuous dialogue within the research team helped us sharpen the data collection process.

In the case of EVPA, we attended the annual Venice Meeting from 2007-2016 in which CEOs and high level impact investing professionals convene behind closed doors to discuss topics pertaining to the future of the field, such as how to increase access to financing for social enterprises. We also attended all larger conferences and workshops organized by EVPA from 2006-2016, and collected newsletters, presentations, research publications and internal documents to gain a better understanding of the discourse related to impact investing. For GECES, the insider author attended all 13 bi-annual meetings conducted from 2012-2017 and collected meeting agendas, minutes and presentations, and generated own field notes from the meetings. She also attended all the meetings of the subgroup on impact measurement and the working group meetings on access to finance. We

also accessed the policy documents generated through the work of the GECES, including a sub-group report on impact measurement and a collection of policy recommendations for the European Commission and Member States on improving the eco-system for social enterprises in Europe, with a specific chapter on Improving Access to Finance for social enterprises in Europe. For GSG, when it was set up as the G8 taskforce on Social Impact Investment in 2013, we collected data from all the meetings attended in the form of presentations, agendas, minutes and notes, as well as the different documents produced by the group such as policy recommendations for the nations involved as well as practitioner-oriented reports. The insider author was also an observer to the GSG and attended conference calls and conferences, and had access to internal documents such as presentations about how to portray impact investing (building its collective identity) and how to best approach and communicate to different stakeholder groups to mobilize resources for the impact investing field.

Scholars who have sought to study ideologies suggest looking for them in narratives (Maclean, Harvey, Sillince & Golant, 2014; Johansen & De Cock, 2017), in discourse (Gee 1990) and “on members’ own turf and in their own terms” (Beyer, Dunbar & Meyer, 1988: 485). Our data comes from both interactions that took place *frontstage* and *backstage* (Mair & Hehenberger, 2014). Considering our interest in the covert forms and processes of power we build on Scott’s (1990) distinction between *public* and *hidden transcripts*, where public transcripts include open, public interactions that do not contradict dominant thoughts, whereas hidden transcripts include the critique of dominant structures that goes on beneath the surface and is more subtle and less evident. Therefore, we interrogate not only *public transcripts*, including official meeting minutes, presentations, speech texts,

newsletters, policy briefs and publications, but importantly, we use *hidden transcripts*, including field notes and observations at and in-between meetings, emails, transcripts of conference calls, interview transcripts and internal strategy documents, to make sense of our emerging findings. The hidden transcripts were important to help us understand legitimation in action (Barley, 2017), how actors through interaction and negotiation arrived at the documents that then became public. This type of data would otherwise have been edited or filtered away as the dominant discourse and sets of ideas of the field evolved and became naturalized. Table 3 provides an overview of the sources and types of data that we interrogated.

Insert Table 3 about here

Analyzing Data

We engaged in a particular form of “collaborative research” (Van de Ven, 2007: 274), because the research team was composed of insiders and outsiders who jointly shared the study activities and coproduced knowledge. We deliberately discussed and assigned roles within the team to overcome potential issues regarding internal and external validity (Cook & Campbell, 1979; Sackett and Mullen, 1993), to avoid bias, as “no form of inquiry is value-free and impartial” (Van De Ven 2007:14), and to ensure reflexivity and transparency. Cognizant that whereas the insider author focused on data collection from the particular setting, an outsider author performed the first round of data analysis, and the entire research team then contrasted emerging findings with existing theory. The insider author was *attached inside* (Van de Ven, 2007: 27) the emergence and evolution of the impact

investing field, but discussions with the other two authors who were *outsiders* allowed her to simultaneously become *detached outside*. This strategy enabled us to move from our particular setting to more generalizable theory-building (Van de Ven, 2007).

Our objective was to uncover mechanisms and processes that underpin domination as a form of systemic power in fields as they emerge and take form. Domination makes power appear natural but is difficult to see. To see power dynamics differently we had to go beyond our methodological comfort zone as organizational theorists interested in institutional processes (Schneiberg & Clemens, 2006). Therefore, we had to “generate some methodological innovations” (Fleming & Spicer, 2014: 281), understood as combining tools and anchors for analysis borrowed from adjacent research areas. In what follows, we introduce this approach and explain how we analyzed the data in two main steps. We will highlight the different roles of the research team members to show how we ensured robustness in our findings, and how our complimentary perspectives, sense making and interpretations shaped our emerging findings.

Step 1: Surfacing stylized dichotomies. In this first step, we turned to research that views gender as a social institution (Martin, 2004) that allowed us to develop an analytical perspective of power as a relational concept which can be studied along dichotomies. These dichotomies constitute idealized and stylized analytical categories that represent opposites (Ely & Meyerson, 2000) and have been used extensively to understand conflict and contestation and, important for the purpose of this study, the rise of relational hierarchies, suppression and domination (Martin, 1990). We briefly summarize why we found this research tradition helpful and how we used it for our purpose to examine hard to see power dynamics that lead to domination of one set of ideas over others in a field of practice that is emerging.

The literature we borrow from (overlapping with the perspective of “doing gender”) abstracts gender from the personal to the institutional level (West & Zimmerman, 1987, Ely & Meyerson, 2000) and conceptualizes gender as *a system of social categorization and cultural beliefs* that marks and reproduces status relations and is constructed and re-enforced on a day-to-day basis through continuous enactments (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Ridgeway, 1991; Ridgeway & Correll, 2006; Acker & Van Houten, 1974). Gender as a system or social institution consists of idealized masculine and feminine ‘natures’ that can be conceptualized as dichotomous categories. For example, Ely & Meyerson (2000)¹⁰ developed *public-private*, *individualism-collectivism*, and *male identity-female identity* as dichotomies in their work. Gender, similar to race and class (West & Fenstermaker, 1995), is a *relational* construct whereby that which is masculine is partly constructed by what it is feminine (e.g. Barrett, 1996). We propose that the idealized natures at the root of such dichotomies can be applied as a way to surface underlying sets of ideas, values and beliefs that are yet to be structured. Therefore, we rely on this literature as an analogy to develop our analytical apparatus, and conceptualize dichotomies as ideas that reflect social positions, where one idea is enacted *relative* to another, potentially producing and re-producing hierarchical relations among ideas that become entrenched and are constitutive of social orders and institutional arrangements in fields.

We wanted to be able to *look* at how ideas were positioned relationally, implying a hierarchy between them and providing the seeds for a legitimating ideology (Martin, 2004). Our

¹⁰ In this work, the masculine is associated with holding office and developing a professional career in the *public* sphere whereas the feminine is confined to family life in the *private* sphere. Heroic *individualism* and rewards for fast, tangible results is associated with the masculine, whereas relational, collaborative and *collective* activities are often not rewarded and linked with the feminine category. Stereotypical *male identities* include characteristics such as assertiveness, confidence and competence, whereas the *female* counterpart is expected to be submissive, docile and fragile.

approach provided a window to study power dynamics complementary to the work in social movement theory that locates power in individual actors or movements, or institutional logics where power is derived from a given logic. We leveraged the use of dichotomies to detect subtle or covert tensions in a field that still did not have clear patterns of domination, and where hierarchies were not yet established. We used these dichotomies to “see” the trajectory of impact investing in Europe in a new way. Dichotomies allowed us to locate and expose areas of contestation that are subtle and typically overlooked but that are critical to explain what becomes dominant; why some practices win over others, and why some thoughts and discourses prevail. Concretely, we developed a coding system based on dichotomies in the impact investing field. Scanning the documents that we had gathered from our research setting, we coded the data looking for dichotomous categories similar to what had been found in gender studies. To avoid potential bias from the perspective of the insider author, one of the outsider authors coded most of the data found in public transcripts, and the emerging coding system was contrasted and validated with the other two authors. Table 4 shows the codes we detected and short descriptions of how they played out in the field of study. We denoted the codes that were inspired by idealized masculine natures XY and the ones inspired by idealized feminine natures XX. Some of the dichotomies such as *dependency* vs. *self-sufficiency* resonated with those found in gender studies (Ely & Meyerson, 2000), whereas others, such as *measuring impact* vs. *telling stories*, were specific to the emerging impact investing field of practice. The criteria for selection was that the dichotomies were opposites that were found repeatedly, and that they showed evidence of contestation in terms of the associated discourse. A more complete set of quotes illustrating each dichotomy can be found in Appendix A.

Insert Table 4 about here

We found these dichotomies in all three groups. However we also detected differences in when dichotomies were used and how they affected the interaction, allowing us to detect patterns of when ideas and dichotomies appeared and became more prominent and dominant. In this part of the analysis, we leveraged the insider author's involvement and in-depth knowledge of the evolution of the impact investing field of practice to relate the discovery and evolution of dichotomies over time to the entry of main stakeholder groups and episodic events in the field such as regulations and policies. In the findings, we develop a narrative that contrasts the trajectory of dominant sets of ideas over time with the timeline of main actors and events taking place in the field. By systematically assessing the dichotomies found, we were able to specify ideological building blocks and inductively generate ideologies that reflect different systems/sets of ideas at play in field of practice. Specifically, we found that towards the end of the period of study dominant field ideologies were emerging, where the ambition of the field of practice was global (as opposed to local), the investment focus was individual (rather than collective) and the anchor of judgement was rational (as opposed to emotional). We present this evolutionary take on the dichotomies and when and how sets of ideas coalesced into dominant field ideologies in the first section of the findings.

Step 2: Identifying power dynamics. In the second step, we used the analytical frame developed in Step 1 to carefully interrogate the relationship between sets of ideas to examine the underlying power dynamics leading to domination and therefore the genesis of systemic power in a field of practice. We were interested in understanding whether the dichotomies

detected in Step 1 reflected hierarchies in terms of social positions of ideas and, in that case, how those hierarchies had come about.

We aggregated the data in a new way based on the power dynamics that emerged from the data itself. In this part of the analysis, we made use of both public and hidden transcripts – the latter to be able to access the less evident processes that go on below the surface. We selected 200 enactments of the dichotomies from the three groups over time and in each case interrogated whether the enactment resulted in one of the two sides of the dichotomy being positioned above the other. We then further refined our analysis to focus our attention on instances where the prevailing side of the dichotomy belonged to the dominant field ideology. For example, when analyzing instances of measuring impact versus telling stories, in our team discussion we asked whether the discourse showed that the rational side was becoming dominant as opposed to the emotional side, and importantly *how* that happened. We coded the discourse by describing how the enactment of the dichotomy led to domination, and developed first-order codes for each type of mechanism. We realized that some of the mechanisms resonated with *overt framing tactics* from social movement theory (Snow & Benford, 1988). The other mechanisms seemed to suppress ideas in a more subtle way, without displaying obvious conflict. We called them *covert modes of suppression*. Table 5 shows these the coding structure and the two second-order categories of mechanisms.

Insert Table 5 about here

The insider author was able to add further anecdotes and nuances from hidden transcripts that helped the research team to understand how such covert modes of suppression played out in our field of study, and what could be potential consequences. We then developed a conceptual model to explain the naturalization of domination through a process of suppression.

FINDINGS

Impact investing is a field of practice that involves actors from adjacent fields such as philanthropy, financial markets, social economy and policy. These actors carry with them ideas, practices and norms that evolve over time as actors meet and expose and contrast meanings and understandings. Figure 1 provides an overview of the timeline of the evolution of the European impact investing field of practice. It shows when the groups studied were set up, when policies and regulations affected the field came into force, and when different types of actors entered the field. It also shows when the dichotomies entered the field at different periods in time.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Identifying dichotomies to see differently allowed us to locate and expose the loci of contestation and conflict that are critical to explain what becomes dominant, and also added a

new dimension of how to assess field evolution and trajectories. In what follows, we present the results of our new way of seeing and studying the impact investing field of practice.

A Trajectory of Tensions in the Impact Investing Field of Practice.

First period: From traditional to venture philanthropy. Impact investing began when venture capitalists first introduced venture philanthropy in Europe. These venture capitalists wanted to give back to society by offering their skills as business managers to nonprofit organizations as well as by “investing” money claiming that their tools, practices and resources were needed to address the most persistent social problems of this planet. Letts, Ryan, & Grossman, (1997) published an influential paper that became a benchmark for the venture philanthropy movement, where they distinguished “venture philanthropy”, from traditional philanthropy along six dimensions: risk, measures, closeness of relationship, length of relationship, level of funding, and exit strategy. Venture philanthropists criticized traditional philanthropy for creating dependency in social sector organizations by disbursing funds in the form of grants to specific projects conducted by non-profit organizations. The first foundations that joined the field were attracted to the idea of *self-sufficiency* as opposed to the *dependency* that they had been frustrated with.

The downside or, yes, the counter-side of grant making is that you make people dependent and also that the projects you support, they run into trouble when you stop funding them. (Interview with impact investor, 2007)

Foundations such as the Shell Foundation, set up in 2000, made a strategic commitment to fund for-profit social enterprises with the potential to become financially sustainable, as opposed to non-profit organizations that would always be dependent on external funding:

...his view is that earning income (by producing a product or service that customers are willing to pay for) is an indicator of potential to deliver sustainable impact at scale – by achieving financial independence and unlocking different forms of social investment and private capital to fund expansion. (Reflections by Chris West on Shell Foundation strategy, 2014)

Another foundation, dob Foundation in the Netherlands also questioned the practice of providing a large number of small grants to multiple projects with low prospects of developing into sustainable organizations, and tried to innovate with new, blended practices:

In 2005 the foundation was involved in approx. 120 projects in 26 countries. Volunteers and staff visited the projects once or twice a year. These projects, although sometimes linked to business and actually having social effects, had no reliable financial sustainability. The foundation gradually grew frustrated with this approach and did not feel that grants provided entrepreneurs and management with the right motivation to grow and scale their businesses. Grantees repeatedly called needing more funding - as Theo explains, “every time you leave a project, they call to say that they are out of money!” (Reflections by Theo Tobé, dob Foundation, 2010)

The dichotomy between dependency and self-sufficiency is reflected in how practices in the impact investing field developed, including a move away from grant-funding to employ other financing instruments;

If you give grants, you produce “beggars”, but if you provide loans, you gain “customers”! (Field notes from EVPA Social Impact Measurement workshop, 2007)

This dichotomy is also reflected in the type of organizations funded as non-profit organizations were deemed less likely to become financially sustainable.

Many philanthropic organizations are set up with a mission to solve a social problem that is somehow personally important to the founder. However, the early impact investors often expressed that rather than focusing on a social cause because it is close to one’s *heart*, one should be rational, using one’s *head*, and focus on organizations that are most efficient and that have the highest potential to produce impact.

While charitable funding is currently often allocated according to personal beliefs and emotional connections, money is not always given to the most pressing problems or spent on the most effective solutions. (EVPA Newsletter, October 2011)

The notion of rationality contrasts with the emotional side. One of the early impact investors had set up a foundation to help children with Down syndrome because his daughter had the disorder. He explained that he would rather use the money he had put aside for the foundation to contribute to solving a larger world problem such as AIDS if he could find an efficient vehicle to work on that. This sentiment was also reflected when he made a statement at a workshop:

So what if the inefficient die? That is the market! (Field notes from EVPA Venice meeting, 2010)

The dichotomy between head and heart created tensions when impact investors had to decide how to invest their money as their philanthropic interest did not always coincide with the rational, market-based criteria.

Related to the tension between heart and head, was the ambition of the field itself. The “customized” category reflects the need for local solutions, and that some social sector organizations need to work in their communities and stay close to their beneficiaries in order to solve the particular social issues they address. However, this approach is at odds with finding standardized solutions and transforming larger systems. Some early impact investors even saw customized or local solutions as a form of egoism:

You can't be egoistic and just look at what you want to do locally because egoism is inefficiency. In today's world philanthropy must be seen as a business and you must look at how to get the best return on your investment because the needs we're trying to address are so big. I'd rather have five successful big projects than two hundred smaller ones.... (EVPA Newsletter, Winter 2007)

According to this discourse, solutions that needed to be customized to a local community were less interesting than standardized solutions that could be replicated at a global scale. The ambition was to provide a greater social return on investment and it was deemed more interesting to support organizations that provided standardized solutions that could fit multiple contexts.

Second period: Entry of financial institutions. The increased focus on using financing instruments other than grants, and investing in social enterprises rather than non-profit organizations attracted financial institutions, including UBS, JP Morgan and BlackRock, to the field. As financial institutions entered the impact investing field, the focus on financial returns became more prominent, as well as the sophistication in terms of financial instruments and vehicles deployed.

Related to the focus on financial return introduced by financial institutions was also the parallel practice of measuring the social return on each investment, or the social impact. The dichotomy between *measuring impact*, whereby the impact of an investment should be measured numerically, and *telling stories*, the more qualitative way of relating a narrative became prominent during this second period.

The method should seek a balance between qualitative and quantitative data, realising that the "story" is central to measuring success. (European Economic and Social Committee, Opinion on Social Impact Measurement, 2013)

Although impact measurement is a core practice in venture philanthropy and EVPA developed a practical guide to measuring impact, EVPA discourse had often recognized that not everything can be measured, and the importance of qualitative storytelling:

Some things cannot be measured! (Field notes from EVPA Venice meeting, 2012)

GECES was set up during this time period to provide advice to the European Commission on policies related to social entrepreneurship. One of the first tasks of GECES was to help the Commission develop guidelines on social impact measurement and a sub-group was set up with that purpose.

The Single Market Act II¹¹ states that 'the Commission will develop a methodology to measure the socio-economic benefits created by social enterprises. The development of rigorous and systematic measurements of social enterprises' impact on the community ... is essential to demonstrate that the money invested in social enterprises yields high savings and income.' (Policy Document, European Commission, 2012)

Since the early days, impact investors had emphasized the need to scale up the organizations they supported, emphasizing the need to get “bigger”, “larger”, and “double in size”.

And then they'll say, “ok, in order to really double in size; we want all these charities to double in size in three years; in order for them to double in size in three years; these are the skills and the resources that they need”. (Interview with impact investor, 2008)

As impact investors became more focused on financial returns in the second period, we also detected a stronger tension between *scaling* and *going native*.

Lack of scale plagues philanthropic service providers. (Speech by Sir Ronald Cohen, GSG, 2014).

Going native implied staying close to beneficiaries by getting very much involved in the social cause.

Sometimes, you have to realize that not all initiatives can be scaled up. Many services are not good to scale up because they are so human-capital intensive. If the social entrepreneurs think it would not work then we should not push the social entrepreneur or organisation in that direction, because they will just be unsuccessful and eventually burn out. (Field notes from EVPA workshop, April 2012)

¹¹ <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52012DC0573>

The tension was reflected in the discussion around investing in and supporting organizations that could have a strong social impact although it would not necessarily grow in size.

For policymakers, a major challenge in developing policies to support the growing impact investing field was how to provide sufficient *top-down* regulation to protect vulnerable retail investors, while being careful not to stifle sector growth and hinder *participatory* innovation. The European Commission often iterated the need to involve all stakeholders in decision-making.

The Commission has emphasised that identification of priorities and design of operational programmes for the period ahead should be undertaken in partnership with the key stakeholders at national and regional levels. And I want to encourage all Member States and all stakeholders to make use of the newly introduced investment priorities on social economy and social enterprises under the ESF and ERDF. (Speech by European Commission, 2012)

However, impact investors were concerned about creating a unified message that could be conveyed from the top, often by the leading countries of the G8.

It is important for the GSG to dedicate time and money to communications on impact investment. It will have a communications budget set at \$1 million in its first year, about 20% of which will be spent on analysis of the narratives around impact investment in the UK and USA. Identifying narratives in two of the largest markets will allow other NABs to draw on the results and work out whether narrative diagnostics are needed in their own countries. (Minutes from GSG conference call, 2013)

At the end of the second period, one of the first regulations to affect the field was the European Social Entrepreneurship Fund (EuSEF) regulation of 2013 that offered a legal framework for impact investing funds to register with their national financial authorities¹², and aimed to protect retail investors from losing money in risky investments. Before the

¹² http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-17-1477_en.htm

stronger focus on financial returns and the entry of financial institutions in impact investing, policymakers had not deemed necessary the regulation of the market, as most of the investors were philanthropic or high net-worth individuals.

Third period: Impact investing as a new “revolution”. An interesting tension in the field, fueled by the entry of policymakers in the impact investing field was the dichotomy of *nurturing the ecosystem* versus *picking the winners*. In impact investing, there was an interest in picking the winners, by investing in innovative organizations with a potential to grow fast and produce significant impact and financial returns. Picking and supporting winners could also allow the sector to grow by attracting greater resources thanks to success stories.

We need success stories – concretely, we need a successful social enterprise that is as successful as Facebook, Google... to attract massive investment. How?
(Field notes from EVPA Venice meeting, 2014)

Such discussions became more frequent in the sector in this third time period as impact investors realized that they needed additional capital from mainstream investors and governments and therefore needed to mainstream the message. In order to mobilize resources and build a marketing campaign for impact investing, it was important to sell a successful solution.

At the same time, mainly in GECES, we saw evidence of a more holistic view of needing to *nurture the ecosystem*, evident from a document from the European Economic and Social Committee in their Opinion on Social Impact Investment:

Supporting the social economy and social enterprises requires a holistic view of where great ideas come from, who drives them, and how they grow. Each of these questions challenges governments and private investors to think outside the box of providing investment capital to realise the full potential of the social enterprise sector and society. Besides access to finance, other key components are required

to create an enabling environment for the social enterprise sector in Europe.
(EESC Opinion on Social Impact Investment, 2014)

This view was further reflected in the discussions between participants in the GECES where representatives of the social sector frequently reminded impact investors of the need to focus on the social issue, that the social ecosystem is made up of many stakeholders, and that there are other tasks needed apart from growing the impact investing market.

In the third period, we also detected the dichotomy between *need first*, implying that complex social challenges require diverse approaches that focus on achieving social change, versus *tool first*, specifically using the finance toolbox as an effective solution to social problems. The following quote from a faculty convening on impact investing illustrates the focus on tools from the finance world:

Students enter the field with a romantic notion of impact investing. But, there is a spreadsheet that underpins the romance. (Mainstream investor discussing business school impact investing education, 2017)

In EVPA meetings, some actors had raised the importance of first understanding what the social enterprises needed and then designing financing instruments to cater to the needs.

Don't start with financial instruments – start with innovators. Turn the market upside down. (Field notes from EVPA Venice meeting, 2013)

We also noted how the actors in GECES suggested to better understand the problem at hand, and stakeholder needs, and then finding an appropriate tool.

One participant stressed the primary importance of identifying the outcomes we are looking for, i.e. better access to financial or banking services, after which point the legislative instrument necessary to achieve that goal can be considered. (...)The objective is to define what we want to achieve, then to consider what can be learned from experiences within the EU and possibly from the US. It was also agreed that transparency is an important issue to be considered. (Minutes from GECES meeting, 2012)

We found evidence of field actors distilling the problem of social complexity down to one that could be solved by the implementation of new tools.

Social investment offers a way forward, ensuring that each and every pound we spend has a demonstrable purpose – transforming the lives of people now and the chances of future generations. (Minutes from GSG conference, 2015)

The tension related to growth at the level of investment focus was implicit in the dichotomy of *big audacious goals* versus *small fountains of hope*, which we detected also at the level of field ambition. Impact investors even referred to a revolution when discussing the ambition of the field of practice.

Like venture capital and private equity before it, impact investment is financing a revolution, becoming a significant part of investment portfolios in the process, primarily across “alternative investments” for now, as Impact Private Equity, Impact Real Estate and Impact Absolute Return, but also across Fixed Income and Public Equities. (GSG conference, 2014)

The VP community felt threatened by the GSG impact investing discourse.

Is VP becoming marginalised by Impact investing and Mission Related Investment? There is great momentum as the G8 is putting social investment in the spotlight. But we need to be mindful about impact investing and how it is executed, and watch out for a bubble. How can it be complementary in a catalytic way? Grants will always be needed. (Field notes from EVPA Venice meeting, 2013)

At EVPA meetings, there were discussions about the need for actors to collaborate in a broader ecosystem, and some actors raised concerns about the risks and questioned the need for growing:

Do we want to see VP systemically grow? What is the price we have to pay for that? Is there a danger of watering it down? (Field notes from EVPA Venice meeting, 2013)

However, towards the end of the third time period, the message seemed to be that impact investing was a new force with the potential to solve some of the world’s most entrenched problems.

Given the magnitude of the global challenges we face, we must challenge the status quo in order to find bigger, better solutions that benefit both people and the planet. (GSG Communication message, 2016)

Towards the end of the period of study, we noted that the discourse was portraying impact investing as an all-embracing, forceful, yet simple solution to solve our biggest problems:

There is no longer a trade-off between “doing good” and “doing well”. Impact investing brings together private and public capital with social entrepreneurship and not-for-profit organizations to drive huge social change to benefit the people and the planet, while delivering financial returns. It is summed up in a simple formula: Purpose + Investment = Impact². (GSG description of impact investing, 2017¹³)

Figure 1 (introduced at the start of our findings section) provides an overview of the evolution of the impact investing field of practice and shows when the dichotomies entered the field at different periods in time. Importantly, we do not claim that one set of dichotomies replaced the one from the previous time period, but we see them as cumulative; as the building blocks of context-specific ideologies that developed and consolidated over time.

Uncovering ideological building blocks. Reflecting on the trajectory of tensions of the impact investing field of practice in Europe and systematically assessing the dichotomies, we noted that the dichotomies seemed to be reflective of two underlying sets of ideas, or field ideologies, as shown in Table 6.

Insert Table 6 about here

¹³ <http://gsgii.org/>

We derive these field ideologies inductively, and take a modular perspective of ideologies that is context-specific, not set in stone and that can be combined. In that respect, sets of ideas that slowly become dominant over time constitute the building blocks in the emerging ideology. In our case, we find that the sets of ideas broadly relate to the ambition of the field, as well as the focus and the anchor for judgement in making investment decisions in the context of creating social impact.

The ambition and emerging ideology of the field can be summarized in terms of a standardized solution that aimed to be applicable at global scale, with ambitious goals and led by a heroic leader as opposed to an ideology with a local ambition, with customized solutions, operating at smaller-scale and in a participatory manner. In terms of the investment strategy, on the one hand, impact investors wanted to invest in individual social enterprises with a potential to become self-sufficient, that they could help scale up, and that would be success stories. This set of ideas, contrasted with a more collective strategy where organizations depended on each other for resources, and funders worked closely with their investees to best understand their needs, and those of the entire ecosystem or grassroots. In practice, it was difficult to reconcile a financial return objective with the more complex investments into changing systems, requiring a combination of for-profit and non-profit approaches. Lastly, the decision-making approach in impact investing was increasingly geared towards a rational approach including impact measurement with randomized control trials in line with scientific thinking, to the detriment of storytelling and putting the needs of beneficiaries first.

As the field evolved over time, the tensions reflected in the dichotomies seemed to have coalesced into two ideologies that we detected inductively. Our analytical approach allowed us to locate the seeds of conflict that never surface, and that one ideology was starting to become dominant over the other. In what follows, we will explore how dominance came to be.

Naturalization of Domination: Modes, Mechanism and Consequences

After we specified and located ideologies, we could more accurately assess power dynamics related to domination and attempt to explain the naturalization of domination. Although we found both covert and overt mechanisms, we were particularly interested in the covert mechanisms that may lead to domination in ways that are difficult to see. We found three modes of suppression, *devaluing* – downplaying the contribution of certain actors, *simplifying* – the act of fitting a problem to an implicit subset of reality, or implicit template that makes it easier to address, and *privileging* – positioning means above the end goal. In what follows, we will explain how they operate as a mechanism, specify their effects and illustrate consequences.

Devaluing

The first mode of suppression that we found is *devaluing*. By devaluing the contribution of certain actors, sectors and fields, it is possible to assign partial blame to others for the continued existence of society's problems. In a handout following a speech on Impact Investing January 23, 2014 at Mansion House in the UK, Sir Ronald Cohen, Chair of the Social Impact Investment Taskforce established by the G8, wrote about the struggle to address social issues and the insufficient capital and resources available to traditional charitable social service providers. He noted:

I have come to realise why we face this predicament. The primary reason is that traditional philanthropy has focused on the act of charitable giving rather than on achieving social outcomes. (Speech by Sir Ronald Cohen, GSG, 2014)

In our setting, devaluing occurred when impact investors paid less attention to the voice of certain stakeholders that were considered less relevant, perhaps because they did not control key resources. Impact investors are accountable towards the capital owners, including institutional investors, high-net worth individuals, and sometimes government, to return the money invested with some degree of profit, as well as a social impact. The social enterprises funded by impact investors need money to implement their business model, but they are accountable mainly towards their primary beneficiary group; people in need. This is highlighted by an impact investor and Managing Director of an investment firm in an article shared with the community:

Impact gets defined by investors and entrepreneurs instead of beneficiaries - Some of the large financial institutions jumping on the impact bandwagon have made public statements defining impact as simply any investment made in a developing country. The many communities who have suffered from natural resource extraction, displacement, and poor labor conditions know this is not the case, but they are not being consulted in the process of defining goals for impact investment projects. (Online article¹⁴ by Morgan Simon, 2016)

In terms of the investment principle of impact investing, an example of devaluing could be when impact investors conduct due diligence of a social enterprise by interviewing the management team, but not hearing the voices of the community that the social enterprise claims to help. Such an approach could provide a biased view of the potential social impact of the investee. Discussions in GECES and other European policy fora highlighted the risks involved in devaluing the contribution of certain actors, notably the European social economy actors:

¹⁴ <https://greenmoneyjournal.com/impact-investing/>

With this in mind the EESC believes that it is crucial to provide tailored financial ecosystems with a wide variety of instruments, models and products for all diverse models and structures, ranging from socially responsible businesses to social economy enterprises for social action, whilst bearing in mind that they are not always the same. (European Economic and Social Committee (EESC), 2014)

A potential consequence of devaluing could be a lack of diversity of social challenges to address and a focus on potentially quick and measurable solutions.

Simplifying

The second mode of suppression was *simplifying*, which we define as the act of fitting a problem to an implicit subset of reality, or implicit template that makes it easier to address.

In terms of impact investing, the focus on scaling and growth and thinking big could be seen as a reflection of simplifying because in order to scale a solution, you need a standardized approach that is replicable.

Even within the countries engaged in the Taskforce there are significant differences in relevant laws, practice and culture, and in the relative roles of the state, business and social sector organisations in dealing with society's problems (...) Our recommendations take these differences into account, mostly by setting out principles that can be applied everywhere and so help to catalyse a truly global market for impact investment. (Document issued by UK presidency of the G8, 2014)

However, it is difficult to design a standardized solution that works well in all local contexts. One potential problem of impact investing is that when it becomes increasingly important to generate positive financial returns, impact investors may choose to invest in social enterprises that focus on social challenges that are relatively easy to solve, with faster impact that is measurable.

Social impact investors fall into two categories: those who need to raise funds themselves, opting to support sectors that demonstrate more tangible impact, and those who prefer to tackle more entrenched and complex problems with less concrete outcomes. The key risk is that there may be too few funders of the latter category and that many new and innovative interventions, as well as harder-to-solve

problems, will not be considered fundable. (OECD Policy Brief on Social Impact Measurement, 2015)

The risk is that impact investors focus on a too narrow range of problems, and perhaps not the most urgent or necessary ones. This risk was expressed by a foundation in an EVPA meeting:

There was an anxiety that the values of the non-profit sector and the time required to bring about social change, which is longer than the timeframe that typically governs the corporate sector, might be ignored. There was a related fear that a venture philanthropy approach might result in oversimplification and the application of ready-made recipes. (Field notes From EVPA workshop, 2010).

This risk is also apparent in the implementation of the Social Impact Bond (SIB), one of the most celebrated financial vehicles used by impact investors. SIBs operate on the Payment by Results principle, with private investors making the upfront investment, and the public entity paying a financial return if the social impact objective is reached. The social impact is measured in a predefined way using a control group that was not exposed to the social innovation. Although social impact bonds may have a clear social objective, for example reducing reoffending among former prisoners, the potential consequences of such an instrument could be “cherry picking” of social issues that are relatively easy to measure, or that are “quick wins” – thus avoiding more risky, but potentially more innovative projects.

Simplifying also occurs frequently in impact measurement when impact investors quickly assign standardized indicators to measure a complex problem.

Given this context, I&P takes a top-down approach on impact measurement, and the definition of the objectives is done mostly from I&P’s side. I&P also proposes indicators to investees, instead of co-developing them with the investees once the objectives have been set. The advantage of such a top-down approach is that I&P has the opportunity to set portfolio-wide impact objectives, and thus to have a real portfolio approach. The downside is a lack of flexibility in adapting the objectives to the specific needs of each investee. (Extract from EVPA publication, 2016)

Those indicators then become the objectives that social enterprises use to measure their success, thus restricting their way of working and leading to domination. A consequence may be that the investee ends up reporting on data that is irrelevant to its operations and seen as another level of bureaucracy rather than a tool to help the investee increase its social impact. An additional consequence is that impact investors may end up collecting the wrong data and measuring irrelevant information.

Privileging

The third mode of suppression was that of *privileging*; arranging work in such a way that means are positioned above end goals. By privileging tools, the use of a certain methodology or practice may be positioned as more important than the actual societal issues that are most pressing. Impact investors sometimes privilege impact investment itself as a tool to be applied, making it more important even than the social problems themselves.

Through impact investment, we can tackle many issues including climate change, education and healthcare, making the better world we imagine more viable (GSG Communication strategy document, 2016).

Privileging occurs in terms of decision-making when impact investors pay less attention to thematic areas where impact is not easily measured, such as long term or preventative interventions where the causal link between intervention and outcome is less clear and it takes longer for results to materialize. A consequence of privileging could be that fewer resources are channeled to riskier, but potentially more highly innovative solutions to social issues. The risk of privileging was highlighted by actors such as the European Economic and Social Committee when they issued an opinion on Social Impact Measurement:

Any measurement method must be developed from the core outcomes of the social enterprise, be supportive of its activities, proportionate and not stifle social innovation. (European Economic and Social Committee, Opinion on Social Impact Measurement, 2013)

By making impact investing, and the implementation of associated tools and practices, an objective in its own right, rather than a means to an end, this mode of suppression elevates decision-making power and resources away from those closest to social needs and may create and perpetuate a mismatch between the interests of those with resources and tools and those who implement them. This potential consequence is reflected in this quote providing feedback on the GSG Measuring Impact report:

The measurement of the impact of an intervention, and thence the measurement of the achievement of its funding, originates in the front line of service delivery. Yet the report seems to suggest that it is something imposed by investors, perhaps even drifting into implying that the investee is unable to develop a satisfactory measurement for itself. (Feedback on GSG Measuring Impact report, 2014)

Table 7 provides additional examples from our data of the three modes of suppression.

Insert Table 7 about here

Conceptual summary: Mechanism of Suppression and Three Pathways to Domination

We explored power dynamics located in ideologies, rather than in actors and posit that domination becomes naturalized through a process of suppression. Understanding the process of suppression can help to uncover what we do not see or what gets unnoticed or forgotten. Figure 2 depicts a model that includes the three modes of suppression and makes

explicit why and how they constitute pathways to domination. The three modes are mechanisms that trigger the process of suppression leading to domination.

Insert Figure 2 about here

The first mode identified, *devaluing* refers to downplaying the importance of certain ideas or the contributions of certain actors.¹⁵ Devaluing suppresses as it repositions what is considered worthy, potentially leading to a reduction in options to consider. A consequence of devaluing may be the loss of diverse approaches and perspectives, sometimes failing to access extensive knowledge and experience. Another consequence of devaluing could be that important assumptions, values or theories underlying the devalued contribution may be discarded, leading to a less nuanced analysis and vision of complex problems, or group think.

The second mode is *simplifying* and refers to fitting a problem into an implicit template that makes it easier to address. Simplifying suppresses as it refocuses the extent of the issue to be considered, potentially leading to a too narrow problem scope. It leads to domination by refocusing the extent of the issue to consider thus restricting what appears on the agenda. It may draw attention to new and useful tools, but may also narrow the focus to non-problem tasks that are easier to address, which may leave real issues inadequately addressed. This approach can lead to actors solving different problems from those they

¹⁵ Devaluing could also be seen as an example of discipline, in that it can act at the level of individual self-hood (Foucault, 1977, Fleming & Spicer 2014), but we do not discuss this because we do not analyze individuals

originally intended to solve. A narrow focus on seemingly efficient solutions may hide the complex reality, resulting in efforts to solve the wrong problem.

The third mode is *privileging*. Privileging rearranges priorities so that means are more important than ends. It suppresses by reordering the hierarchy of priorities so that it appears normal, and justified as the rational choice, that the use of the tool is the objective, and that focusing on the ends, becomes the emotional, less rational choice. A potential consequence of this mode of suppression may be that it creates a mismatch between those with resources and tools and those who implement them who may be closer to the needs. Additionally, the theories and values behind certain tools, as evidenced in the case of impact investing, may be difficult to detect, but could have wider consequences.

We detected little or no overt conflict in these modes. And yet, structuring and hierarchically ordering ideas and associated values, they make suppression explicit in everyday interactions of participants in the field of practice at large limiting the availability or perceived worthiness of alternative options or earlier ideas and exemplify domination as a systemic form of power in a field.

DISCUSSION

In this study, we sought to identify and explain power dynamics that mark the trajectory of a field of practice in an emergent stage. We were particularly interested in specifying processes and mechanisms leading to domination as a form of systemic power. We view domination as a hierarchical relationship between sets of ideas, and show how domination occurs when sets of ideas, or ideological building blocks, are combined and recombined in a

field over time, coalescing into field ideologies. We uncover the process that naturalizes domination through three covert modes of suppression that are difficult to detect without methodological innovation. We provide a bottom-up approach to understand how ideological power constellations are formed over time and across actor groups. Using dichotomies to analyze ideas as relational concepts, where one idea is enacted relative to another, we show how sets of ideas become dominant through a process of suppression, and inductively demonstrate how field ideologies develop over time.

Our study advances research on power in institutional theory of organizations. We complement work that has identified domination as a feature and form of systemic power and show how domination creeps in at early and emergent stages of fields. We introduce the construct of field ideologies that locates power in relationships among ideas to examine processes of structuration in the midst of debates, struggles and negotiations over institutional order and the future of fields among important stakeholder groups. We find that suppression as a process explains how such structures of ideas become dominant and appear natural, thereby contributing to our knowledge about structuration and institutionalization in fields. Our study also sets out to push frontiers with respect to methods and analytical approaches to detect and uncover hard to see institutional processes, enhancing our toolkit to study processes as they occur and not retrospectively (Schneiberg & Clemens, 2006). In the following section we describe these contributions in more detail.

Pathways to Domination

Our study aimed to explore how domination is naturalized. It contributes to current discussions in organizational theory on better linking power, organizations and institutions (see

for example Fleming & Spicer, 2014; Wry, Cobb & Aldrich, 2013; Lawrence, 2008). Locating the process that leads to dominant structures in early stages of newly emerging fields is important because although various groups and actors might pursue different interests, they still collectively work on a common field agenda, not trying to overthrow or change an existing hegemonic structure. While social positions and hierarchies among actors are not yet well-defined and open conflict cannot be observed, power may still be at work (Lukes, 2005). We located domination in the hierarchical relationship between opposing sets of ideas - that over time coalesced into two ideologies.

We show three pathways towards domination that help to understand the genesis of systemic power in fields. We found that dominant structures at the field level can be created through a process of suppression, and specify three modes: *devaluing*, *simplifying* and *privileging*, that work to make power appear inevitable and natural and most effective as least observable (Lukes, 2005). These mechanisms lead to domination in several important ways. The process of suppression determines what is ruled in or out (Oakes et al., 1998; Geppert, Becker-Ritterspach & Mudambi, 2016), shapes “what is considered worthy of political attention and effort... serving to ‘naturalize’ an extant social order” (Fleming & Spicer, 2014: 244), and re-arranges structures to appear normal (Lukes, 1974; Fleming & Spicer, 2014). Our findings add an empirically-grounded understanding of how domination is naturalized.

Our findings complement institutional logics existing and actor-centric approaches that locate power and examine conflict and tension in emerging institutional settings. Our work helps bring power back into the discussion of institutional logics (Fleming & Spicer, 2014; Hirsch & Lounsbury, 2015) by offering a lens by which to investigate the power dynamics

at play as logics vie for dominance. Finally, our work also complements previous studies in social movement theory that has focused on *overt* conflicts between stakeholder groups, by building a better understanding of *covert* oppositions that occur under the surface, leading to a subtle and gradual naturalization of domination.

Field Ideologies - From Analytical Innovation to Theoretical Inspiration

Our research question - how domination gets naturalized in emerging fields of practice - implied the need for *new ways of seeing* in order to see what we “usually” do not see. It also required us to reconsider *where to look* and *how to look*. Methodological innovation here does not imply novelty as new to the world of social science or organizational studies, but rather making use and combining insights from adjacent research traditions. Next, we summarize the methodological innovation applied in this study as an example of how being bolder in how we apply the analytical toolkits we have at hand can facilitate theoretical advances in institutional research on organizations.

First, we borrowed from scholars viewing gender as a social institution (Martin, 2004) that use dichotomies as analytical tools (Ely & Meyerson, 2000) to analyze domination and the process that leads to domination. Leveraging opposing dichotomies helped us overcome a main challenge in studying domination of understanding what can be lost in power struggles (Lukes, 2005). Dichotomies as analytical tools to extract opposition helped us to locate seeds of covert conflict and contestation reflected not only in the social positions of actors but in hierarchies of ideas. Ideas cannot be decoupled from actors, but to become institutionally relevant they need to be exchanged, contested or agreed upon. We study interactions among actors as stakeholders who are the carriers and promoters of ideas in an

emerging field of practice. This approach allowed us to “see” and uncover ideological building blocks constitutive of field ideologies. As an analytical construct, field ideologies that result from combining and recombining sets of ideas in the form of ideological building blocks help institutional scholars to pay analytical attention to those institutional “bits and pieces” that plaster institutionalization processes and trajectories of fields but might be lost when looking with hindsight (Schneiberg & Clemens, 2006).

Secondly, we anchored our choice of *where to look* in a research tradition in microsociology, specifically, the Chicago School (see Barley (2017) for an excellent review). According to this perspective, social order and institutional arrangements are in continuous flux and both the result of and the resource for social interaction and negotiation (Strauss, 1978). Building on contemporary research following this tradition that emphasizes the importance of studying relational spaces (Kellogg, 2009) and microinteraction dynamics (Furnari, 2014), we chose sites where we could observe negotiations over the material and symbolic meaning of practices, values and principles in real time and over time. However, for the particular focus of our study – the genesis of domination in a field of practice – we could not rely only on studying sites that include places where activities routinely occur (Barley, 2017; Furnari, 2014). To observe struggles for legitimacy that matter for the trajectory of an emerging field, our sites needed to be political spaces where key actors deploy ideas and ideologies in their ‘negotiations’ on the future of the field. To avoid potential biases inherent in single site studies or resulting from studying field configuring events (Lampel & Meyer, 2008), we collected data from formal and informal meetings and events organized by three different groups considered as influential and critical for shaping impact investing as a field of practice in Europe. Analytically this allowed us to study a series of

interactions across groups with partly overlapping stakeholders and to observe both frontstage and backstage dynamics (Goffman, 1959), as well as to access public and hidden transcripts (Scott, 1990). Especially hidden transcripts not publically accessible and available helped us understand structuration and legitimation in action (Barley, 2017) as they allowed us to capture ideas and ideological building blocks before they became public and/or before they were abandoned, vanished or got muted. As Schneiberg and Clemens note, “actors rarely, if ever, remain silent as they make policy or build regulatory regimes. They think, meet, argue, make claims, define options, conduct studies, tell stories, and generate discursive output, including reports, interviews, minutes, and newspaper commentaries. ... They also articulate models, fairness principles, and criteria for reasonableness or efficiency. Given a world full of both archives and people engaging in discourse, the question is precisely what all of this indicates about institutional processes” (2006: 210).

Finally, this study required us to continuously revisit how to look. Privileged access to collect data ensured and enacted by our insider author was critical. Equally important was the “collaborative research” approach (Van de Ven, 2007: 274) which also entailed assigning and reassigning roles within the team to ensure interpretative quality, reflexivity and transparency. The *insider* author was an active participant in the meetings and events organized by the three groups. She was able to collect a unique set of data such as field notes and memos from participant observations and drafts as well as final versions of minutes and official documents. As an organizational actor she was able to see the field of impact investing through the eyes of important stakeholders (Nadkarni, Gruber, DeCelles, Connelly & Baer, 2018) and thereby avoided theory becoming a constraining lens, which might

have limited her to pay attention, observe and see only what the theory induced us to look at (Evered & Louis, 1981). The in situ and in real time nature of the data collected (Barley, 2017), allowed us as a research team to “see” institutional paths as they unfolded. Institutional analysis often suffers from a survivor bias (Seidel & Greve, 2017): researchers tend to focus on institutions that have survived to trace institutional processes and thereby ignore those institutional elements and ideas that have been lost in negotiations and interactions along the way. Collecting data in real time and over time helps to overcome this bias and to better capture temporal aspects in institutional processes (Lawrence, Winn & Jennings, 2001). To overcome potential biases related to in situ research emerging findings were discussed in the team which helped to elevate conceptual and empirical insights associated to a particular setting to a level of broader theorization (Van de Ven, 2007).

To capture that the process leading to domination in an emerging field of practice we went beyond our usual methodological comfort zone and inductively pieced together the patterns of ideas that structure the field over time. This allowed us to identify field ideologies composed of different ideological building blocks as an analytically useful and theoretically relevant mid-range construct for the analysis of institutional processes more generally. The construct of field ideology we introduce might be useful to revive a constructive discussion on the relationship between institutions and ideology (see Meyer, Sahlin, Ventresca & Walgenbach, 2009 for a generative discussion). Rather than adding yet another colorful but elusive concept, our approach and our findings add analytical value for research on field trajectories. As used in this paper, field ideologies become a helpful tool to overcome the impasse of preserving institutional insights on the salience of institutional pressures once fields are settled (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991) without denying the transformational

potential of new ideas that are introduced by different actors with diverging interest as fields emerge or evolve (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). More specifically relying on field ideologies as repertoires and repositories of ideas allows a more fine-grained analysis of what lays on the path of fields, which elements get abandoned, which institutional projects and experiments fail or are only partially realized (Schneiberg, 2007). In our case, towards the end of the time period of study, the ideology that focused on local ambitions, at smaller-scale and in a participatory manner was losing ground. Understanding which paths are not taken in a field might be as useful for understanding fields and institutional orders more generally. The analytical and theoretical use of ideas and field ideologies as “resources and building blocks of institutional assembly” that can be “redeployed to support new experiments, theorization, mobilization for change and even the consolidation of entirely new paths within existing systems” (Schneiberg, 2007:48) therefore might be helpful for adding a complimentary layer to study contemporary phenomena such as the marketization of the nonprofit sector (Maier, Meyer, & Steinbereithner, 2014) or the rise and demise of organizational forms within capitalism (Schneiberg, King & Smith, 2008; Davis, 2016). More generally, field ideologies as a construct might be a helpful to advance work that purposefully bridges macro- and micro-level institutional processes as it escapes the straightjacket of both actor centric and macro determinacy perspectives in institutional analysis (Schneiberg & Clemens, 2006) and the at times artificial separation between agency and structure (Giddens, 1984). For example, ideologies can be the missing link between institutional logics and individual choice (Weik, 2009). As we showed in this paper, open and hidden conflict between ideas exist and can be studied both at the level of ideas and at the level of social groups.

CONCLUSION

Our ability to develop new theory and recast or refine existing theory requires “academic wanderlust” - questioning existing truths and engaging ideas from adjacent or distal domains (Nadkarni et al., 2018). Dover and Lawrence (2010) suggest that scholarship in organizational institutionalism would benefit from a “gap year” to better connect with real life phenomena. In this study we take on a pervasive phenomenon – domination as a form of systemic power that shapes the institutional lives of organizations and within fields - and focus on an ill or poorly understood aspect of this phenomenon – how domination gets naturalized. We showcase how a novel analytical approach and combining roles and skills and social positions of researchers allows us to see and look in new ways and develop insights that advance theory without being constrained by the analytical legacy of this theory. Our objective was not to rewrite theories on power and organizations but to see how systemic power arises and becomes entrenched in the institutional context.

The findings of our study are bound by the characteristics of our settings. However, research on ideology as “a set of coherent sets of beliefs that binds people and explains their worlds to them” (Beyer, 1981:166) benefits from a context rich idiographic approach (Beyer, Dunbar & Meyer, 1988). The implications of our study go beyond studying a specific field. The process of suppression that we uncover might be helpful to extend foundational debates in institutional theory and bring back power into those debates. For example, future research building on our study and the subtle aspects and processes of power could probe the nature and origin of “rationalized myths” (Meyer & Rowan, 1977) that prescribe organizational practices and forms justified by specific ideas and values such as efficiency. Connected to a focus on fields, our approach could help to specify how rationalization

processes in fields unfold (Hwang & Powell, 2009). More generally, our study helps to understand how stable and taken for granted realities come about in the first place amidst and not absent of elusive power games. In this paper we empirically focus on analyzing hierarchical relationships among ideas. Future research could investigate the connection between hierarchies of ideas and hierarchies of actors. For example, studies could examine how hierarchies among ideas and the subtle and covert processes identified here affect power dynamics among actors and perpetuate hierarchies within and across organizations. This might be particularly helpful to understand endogenous processes of how to break with or transform entrenched patterns of inequalities characterizing institutional life of individuals and organizations.

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TABLES

TABLE 1

Type of Actors in three Groups

	Investors	Consultants	Academics	Associations	Policymakers (EU/ national)	Social purpose organizations
GSG	Institutional investors (financial institutions, pension funds, asset managers, very large grant-making foundations), impact investing funds	Big four consultancy firms - often hired to implement work	Individual academics participating in plenary meetings and working groups	Other associations and networks as observers	National-level policy makers in NABs, EU representation in GSG led by the European Investment Fund	<i>Not present</i>
EVPA	Financial institutions, grant-making foundations, impact investing funds, venture philanthropy organizations	Consultants specialized on social impact (measurement)	Academic members – some participating in research	EFC, EVCA, AVPN and others	EU as funder of EVPA	Social enterprises and non-profit organizations present in the annual conferences
GECES	Representatives of impact investing funds and venture philanthropy organizations	A few specialized consultants as experts	Some individual academic experts	Individual representatives of main European associations and networks	European Commission convening GECES, representatives of EU Member States attending	Representatives of social economy actors including cooperatives, religious groups, different types of social and charitable organizations

TABLE 2

Overview of the three Groups

	EVPA	GECS	GSG
Type of organization	A membership organization set up in 2004 with permanent staff at Brussels headquarters	A group of experts selected in 2011 and 2014 by the European Commission in Brussels	A group of organizations set up in 2013, with a charismatic leader. From 2017 with small staff based in London
Objective/Mandate	Grow the venture philanthropy and social investment sector in Europe	Support the European Commission in developing and implementing the Social Business Initiative	G8 Taskforce (later Global Steering Group) founded during the UK's presidency of the G8 with the objective to mainstream impact investing
Working process	<p>CEO reports to Board that is approved every year by Members at the General Assembly. CEO hires team of staff working for the Association.</p> <p>Counts on volunteer time from board and members to participate in committees and expert groups.</p>	Documents circulated for all to input. Working groups present to plenary; plenary feeds back. EU asks for expert reactions	Each country sets up a National Advisory Board that needs to be approved by the Executive Committee.
What they produce	Publications produced by in-house research team, with support from member organizations	Final documents produced by experts and are subject to vote (unanimous or majority to approve)	Documents are developed in smaller groups (often partly outsourced to external consultants) without approval by all

TABLE 3

Sources and Types of Data Analyzed

Types of events convened:

	Front-stage	Backstage	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EVPA: 12 annual conferences (2006-2017) • GECES: 13 bi-annual plenary meetings (from 2012-2017) • GSG: 4 conferences (2013-2017) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EVPA: 14 workshops and trainings (2006-2017), 10 annual closed-door CEO meetings (2007-2016) • GECES: 6 sub-group meetings on impact measurement (2012-2013), 6 working group meetings on access to finance (2015-2016) • GSG: 4 French NAB meetings (2013-2014), 4 Measuring Impact working group meetings (2014-2015), 7 conference calls with NABs and observer networks (2015-2016) 	
<i>Type of data:</i>			<i>Other discourse:</i>
Public transcripts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conference programs • PowerPoint presentations • Speeches • Official minutes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conference programs • PowerPoint presentations • Speeches • Official minutes • Progress reports prepared for front stage interactions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research publications • Policy briefs and Opinions
Hidden transcripts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Own field notes and observations • Emails commenting on the plenary meetings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Own field notes and observations • Emails between sub-group members or workshop participants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews conducted for research publications

<i>Data count</i>	EVPA	GECES	GSG	Total
<i>Front-stage</i>	192	104	64	360
<i>Backstage</i>	224	96	85	405
Hours of observation	416	200	149	765
Pages of documentation	1674	831	670	3175

TABLE 4

Dichotomies found in the Impact Investing Field of Practice

XY codes*	XX codes*
Standardized: Offer generalizable solutions to global problems	Customized: Tailor solutions to a local environment
Big audacious goals: Aim big, wanting to change the world	Small fountain of hope: Have smaller scale achievement goals
Top-down/heroic leader: Field led through a structured approach	Participatory/community: Field actors bring diverse voices, bottom-up
Self-sufficiency: Organizations should be financially independent and sustainable on their own	Dependency: Organizations rely on donations or continuous support
Pick the winners: Support the winners, the innovative ones that succeed	Nurture the eco-system: Diverse approaches working in concert required
Scaling: Focus on growing businesses and solutions	Going native: Work close to beneficiaries, involved in social cause
Head: Rational, basing decision on what is efficient	Heart: Focus on social cause, close to one’s heart
Measuring impact: Measure impact of investments and monetize	Telling stories: Relate narratives, assess satisfaction of beneficiaries
Tool first: Apply financial toolbox to social problems	Need first: Identify complex social challenges that require change

*Our coding system was inspired by dichotomies found in gender studies. We denote XY codes the ones building on idealized masculine “natures” and XX codes the ones building on idealized feminine ‘natures’. The dichotomies were opposites found in the impact investing field of practice.

TABLE 5
Coding of Power Dynamics

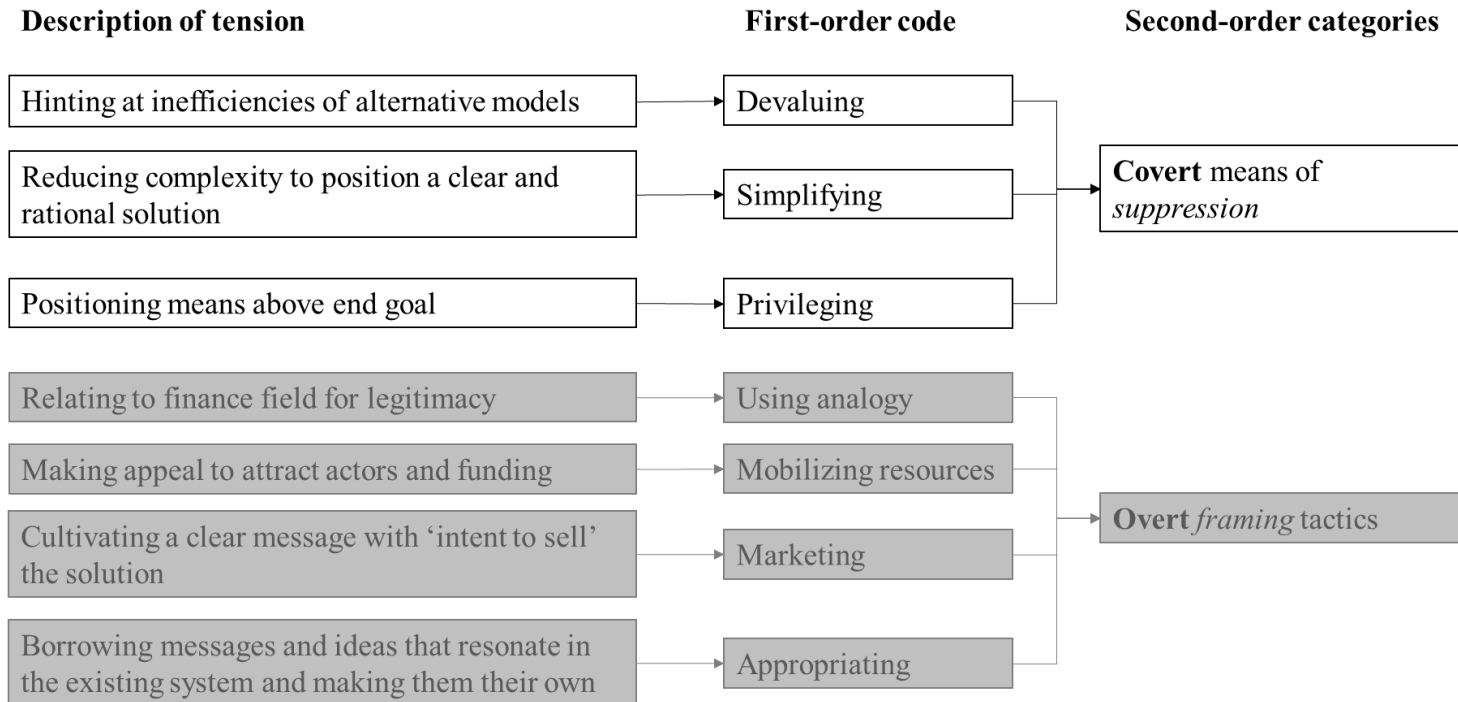


TABLE 6

Dichotomies as ideological building blocks

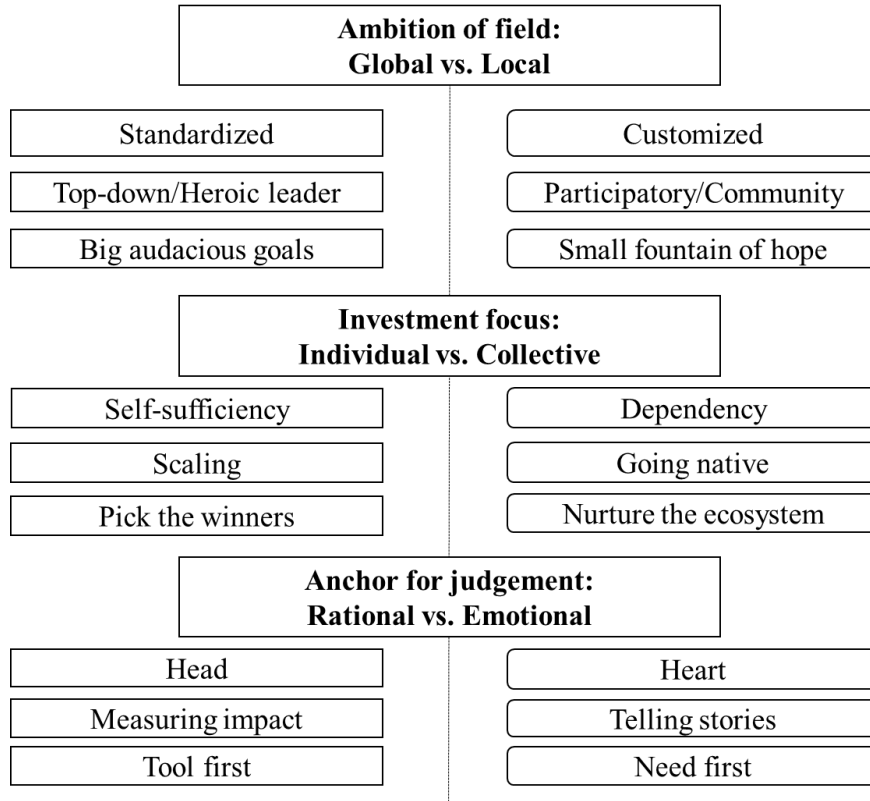


TABLE 7

Three Modes of Suppression in the Impact Investing Field of Practice

Mode	Illustrative quote	Vignette
<p>Devaluing: By devaluing the contribution of certain actors, sectors and fields, it is possible to assign partial blame to others for the continued existence of society’s problems.</p>	<p>Although there are outstanding examples of big, impactful social service organizations, too many struggle to make the large scale impact that the success of their methods deserves. Impact investment, with its emphasis on scaling up activities that achieve measurable social outcomes, can transform how social sector organizations are financed, and in doing so make it likelier that they will succeed in achieving their mission at significant scale. (UK Presidency of the G8, 2014)</p>	<p>Impact investors downplay the contribution of social service organizations due to their lack of achieving impact at scale.</p>
<p>Simplifying: Fitting a problem to an implicit subset of reality, or implicit template that makes it easier to address.</p>	<p>The Chair noted that the ecosystem presentations had highlighted the varied cultural, historical and structural factors in the various countries and the value of completing the ecosystem map for all the G8 nations so that the Taskforce can arrive at policy recommendations appropriate across countries. (GSG email exchange, 2014)</p>	<p>Recognizing that local differences exist, it is deemed necessary to arrive at recommendations that are applicable across all countries.</p>
<p>Privileging: Arranging work in such a way that means are positioned above end goals</p>	<p>It is too early to tell which social issue or which social group will put impact investment firmly on the map. Will it be ‘children’, ‘unemployed youth’, the ‘elderly poor’, ‘reoffenders’, ‘health’ or ‘International Development’? (Sir Ronald Cohen, 2014)</p>	<p>The social issue rather than being the objective to solve, is a vehicle to make impact investing successful.</p>

FIGURE 1

Timeline of the European Impact Investing Field of Practice

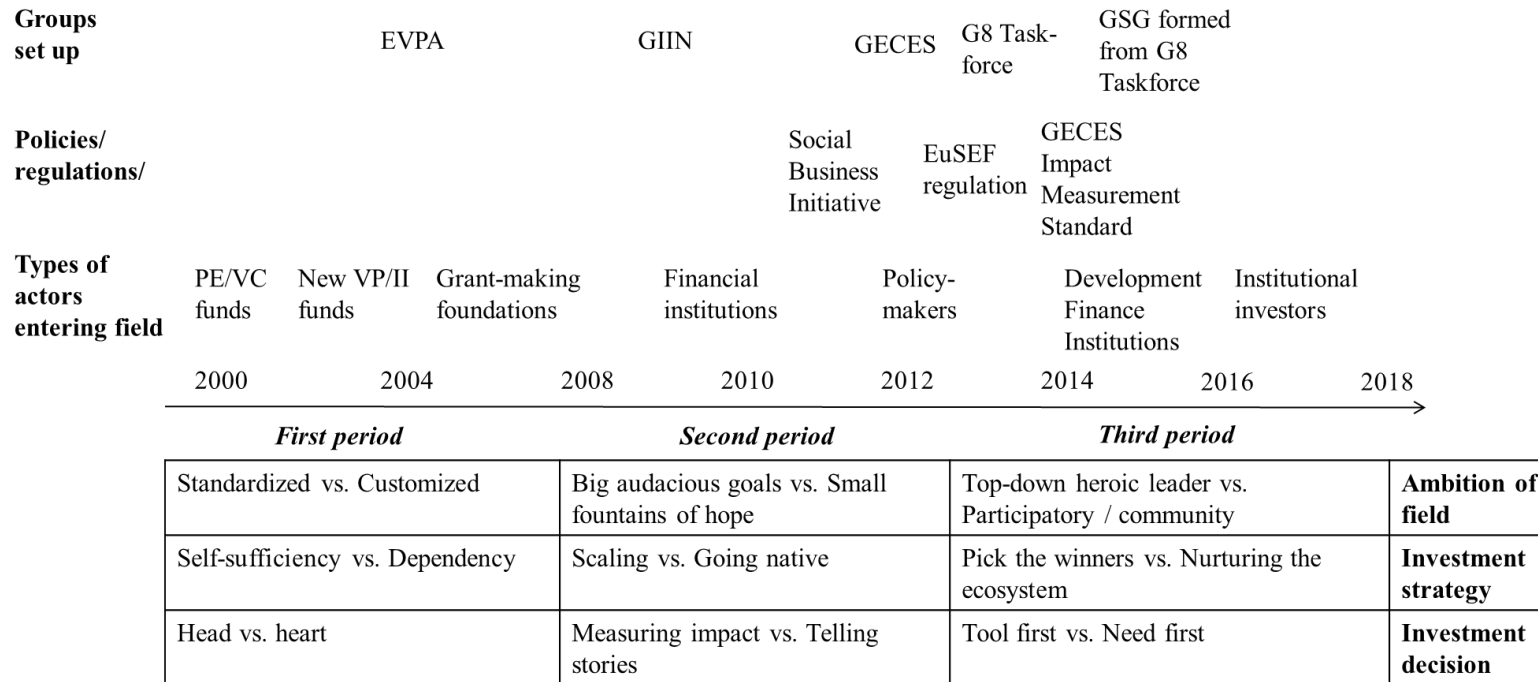
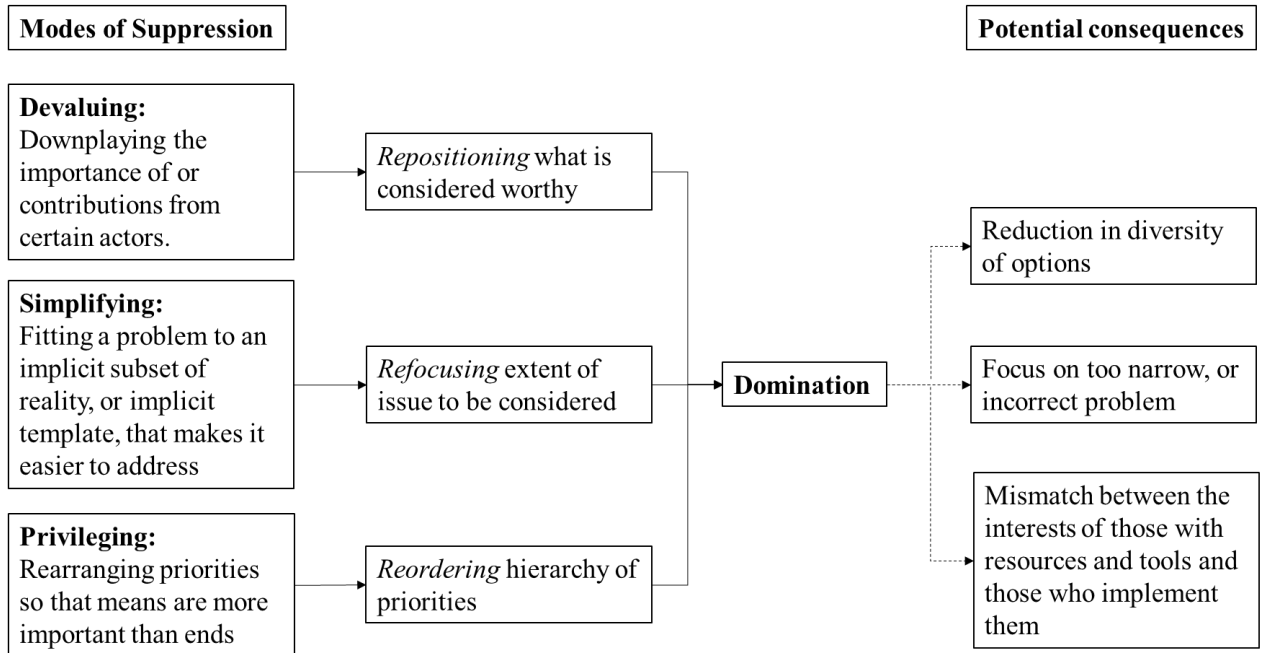


FIGURE 2

Three Modes of Suppression that Naturalize Domination



APPENDIX A

Dichotomies detected in the Impact Investing Field of Practice

XY codes

Standardized

The idea behind EVPA is to promote a global movement promoting a more professional way to tackle social and collective needs. (EVPA meeting, 2011)

Scaling

Impact investing is already starting to make an important difference. But it needs to grow fast if we are to meet the challenges now facing the world. (UK presidency of the G8 2014)

Big audacious goal

The venture philanthropy approach has a ‘turbo charging’ effect, enabling more young people to be supported and aims to help charities to maximize their efficiency, reach and collaboration and ultimately work towards financial sustainability. (EVPA April 2012)

Self-sufficiency

High engagement and capacity building efforts in order to ensure ventures are sustainable after involvement. (EVPA February 2011)

Top-down/heroic leader

XX codes

Customized

The social economy has played a key buffer role during the economic crisis mainly thanks to rules governing social economy entities relating to profit distribution and ownership, which make social economy actors more grounded locally and their long-term approach less vulnerable to short term financial difficulties. (European Parliament 2015)

Going native

Charities with a close relationship with beneficiaries get nervous about scaling up, growing too big so that they lose relationship with beneficiaries. (EVPA Venice meeting, 2009)

Small fountain of hope

“...community philanthropy and community foundations, far from being marginal, are now emerging as key building blocks in the broader field of international development. (EVPA October 2010)

Dependency

Social economy enterprises are closely connected to the civil society sector. Recognizing and safeguarding the work in this sector as well as the specific models within the social economy are crucial to create the much needed trusting and innovative partnerships between sectors. (Rodert 2014; 2)

Participatory/community

The world is on the brink of a revolution in how we solve society's toughest problems. The force capable of driving this revolution is 'social impact investing', which harnesses entrepreneurship, innovation and capital to power social improvement. (UK presidency of the G8 2014)

Pick winners

How to identify heroes in each country – social entrepreneurs and social investors? (EVPA Venice meeting, 2013)

Head

How can we connect them to the capital markets? How can we harness the most powerful forces of capitalism: entrepreneurship, innovation and capital to tackle social issues more effectively? (UK presidency of the G8 2014)

Measuring social impact

Its defining characteristic is the setting of clear impact objectives from the start and the continuous measurement of their achievement. (GSG, Cohen 2014)

Tool first

Goals for marketing to millennials/social entrepreneurs (Unleash their catalytic power to develop innovative and effective ways of addressing social issues; create demand for investment capital) and to the public (Endorse the

As expressed by Commissioner Bieńkowska at the European Parliament on 14 April 2015¹, the Commission wishes now to adopt a more bottom-up approach, fostering the co-creation of further SBI-related work with other European Institutions, Member States and stakeholders. (European Commission 2015)

Nurture the ecosystem

It is equally important that all types of investors – public, private and civil society – should be considered, whilst taking into account their individual motives and expectations to ensure the best partnerships and results. But most importantly, the construction of an impact investment infrastructure has to influence positively welfare models in Europe. Policy should be carefully shaped within the national context with the aim of having social enterprises and the public sector mutually strengthen welfare systems whilst ensuring universal access to quality and affordable services. (Rodert 2014; 6)

Heart

Jacqueline Novogratz, chief executive of the Acumen Fund, spoke of the need for "patient capital in an impatient world", which Acumen aims to supply. (EVPA December 2010)

Telling stories

The social economy must safeguard its specificities. The objective should be to develop a more qualitative measurement method which would respond to relevant criteria which correspond to the missions of social economy enterprises. With this aim in mind, social economy enterprises are supportive of a process which assesses social utility. (SEE 2015)

Need first

Today's high unemployment, in particular among young people, demands that we explore every avenue leading to job creation, growth and social innova-

concept of impact investing to drive bottom up demand for policies and investments) (GSG Communication Strategy, 2015)

tion. Social enterprises have potential for creating jobs that is still not fully exploited and can notably be very effective in integrating into the labour market underrepresented or disadvantaged groups. (GECES 2 2012)

PAPER 2

The Vocabulary of Valuation: Tools for investigating the changing nature of social purpose organizing

ABSTRACT

Valuation scholars have identified many important concepts that explain the dynamics and construction of value. Not yet widely applied to the social sector, valuation concepts can help conceptualize and analyze social value at social purpose organizations such as nonprofits, social enterprises and firms with social goals. This review explains major valuation concepts and the existing work done in non-market contexts and presents a research agenda that structures existing and proposed research according to two key questions relevant for organizations, researchers and policymakers: *What do valuation processes do to organizations? How can valuation processes be used strategically?* In the process, it identifies and articulates the concept of the born-rational organization to stimulate further research on how such organizations behave and generate impact.

Keywords: Social value, social impact measurement, marketization, rationalization, professionalization, born-rational

INTRODUCTION

A burgeoning interdisciplinary field sometimes referred to as valuation studies has begun to systematically interrogate questions of evaluation, “a social practice where the value or values of something is established, assessed, negotiated, provoked, maintained, constructed and/or contested” (Valuation Studies 2017)¹⁶. The processes through which value and values emerge have been discussed in almost every field of study (Kjellberg et. al 2013; Lamont 2012). This work creates a robust catalogue of concepts, though most of the discussions in the valuation literature focus on market-driven organizations and how they convert non-economic entities into economic value. This literature can bring a useful lens for investigating the voluntary sector and enabling deeper attention to non-economic value. Valuation concepts provide a vocabulary for investigating two main questions of relevance to researchers who study social purpose organizations: *what do valuation processes do to organizations?* and, *how can organizations approach valuation processes strategically - to help them achieve their goals?* This paper aims to facilitate fruitful investigation into social valuation, simultaneously extending an invitation to collectively develop more dedicated work on non-economic valuation.

Recent discussion highlights the need to investigate social valuation at organizations. There has been much interest in how the social sector is becoming ‘*business-like*’ (Maier, Meyer & Steiner 2014), or the rationalization, professionalization (Hwang & Powell 2009) and marketization (Eikenberry & Kluver 2004) of organizations, including funding organizations and mem-

¹⁶ Throughout the paper, I will use ‘valuation’ to refer to both valuation and evaluation as they are ‘intertwined in reality’ (Lamont 2012), suggesting that the distinction will come from the research setting and the researcher’s own analysis.

bership associations (Mair & Hehenberger 2014). Scholars have unpacked how nonprofit organizations have adopted rhetoric, organizational practices and goals from business (Dart 2004; Maier, Meyer & Steinbereithner 2014) imported through professionals (Hwang & Powell 2009; Suarez 2010), resource providers (e.g. Rogers 2011) and actors and models guided by logics from the financial world (Mair & Hehenberger 2014; Pache & Santos 2013). Scholars concerned with rationalization investigate the effectiveness of business-like approaches (Suarez 2010; Maier, Meyer & Steinbereithner 2014) and share the concern that idealism may be lost (Eikenberry & Kluver 2004). Other dimensions of rationalization such as pressure to scale and aspire to ‘big goals’ are receiving attention (Paper 1), and there is emerging discussion about organizations that address systemic patterns (Amis, Munir & Mair 2017; Mair, Wolf & Seelos 2016) and grand challenges (George, Howard-Grenville, Joshi & Tihanyi 2016) and those that collaborate with others to drive wider-reaching change (Bryson, Crosby & Stone 2015). These scholars are concerned with how the forces of rationalization, such as increased attention to measuring social impact (Weisbrod 1997; Maier, Meyer & Steinbereithner 2014), drive change in the social sector, and implicitly, they are concerned that the most appropriate and effective approaches are used to address social issues.

There is also a large body of work that takes the ‘*business-like*’ turn for granted and studies the business practice of revenue generation and its interplay with the production of social value. Hybridity, or the coexistence of economic and social goals, is understood as a permanent characteristic of the social sector (Brandsen, van de Donk and Putters 2005). A large field of study has emerged to analyze social entrepreneurship (e.g. Mair & Marti 2006; Peredo & McLean 2006), also conceptualized as a type of hybrid organizing in which dual social and monetary goals are approached (Battilana, Lee, Walker & Dorsey 2012; Battilana & Lee 2014). In this field, a central

discussion is about the issues that arise from the co-existence of social and market goals, for example, governance issues and mission drift in dual-mission or hybrid enterprises (Ebrahim, Battilana, & Mair 2014; Jones 2007; Lee 2014). Additionally, scholars study the use of mainstream market tools and organizational forms including impact investing (e.g. Jackson 2012; Brest & Born 2013; Unruh, Kiron, Kruschwitz, Reeves, Rubel, & Meyer Zum Felde 2016; Carroll & Shabana 2010) and the application of certifications, such as the B Corp certification or Fair trade (Bridges Ventures 2015; Reinecke, Manning & von Hagen 2012) as a means to enable for-profit businesses to gain reputational value for blurring their remit across sectors. These scholars are interested in how organizations deliver social value in addition to economic value. They have focused on the struggle between welfare and economic logics rather than achieving social goals.

Building on these trends, the topic of measuring impact at nonprofits and other social purpose organizations has become a focus of its own. Scholars have discussed the reasons organizations measure impact such as for potential legitimacy gains (DiMaggio 2002; Maier, Schober, Simsa & Milner 2015), better knowledge for decision-making (Ebrahim & Rangan 2014; Maier, et al. 2015) and lowering the cost of learning and supporting innovation (Mintz 2015). With other types of firms, social and environmental reporting may be done for impression management and concealment (Solomon, Solomon, Joseph & Norton 2013). Impact reporting may result in ceremonial reporting (Nicholls 2009) and faces many issues such as when cause-effect knowledge is incomplete, context-specific or outcomes are external to organizations or are affected by other factors (DiMaggio 2002; Ebrahim, Battilana, & Mair 2014). Scholars have also started to investigate tools and practices, which are discussed in the subsequent sections. This discussion has brought im-

portant awareness to the topic of measuring social impact, and raised the importance of investigating fine-grain aspects to the valuation process, which go beyond the use of tools and the production of reports.

Professionalization trends suggest that with every passing year, more and more organizations are started in the midst of rationalization, professionalization and marketization trends- they are *born rational*. Concern for the effects of valuation processes will continue with every new organization, but new organizations with new characteristics may also think differently about their own value. A born-rational organization may further recast our view of social value production from defensive to strategic. The idea that there are existing organizations that are affected by these trends as well as those that are ‘born rational’ and thus patterned by them already, forms the basis for the research agenda.

These concurrent trends in management literature about social purpose organizations highlight the need for deeper understanding of non-economic valuation. To build such a research agenda, I first organize valuation concepts. ‘Pre-requisites to valuation,’ includes *setting* and *types of value*, the ‘valuation processes,’ includes *categories, labels and names, commensuration* and *formal structures*. In each section, I review key concepts and literature that looks at non-economic value. Next, I present a framework for organizing social value-related work in the social sector and propose a research agenda.

Pre-requisites to valuation

Setting

Valuation is both spatially and temporally located and value creation may occur differently when it is disseminated or received, such as in a buying decision (Stark 2009). The sectoral setting also

has implications for value production. Much work has been done to understand valuation in cultural and aesthetic markets (e.g. Styhre 2013; Beckert & Aspers 2011). This setting has been fruitful for building knowledge about symbolic goods and the role of commensuration (translating qualities into a common comparable metric, Espeland and Stevens 1998) in ‘pseudo-market’ settings where multiple interests are linked with economics. Other common settings are financial markets and environmental realms (Fourcade 2011; Foale, Dyer & Kinch 2016; Dalsgaard 2016). Bessy and Chauvin (2013) investigated the role of market intermediaries in valuation processes. These studies have contributed to our understanding of valuation, but there is a notable gap in valuation studies grounded in social settings and focused on non-economic value with the exception of Ruff & Olsen (2016) who argued for the profession of social analyst as a way to counteract the issue of comparability in social evaluations. Future research may unpack the emerging setting of social analysis intermediaries, the motivations of its actors and the ways in which they engage with valuation. It may also take a fine-grained look at when and where valuation actually occurs – via reports, in board rooms, at benefit dinners, or through personal moments – and what this means for organizations and the goods and services they value.

Types of Value

Scholars of valuation have discussed different ways of understanding aspects of value. One prominent theory is ‘economies of worth,’ or ‘orders of worth’ which include six types of value: inspiration (personal grace, creativity), domestic (position in hierarchy), fame (public opinion), civic (attending to peace and the common good above individual interests, the collective), market (use of market to coordinate, seeking profit, involves detachment to others) and industry (the imperative

of productivity, efficient technology) (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006 [1991]).¹⁷ These authors assert that, in contrast to a traditional economic view of rationality, rationality looks like irrationality depending on the order of worth, which are each measured differently. For example, rationality in the ‘inspiration world’ would be seen as irrationality in an industrial world. The inspired world is about creativity and uniqueness in a personal sense, resulting in spontaneous and temporary feelings and does not require approval, as in fame, or stable and routine relationships, as in industry (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006 [1991]: 162-163). Another typology of types of worth is logics, a metatheoretical perspective, which includes six groups: family, community, religion, state, market, profession and corporation (Thornton & Ocasio 1999: 56). Logics include a slightly differently organized subset of Boltanski & Thevenot’s work and seems to be organized more around ideal type locations and roles in everyday life interact, whereas Boltanski & Thevenot’s work, which was the result of an in-depth inductive study, elaborates personal ways people think about structuring and categorizing. Next, Beckert & Aspers identify economic, moral and aesthetic dimensions of value and explain how these can be experienced simultaneously as different ways to experience social events, people, organizations or objects, but there is no exchange rate between them (2011). These authors also further delineate dimensions of economic value, distinguishing between use value and investment value; individualistic and relational; functional and symbolic (Beckert & Aspers 2011: 11-13). Compliance with laws, regulations and performance requirements has been suggested as another order of worth imposed by the rise of auditing and monitoring (Power 1999). Different conceptions of worth organize confusing situations, and thus help translate uncertainty into more manageable risk, but it is not always certain which order of worth applies

¹⁷ Boltanski & Thevenot outline 6 types, linked to foundational authors: civic (Rousseau), market (Adam Smith), industrial (Saint-Simon), domestic (Bossuet), inspiration (Augustine), and fame (Hobbes). The idea that these principles each had their own basis of value paved the way for the field of economic sociology (Stark 2000).

to a given problem of valuation (Stark 2000). Types of value can be used to analyze settings in which multiple types exist simultaneously, also known as dissonance (Stark 2009). These orders of worth are a useful starting point for analyzing different types of value at social purpose organizations, moving beyond the social vs. market dichotomy and valuing more in the process.

One case in which deeper layers of non-economic value have been investigated is Beckert's work on imaginative and positional types of symbolic value (2011a). He identifies dimensions of transcendental value, for example, the dimension of space in which imaginative value is based on the meanings of places, such as how fair trade connects purchasers to growers and workers in far-away geographies. Future research on social purpose organizations could dig into imaginative value, which likely plays a big role in a sector heavily impacted by donors, volunteers, grant-funders and other actors who obtain different types of non-economic value for their efforts.

When different, disagreeing coexisting orders of work, known as dissonance, are resolved through the valuation process, several outcomes can occur: either the new economy of worth is resolved into the old order, dissonance persists unrecognized as noise, or expectations adjust to a new resolution (Stark 2009). In the social sector, one can imagine that many cases resolve in the second outcome – while some social goods may be commensurated to a degree most find satisfactory, there is likely some kind of remainder that hangs around as noise, unresolved. If we think of this noise in economics terms – as externalities – it becomes a bit more worrisome to ignore. Perhaps an important task of valuation scholars of the social field is to capture and explain post-valuation dissonance. This would likely involve adding more orders of worth to define and name, and thus value what 'cannot be measured'.

By understanding and even building on the valuation discussions of types of value, studies of social organizations can further understand social value. One example is a study of a water sanitation program that worked to re-arrange unequal social arrangements in small-scale Indian villages demonstrates how social value can be found in an overt and specific technical solution – providing sanitation-- as well as through a relational solution that worked to change patterns of inequality (Mair, Wolf & Seelos 2016). The distinction between ‘technical’ and ‘relational’ that these authors identify explains the type of solution needed to address a certain aspect of a societal challenge; they can also be understood as dimensions of non-market orders of worth, each carrying different rationalities. Increased depth of study on non-economic orders of worth can transform the two-toned picture of social vs. market into a colorful, more insightful understanding of dynamics in complex settings. Identifying facets of non-economic value goes beyond identifying the challenges of assigning dollar amounts to ‘priceless items’ (a process called commensuration, discussed in an upcoming section). This is important because the more these deeper levels of understanding come to the fore, the more they “count” -- The more these layers of value are identified and elaborated, the more and more easily they will perpetuate and hold in defense when hybrid tensions occur. Future research may also include discussions of trends in what is defined as valuable and what types of social value become diffused or institutionalized. The way types of value or economies of worth evolve is of importance (Beckert & Aspers 2011: 14). “Indeed, the coexistence of multiple matrices of evaluation is one significant condition for greater social resilience (along with a better distribution of resources)” (Lamont 2012).

In this section, the paper has explained the concepts of *setting* and *types of value* and how they are relevant for scholars who study social purpose organizations. These two concepts have been organized under the heading of ‘pre-requisites.’ In the next section, the paper will explain concepts

in the valuation process including categories, labels and names, commensuration and formal structures.

Valuation Processes

Categories, labels and names

One type of valuation process is around categorization, labeling and naming, which are power-laden processes (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977). It is necessary to name something in order for it to be assigned a value, but articulating a name makes a claim about what is up for valuation or devaluation and therefore can cause a shift in power relations (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Simon, 1988). By naming, one object is distinguished from another, and the choice of words may create relational positioning in the process (Gugliermo & Salerno 2003; Lamont 2012). The literature on categories and categorization dynamics is itself an own field of study, which emphasizes the necessity and consequences of belonging or not belonging to a group (Zuckerman 1999; Cattani and Fliescher 2013; Mair, Wolf & Seelos, 2016; also see Lamont 2012) in addition to serving as a prerequisite for valuation.^c Power in categories can be a zero-sum game, resulting in the disappearance of the loser category (Negro, Hannan & Rao 2011). This work contributes insights about the dynamics and importance of different sorts of labels. Yet, this has not been an area of focus in analysis of valuation at organizations working on social goals. Future research could investigate when organizations use or create new labels, and the dynamics of labels and categories. For example, in the analysis of data for another paper (Hehenberger, Mair & Metz paper 1), ‘impact entrepreneur’ started to emerge in text interactions between impact investors, who seemingly re-labeled ‘social entrepreneurs’ in their own image. “Systems entrepreneur” has also been seen in practitioner documents. It is also important to investigate the categories, labels and names used to

describe beneficiaries and how giving them a certain name or label may carry political weight that can be useful or detrimental. When, how and to what ends do organizations use new names, labels and categories? Also, what is the role of categories and labels to describe a given social challenge, and the impact of an organization that works to address it?

Commensuration

Assigning a number or an indicator - the process of converting a quality into a quantity for comparability - is known as commensuration (Espeland & Stevens 1998). As with naming and categorizing, the choice of indicators is itself a process that creates, shapes or destroys value. Commensuration is a necessary step in valuation when valuation requires comparable metrics. This topic fits into a bigger discussion about quantification, in which it is widely understood that metrics are never neutral. As with names and labels, social measures are subjective and inevitably serve interests (Duncan 1984). Assessing these interests is an important part of understanding the process of valuation. Another important part of this study is why it is attempted. Scholars have identified various reasons for converting qualities into quantities. Notably, quantification is often approached due to external pressure to exhibit impersonal rationality (Porter 1995), which, for example, was also partly the case when the double-entry bookkeeping technique emerged and diffused (Carruthers & Espeland 1991). The study of indicators used has received some attention in the social sector. For example, Merry demonstrates how different ways of measuring violence against women tell very different stories and lose information in the process (2016). There has also been early investigation into the emerging IRIS impact investing standards (Bouri 2011, Barman 2016), though this deserves ongoing scrutiny, particularly at the organization level. For ex-

ample, scholars could investigate and compare organizations that use standard metrics with qualitative data from different regions to assess what is missing when standards are applied broadly.

When are qualities turned into quantities – what is lost in the process?

Formal structures

Next, there are technical and structural processes of valuation. For example, the criteria used for comparison between objects, whether entities are positioned relationally in which there is a winner and a loser, as with ranking (Espeland & Sauder 2007) or indexical, descriptive ratings (Carruthers 2013) and relational vs. individualistic components of value (Beckert & Aspers 2011). Non-market valuation can also include ‘prizing, praising and performing’ components of the valuation process (Stark 2015). Scholars have shown how tools can reproduce value systems, particularly accounting structures and formulas, with the famous example of the Black-Scholes model, which allowed for the seemingly scientific calculation of prices, and thus transformed futures trading from gambling to ‘rational’ and ‘legitimate’ financial trading (MacKenzie & Millo 2003; Beckert & Aspers 2011, 19). Similarly, the prominent textbook for valuing companies by McKinsey & Co., Koller, Goedhart, & Wessels (1990), along with spreadsheet programs, helped spread modern methods for valuing companies - though defenders claim irresponsible accounting is not justified by valuation, which is based on long-term cash flow, not ‘cooking the books’ for annual reports (The Economist 2016). These authors have shown that structures and technologies shape outcomes and that underlying assumptions behind tools must be investigated to understand the value that is produced. Beckert & Aspers demonstrate how value can be produced through networks, critics or guidebooks, and other judgement devices (Beckert & Aspers 2011). Ultimately, these authors discussed here demonstrate how performing and constructing worth – whether through

tools, devices, or more subtle mechanisms and micro processes, changes and reconstructs what is valued and the spatial and temporal context in which this occurs.

Scholars have begun to investigate formal valuation structures in their studies of social purpose organizations, but there is much potential to broaden and deepen this investigation. The practice of assessing outcomes and impact is seen as one of the greatest challenges for practitioners and researchers (Mair & Marti, 2006; Ebrahim & Rangan, 2014). Among social businesses, the tension between social and financial goals places particular importance on how social impact is measured and what is valued or devalued (Ebrahim, Battilana & Mair 2014). The social audit and SROI methods are investigated in a paper by Gibbon & Dey (2011) who highlight issues with assumptions. Empirical studies on SROI build on these insights with several case examples of nonprofits (Maier, Schober, Simsa & Millner 2015) and of buildings (Watson & Whitley 2016). Similarly, Cohen (2011) and Madsen & Stenheim (2014) look at the perceived benefits of the balanced scorecard method. These studies can be seen to begin a valuation studies of the social sector through their investigation of valuation tools and their assumptions. However, as with the field of accounting research, there is much to be investigated around the effects of formal valuation processes at organizations such as how different types of formal structures are used, how different types of social value are accounted for, how the practice of social valuation is disseminated, learned and conducted. Additionally, what one often finds in interviews is that stakeholders ‘just knew they did good things’ or ‘want to support the founders.’ More research is needed on when and what types of social value reporting are truly necessary.

In this section, the paper has outlined three main concepts of valuation processes: categories, labels and names, commensuration and formal valuation structures as summarized in Table III. There has been much work done to investigate these concepts at private sector organizations, but

very little at social purpose organizations. Yet, these concepts have much to offer. In the next sections, I elaborate how these concepts can help answer important questions of relevance to the social sector.

Insert Table 8 about here

RESEARCH AGENDA

This lexicon of sorts from valuation studies can be a useful lens through which to interrogate two important ideas for scholars interested in social purpose organizations. Following the tradition of valuation studies, these concepts can help scholars take a critical view to investigate the consequences of valuation for organizations, asking: *What do valuation processes do to organizations or the goods and services they value?* In addition, these concepts, in the context of the ongoing trend of the rationalization of the social sector, can suggest other ways organizations can relate to their impact – and a vocabulary for understanding how they pursue their goals. As those who study organizations that produce revenue take marketization for granted, and because there is a perception that rationalization is irreversible (Weber 2009 [1905]; Kim 2007), these scholars also implicitly want to know: *how can valuation processes be used strategically?* This paper aims to help investigate questions of social value in a way that is productive and forward-looking.

Common to discussions about social purpose organizations is the need to study value production at organizations. Situations happen in organizations, making organizations crucial locations of valuation to be studied (Stark 2000). The concept of social valuation is of relevance to *service-delivery organizations* such as nonprofits, social enterprises, cooperatives and businesses that ‘do

more' than generate profit; *financial resource providers and supporters* including philanthropists, investors and consultants; *field-mediating organizations* such as membership associations, community groups and certification bodies; and *individual* beneficiaries, consumers, board members and employees of related organizations. Each of these organizations or individuals may be a site of or actor in valuation, which goes beyond the technical processes of writing impact reports to encompass a chain of actions that affect value creation, which will be discussed here.

What do valuation processes do to organizations or the goods and services they value?

The concepts from valuation studies can help us investigate how valuation processes can affect organizations or the goods and services they value. Valuation processes can change organizations or the goods and services they value based on one aspect – as in the case of a certain indicator that structures and preferences a certain view of a social issue – or based on a wider initiative – as in the case of valuing social impact using a particular tool. For example, valuation process may change power relations (Arvidson & Lyon 2014). The use of formal valuation processes in particular, is a form of control. Routine everyday use of forms and structures (Foucault 1977; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985) such as business planning has been shown to be a mechanism of control (Oakes, Townley & Cooper 1998). Power relations can also be reshaped at a goods and services level through attention or inattention to particular categories and labels or indices. Future research can more thoroughly investigate when and how valuation processes restructure power relations.

Reactivity is “the idea that people change their behavior in reaction to being evaluated, observed, or measured” (Espeland & Sauder, 2007: 2). When measures are reactive, “quantification is simultaneously a means of planning and of prediction,” (Porter 1995: 43). If a social purpose organization becomes reactive to the specific social value it decides to name and measure, services may

become watered down. For example, if an organization measures the number of clients treated and shortens treatment times to the detriment of the service (DiMaggio 2002). Reactivity has been seen to work by various mechanisms including commensuration, the act of translating qualities into comparable quantities described earlier. Commensuration “constructs what it measures” (Espeland & Stevens 1998), leading to reactivity. Reactivity also works by the mechanisms of self-fulfilling prophecy and narrative, or the stories shared that change behavior (Espeland & Sauder 2007; 2016). Collectively, as in the example of law schools changing their practices to optimize their rankings, these mechanisms have real consequences – they can serve to redistribute resources, redefine work, and encourage gaming (Espeland & Sauder 2007). In the case of social purpose organizations conducting social valuation, extreme focus on specific indicators will replicate any errors involved in the choice of names, indicators and tools. It can also make indicators less descriptive over time. There is an opportunity to more deeply investigate the mechanisms behind reactivity at social purpose organizations.

The born rational organization raises new questions

As discussed earlier, we may also expect that more and more organizations are born into rationalization, professionalization and marketization trends. In Table 2, I summarize what these scholars suggest a born-rational organization would look like.

Insert Table 9 about here

It is important to study such organizations. For one, it is important to consider what is lost or not attended to in organizations that prioritize growth and scaling. Due to wider rationalization trends (Weber 1905), we can expect that organizations will be increasingly founded by people who are socialized in a rational world and naturally adopt attitudes and practices formerly associated with business. Rational practices are less likely to change an organization, but more likely to dictate how it functions from the start, perhaps at the loss of other ways of working or the gain of new abilities. Growth and scale may also allow for new possibilities and new achievements. New approaches raise many questions about how organizations approach their goals; how they value them, the types of value they use, the partners they leverage and other questions. There is an opportunity to unpack how collaboration and influence work across sectors that may take new shapes as organizations professionalize and scale. It also raises the point that not only social enterprises are rational. It is possible to have a professionalized, rationalized nonprofit that is not confronted with dual goals, but seeks solely to create impact. Do current strategic frameworks help these organizations? These and other questions form the second section of the research agenda.

How can valuation processes be used strategically, *to help achieve goals*?

Much of the conversation to-date in valuation studies, as with the discussions about the rationalization, professionalization and marketization of the social sector, have focused on the negative effects and worrisome issues associated with these trends and with valuation. This is important because there are serious issues to attend to. However, there is also an opportunity to re-think valuation processes as an opportunity space. After all, rationalization is said to be irreversible (Weber 2009 [1905]; Kim 2007).

Restructuring power relations is one effect that may also be leveraged strategically. Considering valuation may reshape and restructure status relations or power dynamics (Espeland & Stevens 1998; Espeland & Sauder 2007; Lamont 2012), we may ask: when can valuation processes help restructure power relations to be more equitable? For example, organizations that have a clear view on the multi-dimensional social value they produce, and constantly work to improve it based on the information they gain will have greater leverage with funders. It has already been studied that organizations adopt rational processes such as impact measurement to achieve symbolic rationality to increase their legitimacy (Porter 1995; Carruthers 1995; Stark 2000; DiMaggio 2002), however, this suggests that adopting rational practices is in a way defensive, geared more as a compensation than as a transformative action. Yet, it would be reasonable to expect that organizations that are increasingly professionally managed and driven with thinking from the business world, may be seeking to strategically yield any levers they have – including valuation processes, for the achievement of their goals.

Another interesting area to investigate is reactivity. As discussed above, reactivity involves changes to behavior in response to observation. It can be an alarming consequence to measurement in general. As explained by Carruthers & Espeland (1991), Schumpeter, Weber and Sombart linked bookkeeping, rational thinking and the development of capitalism -- a clear definition of assets and profits enabled merchants to make business decisions, and the perpetuation of that practice enabled capitalism, establishing money as a unit of account and capital as a category, though for much time, accounts were mere symbols of rationality, they eventually became highly-reactive. In the case of social purpose organizations, there can be negative consequences from reactivity as discussed above. However the fundamental ‘assets’ measured are of an entirely different nature.

Reactivity at social purpose organizations could involve extreme focus on social goals. This presents many interesting questions for further research, such as: under what conditions is reactivity a desirable outcome? What are the mechanisms by which it works? How do organizations re-shape and re-form based on the best way to address the social goal at hand?

How can these concepts help investigate key areas of concern to social sector scholars?

The sections above outlined key concepts from valuation studies and reviewed literature that begins to investigate social valuation. In the following table, the paper summarizes valuation concepts in the social sector and suggests research opportunities. There are many opportunities to more thoroughly investigate the consequences and proactive uses of valuation prerequisites and processes. More systematic investigation into the dynamics of categories, labels and names could produce insights about how organizations approach social problems and what this ultimately means for the goods and services valued. Similarly, analysis of indicators could expose variance in how social problems are understood and addressed across organizational settings or geographies and what is lost or gained in the process. Deeper investigation into types of non-economic value can help us understand how organizations obtain buy-in or resources from different stakeholders. Dedicated attention to valuation devices or structures can produce new information about when, where and how valuation actually occurs. Specific focus on reactivity and especially strategic reactivity could produce new understanding of how social purpose organizations, including those ‘born-rational,’ operate and how they collaborate with public and private partners or change their organizations to focus on their goals.

The valuation topics are not mutually exclusive and interesting research questions will likely consider several at once – for example, the role and dynamics of a particular social category across

different geographies or organizational forms, or the organizational setting or choice of valuation device and others as factors involved in strategic reactivity. A valuation lens can help bring new insights to studies of social purpose organizations and the way they organize to achieve their goals.

Insert Table 10 about here

CONCLUSION

This paper organized valuation concepts to explain how they can be used to gather new information about the production of social value at social purpose organizations. The paper outlined the main trends of rationalization, professionalization and marketization and the use of impact measurement. It elaborated how scholars and practitioners seek to deliver value for society, while undergoing inevitable rationalization. It explained key concepts from valuation literature and suggested ways in which they can be applied to understand dynamics in the social sector. It is hoped that these concepts will help develop insights about social valuation that go beyond the broad results of measurement and reporting, and delve deeper into the ‘social’ side of the social vs. financial logic dichotomy, calling attention to and thus valuing more types of non-economic value in the process.

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TABLES

TABLE 8

Existing studies describe <i>processes</i>, suggesting certain characteristics of end-state organizations	Suggested characteristics of the born-rational organization	Why considering born-rational organizations matters
Adopted rhetoric, organizational practices and goals from business (Dart 2004; Maier, Meyer & Steinhilber 2014)	Business-like attitudes are embedded from the beginning	Due to wider rationalization trends (Weber 1905), we can expect that organizations will be increasingly founded by people who are socialized in a rational world and naturally adopt attitudes and practices formerly associated with business
Use of strategic planning, consultants, independent financial audits and quantitative program evaluation (Hwang & Powell 2009)	Rational practices are embedded from the beginning	Who is hired to consult and how organizations work with externals is likely different based on organizations that are already seen as professional Rational practices are less likely to change an organization, but more likely to dictate how it functions from the start, perhaps at the loss of other ways of working or the gain of new abilities
Aspire to and receive pressure to scale and aspire to ‘big goals’ (Seelos & Mair 2017)	Aspire to scale	It is important to consider what is lost with growth and scale. Growth and scale may also allow for new possibilities
Work to address systemic issues (Mair, Wolf & Seelos 2016)	Goal to change systems or address root causes	New approaches raise many questions about how organizations approach their goals; how they value them, the types of value they use, the partners they leverage, etc.
Collaborate across sectors to drive greater change (Bryson, Crosby & Stone 2015) or seek to influence different sectors	Look for change levers in all sectors	Opportunity to unpack collaboration and influence work across sectors that may take new shapes as organizations professionalize and scale
May or may not generate revenue. Rationalization is associated with strategic planning and input from the business world, but not necessarily with revenue-generation	May or may not generate revenue	Important not to ignore changes in nonprofit organizational approaches that do not necessarily encounter market vs. social issues in addition to social enterprises

Use their impact strategically (suggested here and based on early-stage unpublished empirical research)

Use their impact strategically, sometimes changing the organization to better focus on its goals

Different organizational characteristics present an opportunity to rethink social value creation

Dimensions of the born-rational organization

TABLE 9

Summary of key concepts of valuation and exemplary social sector studies

	Core concepts from valuation studies	Exemplary research in the social sector
Beginning: Pre-requisites to valuation	<p>Setting: Spatial and temporal location; disseminated or received (Stark 2009); sectors and types of organizations</p> <p>Types of value (Boltanski & Thevenot 1991; Beckett & Aspers 2011; Beckett 2011a)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Argument for social analysts (Ruff & Olsen 2016) • Extensive research on Social vs. market orders of worth (e.g. Mair & Marti 2006; Ebrahim, Battilana, & Mair 2014; Jones 2007; Lee 2014). • Identities based on values of environment, culture, technical merit, among others (Espeland 1998)
Middle: Valuation processes:	<p>Categorizing, labeling, naming (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977; Duncan 1984)</p> <p>Commensuration; assigning indicators (Espeland & Stevens 1998; (Espeland & Sauder 2016, 29; Duncan 1984)</p> <p>Formal structures: Tools and devices, such as rankings (Espeland and Sauder 2016, 191), ratings (Caruthers 2013), reviews, comparison, formulas and accounting structures</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Study in progress (Metz & Mair) • Indicators for violence against women (Merry 2016) • SROI (Maier, Schober, Simsa & Millner 2015); (Watson & Whitley 2016) • Blended value accounting (Nicholls 2009) • Concerns about clarity of causal links (Ebrahim & Rangan 2014), particularly on a sector level (DiMaggio 2002) • National indicators (Krlav, Bund & Mildemberger 2014) • Measurement types in impact investing (Reeder, Colantonio, Loder, & Rocyn Jones, 2015)
End: Outcomes from valuation	<p>Reactivity: when people change their behavior in response to evaluation (DiMaggio 2008) (Espeland & Sauder 2007)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reactivity to measures or ‘the flamingo problem’ (DiMaggio 2002) • Accounting-based performance measures for nonprofit executives (Arya & Mittendorf 2015)

TABLE 10

Topics and Questions of Valuation for the Social Sector

Valuation Topics in the Social Sector	Representative Questions
<i>What do valuation processes do to organizations or the goods and services they value?</i>	<i>How can valuation processes be used strategically?</i>
<p>Setting</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Geographic focus or international comparisons • Industry or field • Type of organization • Micro-settings at organizations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What does it mean for an organization to be born rational? How do born rational organizations use valuation processes strategically? How can valuation concepts help us understand the changing nature of the rational organization? • How do different or informal settings of social valuation, such as events and interactions, play a role in building social value beyond reporting?
<p>Negotiating and appreciating dimensions of non-economic value</p> <p>Such as imaginary value, use value and others</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In partnerships with public or private sectors • At revenue-generating organizations that also pursue social value creation • To encourage participation and motivation of employees, beneficiaries, volunteers and other stakeholders • Of relevance to dynamics involved in supporting and donating 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What aspects of non-economic value do organizational stakeholders see as important that are not captured by current valuation methods? • When and how do organizations tap into different types of non-economic value to execute their work? For example, how have organizations been able to or could be able to execute their goals because of the clever use of imaginative value or other sub-types of value? How do organizations employ imaginative value to convince donors, volunteers, consumers, beneficiaries or other stakeholders? • How can types of value help explain what is necessary to battle multi-dimensional, complex and interlinked grand challenges? For example, how do organizations appeal to different stakeholders and types of beneficiaries using different orders of worth to help change unequal social relations? • When cause-effect knowledge is incomplete about end-outcomes, is there another order of worth that can be used to assess interim goals, for example, use value?
<p>Categorizing, labeling, naming, commensuration and indicators</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organizational behavior involved in valuation processes • Control and governance issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the interests, assumptions and implicit judgements behind chosen names and categories? How are they negotiated at organizations? Who is involved in the process? • When, how and to what ends do organizations use new names, labels and categories? What effects do these have on the organizations and the goods and services they value? How and in what ways do they exert control? • When and how do organizations create and use new labels, names or categories to create social value? What functions can new labels, etc. serve? How can new categories, labels or names help construct new entities that are thus valued? How do new names, labels or categories behave or are employed as tools of communication or coordination in collaboration efforts? • When and how do organizations help broaden their impact by counting more or differently?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How well do standard indicators capture what they intend to measure? What is lost in the application of standard metrics in a set of circumstances? 	
Valuation structures <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social accounting structures, forms, tools, ratings, rankings, reviews • Other structures such as videos, events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do formal structures, ratings, rankings, reviews and others operate at social purpose organizations? How does the use of tools change organizations and the goods and services they value? • How does the way in which the practice of social valuation is learned and conducted affect an organization? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When do formal structures deliver value for their users beyond legitimacy? For example, how and under what conditions do formal structures restructure power relationships? • How do non-measurement value creation methods work? For example, how and under what conditions is value constructed through videos, online campaigns, narratives or events?
Reactivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What factors lead to reactivity in social impact measurement, leading to changes in organizational activities? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Under what conditions is reactivity a desirable outcome? What are the mechanisms by which it works? • How and under what conditions do organizations re-shape and re-form based on the best way to address the social goal at hand?

PAPER 3

Categories as Impact-drivers: How a social-purpose organization enables the emergence of a new category as a means to scale and as a mode of institutional change

ABSTRACT

Research on organizational approaches to social and environmental issues has focused on market-related aspects such as tensions inherent in hybrid organizing, but as organizations become increasingly ‘rational’, and attempt to achieve impact – or progress toward social and environmental issues -at scale, there is a need to probe and develop non-market strategy that operates under different assumptions to mainstream strategy research. One area involves the dynamics around product categories. Drawing on an in-depth case study of a national nonprofit organization in the United States, we find an interlinked process by which the organization came to enable the music education category of ‘modern band.’ This process involves 1) an organizational pivot we termed *impact reactivity*, which supports 2) a process of *category impact work* involving four generalizable mechanisms – *positioning, open-sourcing, receding* and *moving*, which establish the category on the education system level and reorient the organization to focus on promoting the category as an impact driver and change agent. Our study contributes to research on nonmarket strategy and makes the case for attention to dynamics around impact models rather than business models. Our process model can be generalized to other social change initiatives that attempt to introduce a new category as a means to scale and as a mode of institutional change and to other organizations that intend to create an unowned category.

Keywords: Categories, social innovation, institutional change, scaling, non-market strategy

INTRODUCTION

“I did the math - if you run forward 15 years and we were to continue at the same rate, we would be one of the largest charities in the United States. The US public would have to say, ‘yeah, these guys are more important than the Catholic charities of America. They're almost as important as the Red Cross.’” - *CEO Dave Wish (Interview transcript: 207.09.11_TN_Dave Wish)*

When increasing in size is not the best option, the question of how to achieve a social mission at scale is important for organizations seeking to make progress on social issues, or impact. It is also an important theoretical question that lies at the heart of recent academic discussions about how to address intractable social or environmental problems or grand challenges (e.g. George, Howard-Grenville, Joshi & Tihanyi, 2016). We argue that increasingly, the question of how to create impact at scale involves not only getting bigger, but also changing an institutional structure so as to interrupt the institutional reification process, altering the way an institution works moving forward.

However, much research on organizing for social impact focuses on key questions related to how organizations balance dual financial and social goals through social entrepreneurship or other hybrid models (See Seelos & Mair 2005; Mair & Marti, 2006; Battilana & Lee 2014) rather than investigating impact strategies. Such work seems to take for granted that the professionalization and rationalization trends in the social sector (Hwang & Powell 2009; Maier, Meyer & Steinbereithner 2014) imply marketization, or generating revenue in addition to generating impact, though these trends can also mean that organizations are trying to create impact at scale with purely social goals. Work that investigates strategies and tactics for scaling solutions to social issues (Seelos & Mair, 2017; Bloom & Chatterji, 2009; Mulgan, 2006; Dees, Battle Anderson & Wei-Sillern, 2004) has helped advance the discussion on impact, but focuses on growing successful solutions that may or may not

change institutional structures. There is a need to understand how increasingly professionalized and goal-oriented organizations operate and the work they do to create impact that may not only imply growing in size. Building on work that explains how actors change institutions (DiMaggio, 1988; Battilana, Leca & Boxenbaum, 2009; Garud, Hardy & Maguire, 2007; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca, 2010), we articulate intentional efforts to create impact - progress toward a social issue - at scale by changing an existing structure as *impact work*.

To investigate impact work, we add a valuation lens, specifically looking to the literature on product categories as value creation devices. Categories are ‘conceptual boundaries’ (Rosa, Porac, Runser-Spanjol & Saxon, 1999: 64) or ‘common cognitive understandings’ (Cornelissen, Durand, Fiss, Lammers & Vaara, 2015: 14) important for market exchange (Zuckerman, 1999; Cattani & Fliescher, 2013; Negro, Hannan & Rao, 2011). The process of creating or enabling the emergence of a category is a valuation process (e.g. Lamont, 2012) – it creates and defines value, economic or otherwise. It is also an institutional change process. When a new product category takes shape, it expands or changes the market and what is valued there, and thus plays a role in editing and rewriting the institutional code for that particular market – henceforth, the product benefits and values of the new category will be part of the market’s institutional fabric. For example, when the category of ‘Modern Indian Art,’ was established (Khair & Wadhvani, 2010), it changed the art market by institutionalizing its own valued aesthetics that were not previously important to collectors or dealers. Mainstream strategy literature has discussed the dynamics and roles of product categories as value-drivers in market settings. In this study, we leverage concepts from the literature on categories to explain how our case organization constructs

a category to achieve impact at scale. In the process, we identify assumptions held in mainstream strategy literature that no longer apply in a non-market setting and highlight the need for dedicated study on impact work.

This paper theorizes how a single organization can facilitate the emergence of a new category as a tool for social impact - as a means to scale social outcomes and as a mode to change institutional structures. We leverage categories literature to study category enablement as a social practice. This helps us understand how a nonprofit establishes the concept of 'Modern Band' – a new type of music program - as a replicable and diffusable entity (a category) and an engine for change in music education in America. We highlight the importance and fruitfulness of extending categories literature to settings that operate under different assumptions, namely 1) non-market settings with different types of actors, 2) organizations that wish to wind-down activities and leverage the category as a means to grow rather than as a means to generate revenue and 3) organization-driven category enablement rather than work by collective market actors. This contribution is important for adding to theoretical work about how social purpose organizations produce impact and how they can scale and approach institutional change.

We first explain current discussions about organizations that create impact and establish the need to understand work done by organizations to create impact at scale that are not necessarily balanced with financial goals. Next, we discuss work on market categories and category emergence and explain how non-market assumptions challenge the existing literature. Then, we present an in-depth inductive case study of Little Kids Rock, a nonprofit organization in the United States, in order to build theory about how categories can be tools for impact. We find a process model with two intertwining phases: *impact*

reactivity and *category impact work* and explain the mechanisms by which each worked to establish the category as an impact driver while other organization activities receded. We contribute to work on organizational approaches to social issues and add a non-market perspective to research on categories.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Impact at scale

The question of impact strategies at scale is becoming increasingly important. Social purpose organizations are rationalizing and professionalizing (Hwang & Powell 2009) and becoming business-like (Maier, Meyer & Steinbereithner 2014). As illustrated in the introductory quote, they not only ‘do the math,’ they are concerned with achieving their mission and operating on a large scale. Yet, it is important to recognize that an organization can be rational and ‘business-like’ without being ‘marketized’- such organizations may or may not generate revenue. They may operate between the state and the market (Frumkin 2002: 17) and still seek to create impact at scale and, thus, possibly in new ways. As scholars studying organizational approaches to social or environmental issues, we have dedicated much attention to important market-related aspects of social projects, such as social entrepreneurship and hybrid models (See Seelos & Mair 2005; Mair & Marti, 2006; Battilana & Lee 2014), the governance and accountability challenges experienced at such organizations with market and social goals (Ebrahim, Battilana & Mair, 2014; Mair, Mayer & Lutz; 2015; Smith & Besharov, 2017) and their sustainability (Battilana & Dorado, 2010), and are only starting to focus dedicated investigation of strategies for impact. We have seemingly assumed that the ‘marketization’ and ‘rationalization’ trends come together and have focused attention on risks from marketization rather than paying attention to the

new ways of working that come with the rationalization trend that are dedicated to achieving impact.

Additionally, we continue to assume that social purpose organizations, whether nonprofit or hybrid, can simply import strategic thinking from market strategy. Indeed, social purpose organizations often hire private sector consultants and attempt to do so (Hwang & Powell, 2009). However, organizations with social goals operate under different, non-market assumptions. For example, some organizations publically claim that they want to wind-down once their mission has been accomplished, rather than to exist into perpetuity requiring economic value creation activities in order to survive. We argue that though our collective focus on market vs. welfare tensions has been extremely productive, it has perhaps distracted us from understanding rationalizing, business-like charities and hence developing dedicated non-market strategy –defined here as approaches for achieving social or environmental goals that are not necessarily coupled with creating economic value. Because of different underlying assumptions, there is a need to create a more dedicated parallel perspective to market strategy that explains edited and altered or new approaches in non-market settings. In this study, we begin to take up this challenge with a case study that questions important assumptions implicit in market strategy literature on categories and explain how the process of category creation differs in non-market settings. In the process, we explain how a category growth strategy can be a way to scale, but also a means to change existing institutional structures.

Scaling and change are important topics of interest to organizational scholars that can benefit from dedicated non-market strategy work. Practitioners and scholars are increasingly interested in impact, beginning to move from studying how to alleviate issues, such as by

increasing targets' motivation, capabilities, opportunities, practices and capabilities *after they have been disadvantaged* (Review by Stephan, Patterson Kelly & Mair, 2016) to how to make real progress, or impact, on highly-complex, not easily-solved 'grand' challenges (George, Howard-Grenville, Joshi & Tihanyi, 2016), such as poverty (Mair, Marti & Ventresca, 2012) and climate change (Wright & Nyberg, 2017) by attempting to change the structures that produce them. There is a growing body of literature about collaboration between nonprofits and corporations (Galaskiewicz & Colman, 2006; O'Regan & Oster, 2000) and across fields and sectors (Bryson, Crosby & Stone, 2015; Gray & Purdy, 2018). This work is slowly moving away from the challenges inherent in organizations with dual logics and toward investigating how organizations can edit or alter the institutions or rules and patterns that produce social issues – impact-creation logics that cause a change to the existing social structure. In the practitioner literature, this is referred to as 'systems change,' but there is a dearth of successful examples or academic study. Early scholarly work includes understanding how organizations can transform patterns of inequality persisting in institutions, such as villages (Mair, Wolf & Seelos, 2016) and organizations (Amis, Mair & Munir, 2017), gaining acceptance of controversial solutions like injection sites (Lawrence, 2017) and playing a lobbying role in order to change government policies (Bloom & Chatterji, 2009). To create impact, it is necessary for projects and organizations to create lasting change and to do it on a *scale* large enough to make real progress, or to bring established solutions to more people (Seelos & Mair, 2017: 2). For these scholars, scaling is not offering a larger Band-Aid to address a problem, but offering a more pharmaceutical – chemical change-based- solution to more people.

Organizations can scale by increasing their productivity or by adding resources (Seelos & Mair, 2017), possibly funded by earnings (Bloom & Chatterji, 2009). The most common way to scale is by replication (Mulgan, 2006; Seelos & Mair, 2017). There is also some work on how organizations can scale through diffusion such as through knowledge transfer (Mulgan, 2006; Seelos & Mair, 2017), alliance building (Bloom & Chatterji, 2009) or affiliation (Dees, Battle Anderson & Wei-Sillern, 2004). Following Mair & Seelos' definition of scaling, this work helps us understand models for how solutions that work can be brought to more people. It is implicit that the solutions to be scaled are already able to address challenges. How organizations edit existing systems so that they thereafter operate differently - and do so on a large enough scale - is a major open question.

Impact work

Questions of intentional institutional change have been investigated through research on institutional entrepreneurship (DiMaggio, 1988: 14; Battilana, Leca & Boxenbaum, 2009; Garud, Hardy & Maguire, 2007; Svejenova, Mazza & Planellas, 2007) and institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca, 2010). Institutional entrepreneurship explains how actors drive more dramatic changes to the status quo, but focuses on actors who implement changes to an institutional template or logic. The institutional work perspective allows for attention to different types of changes and less “muscular,” more everyday work, but focuses on individual actor-driven intentional effort and action to reify or change institutions; it is more interested in actions undertaken and unintentional consequences than outcomes (Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca, 2010). A dedicated investigation of work to achieve impact, or to create progress on a social issue that does not necessarily involve overthrowing an existing institutional logic, but rather editing it to

change outcomes, is missing. Neither of these perspectives have emphasized how actors revise or rewrite the institutional algorithm so that it produces something different. Though we know that institutional work for impact outcomes can be carried out by actors with limited resources and little power (Marti & Mair, 2009), little is known about how actors can leverage categories as valuation devices as impact work.

We define *impact work* as intentional efforts to create impact, progress toward a social issue, at scale, by changing an existing structure. In this study, we seek to further move beyond attention to marketization issues and to push emerging discussion about *impact work* forward by adding to non-market strategy literature around a concept peculiar to a particularly interesting organizational case – categories.

The case organization we studied operates in the complex social context of music education. Seeking first to change students lives through music, and later simply to change lives, the organization works to address engrained issues of inequality by bringing more and different students into an egalitarian music education learning environment. To understand their unique approach – enabling the emergence¹⁸ of ‘Modern Band,’ a new type of music education - we looked to the rich theoretical work on categories which has recently been particularly interested in growth strategies in complex environments to achieve change goals (Durand & Boulogne, 2017; Durand & Paoletta, 2013).

¹⁸ We use the term ‘emergence’ rather than ‘creation’ to fit with current discussions. Category creation is a cognitive process of re-drawing the boundaries of a category such as ‘postcolonial fiction’ is a re-drawing of circles inside an existing category of fiction (Anand & Jones, 2008; Durand & Khaire, 2017). Category emergence, however, involves new physical attributes, such as in nouvelle cuisine (Rao, Monin & Durand, 2005; Durand & Khaire, 2017). Our case organization fits into the description of category *emergence*. Thus, our findings are generalizable to other cases of emergence.

Categories as value creation devices

The process of establishing a category is a process of valuation that constructs and outlines what is to be valued and can create or change economic and social value (e.g. Lamont, 2012). Categories as ‘common cognitive understandings’ (Cornelissen, Durand, Fiss, Lambers & Vaara, 2015: 14) can be comprised of almost anything. Social categories such as race and class draw boundaries of inclusion or exclusion (Quinn & Munir, 2017; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977) and provide rules for the organization of daily life (Vergne & Wry, 2013; Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015). Categories are valuation devices – by creating a category that is commensurate with other categories, it is possible to *value* the attributes inherent in that category in a similar way to its comparable categories.

In this study, we reference the extensive management literature on product categories which are important for market exchange (Zuckerman, 1999; Cattani & Fliescher, 2013; Negro, Hannan & Rao, 2011). Product categories are an important concept from work on market strategy to investigate in non-market settings. Categories, unlike other concepts such as frames, co-constructed shared understandings (Benford & Snow, 2000; Cornelissen, Durand, Fiss, Lambers & Vaara, 2015; Cornelissen & Werner, 2014), have members and sit in relation to other categories. Frames confer meaning as do categories, and framing processes may help create or enable categories (Khair & Wadhvani, 2010). Categories, however, help buyers, sellers and other stakeholders in situations of exchange to understand and relate to different types of goods by holding their members’ attributes within their bounds. Therefore, category membership and meaning can be important points of debate. Categories establish relational positioning (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977; Guglielmo & Salerno 2003; Lamont 2012) and therefore organize product attributes that sit, as on a

shelf, next to other categories to which they are compared. They may be socially constructed, but once constructed, they are meant not only to convince, but to persist and to create value. Drawing this concept from strategy is useful to explain the creation of a value-laden entity that is meant not only to confer meaning or push an agenda, but to endure and offer a unique value proposition vis a vis others in a preexisting structure, and thus change that structure.

Additionally, there are two main perspectives on how audience members enable or create categories for driving economic value, which are useful for understanding how a new category relates to existing categories, or the institution those categories consist of. As described by Durand & Boulongne (2017), the ecological or prototypical view is about a family resemblance or central tendency, whereby new products are assessed and judged in comparison to members of a ‘prototypical’ category – characteristics shared by members - to see whether or not they belong – for example, does it look and drive like an off-road vehicle? In this view, categorization is a cognitive process on both the supply and demand sides (Durand et al 2017) and is largely focused on deviance (Zuckerman, 1999), whether or not potential members fit into categories and what that means. In contrast, the goal-based perspective on categories helps to explain situations when no existing comparisons are available, but rather categories are the result of cognitive processes and are understood based on the function they serve (Durand & Boulogne, 2017; Durand, Granqvist & Tyllstrom, 2017; Durand and Paoletta, 2013) – for example, ‘healthy foods that can be eaten in a car’ (Ross & Murphy, 1999) do not necessarily ‘look alike’. This perspective puts emphasis on the goals and ideals audience members have. By perceiving categories in this more agentic and forward-looking or strategic way, existing market structures change and

fields evolve (Vergne & Wry, 2014; Granqvist & Ritvala, 2015; Durand & Khaire, 2017). The goal-based perspective widens category research to how categories can be created to achieve goals or to change or evolve institutional structures. The distinction between ‘prototypical’ and ‘goal-based’ perspectives on categorization is useful as a way to analyze and understand categories in non-market settings. Though the categories distinction in the literature refers to how categorization occurs and how cognitive goal-based categories can change markets, we suggest that the idea of ‘prototypical’ and ‘goal-based’ can also be applied as a way to understand members of categories, which is useful for understanding how categories can change institutional structures.

The social process by which categories take shape has been largely ignored (Durand, Granqvist & Tyllstrom, 2017; Glynn & Navis, 2013), with some exceptions, such as a study of the differences in how American and French wines are classified (Zhao, 2005). Importantly, existing studies bring assumptions from market settings where they are economic value drivers rather than impact drivers.

Product categories as economic value drivers

Management literature on product categories shares three main assumptions that are called into question in certain non-market settings. First, category creation processes involve market audiences who have roles, jobs and incentives related to the market. Roles in category creation and enablement include analysts (Pontikes & Kim, 2017; Navis & Glynn, 2010), paying customers (Rosa et. al 1999) and in the case of the establishment of a new type of art, art critics and dealers (Khaire & Wadhvani, 2010). The type of audience

is unique to market settings in that these actors have market-related incentives. In the establishment of such product categories, all parties stand to gain from the emerging category whether through direct business or through the consumption of analyst reports and critics' contributions. In market settings, the types of actors and their incentives are based on an underlying symbiotic relationship.

Secondly, category literature assumes that organizations aim to last, reaping the benefits of increased market size or attainment. For market organizations, creating a new category is a means by which to grow and capture the market (Delmestri & Greenwood, 2016) and studies demonstrate that understanding categories helps scholars explore competition and the workings of markets (Durand & Boulongne, 2017). Category enablers gain an advantage by linking themselves with the label from its birth (Durand 2006, 2012) and category creation or extension to higher value connotations can help grow markets, as in the example of elevating the status of Grappa (Delmestri & Greenwood, 2016). The way categories are created in market settings can be said to reflect the goal of revenue generation and organizational longevity.

Thirdly, market category construction involves collective efforts that establish the category as a product of semi- or un-coordinated, mutually-reinforcing actions from many organizations and stakeholders. In many category stories, category construction processes are the result of several different organizations or individuals working in parallel, often with incentives for the new category to take root or achieve higher status. These may involve analysts who help categories emerge, such as with the case of satellite radio (Navis & Glynn, 2010), or multiple actors in the art field as in the case of Modern Indian Art (Khaire & Wadhvani, 2010). In a study of the development of the 'modern architecture' category,

Jones, Maoret, Massa & Svejenova (2012), analyzed how groups of architects established and debated the category's meaning. On a larger level, social movements can lead to the establishment of new market segments, in part by helping create producer identities (Weber, Heinze & DeSoucey, 2008). The category's overall arrival is, therefore, a product of semi- or un-coordinated, mutually-reinforcing actions from many organizations and stakeholders. Individual-organization-driven categories are hard to find. Using a case study of Grappa with extensive data from one family's efforts, Delmestri & Greenwood (2016) describe a process of category extension involves gaining endorsement by relevant actors. In broader management literature not focused on categories, scholars have discussed how single organizations can inspire others to spread practices. Massa, Helms, Voronov & Wang (2017) found that ritual interactions create inspiring emotional experiences among audiences who then become evangelists who advocate for organizations. In market settings, category enablers and creator tend to work collectively.

Categories are economic value-drivers in market strategy. Categories can also be impact-drivers in non-market strategy. It is important to think of organizational approaches to social or environmental change as strategy in its own right, under different and often complex conditions.

Non-market categories as impact drivers

As categories can create economic value, they can also create impact. Durand and Boulongne (2017) assert that perspectives on categories can be applied in category settings that

hold non-market logics (state, profession, welfare, etc.) by adjusting the setting specificities such as the sources of economies of reproduction or relevant determinants of organizational survival and theories of value (Phillips & Zuckerman, 2001) that dictate audience's expectations. Indeed, a few studies that refer to non-market aspects of categories extend categories literature in different directions, for example, by elaborating the role of a social movement in establishing the market for grass-fed beef (Weber, Heinze & DeSoucey, 2008), which demonstrates how a non-market category can emerge and lay the foundation of a new market; and the political nature of the hybrid category of impact investing (Quinn & Munir, 2017), which illustrates how hybrid categories can be used to create and maintain unequal power relations. However, the suggestion that this literature is applicable to non-market logics, as well as existing studies of market and non-market category construction carries the assumptions expressed above: that categories are constructed by market actors and audiences; that organizations aim to last; and that categories are constructed collectively. Our case is based on contrasting assumptions: 1) The organization operates in a non-market setting with different audiences, 2) It aims to achieve its goals and then conclude, and 3) The category is firstly organization-driven, as they adopt a category strategy as a way for the impact to transcend the organization.

These different assumptions change the way the category enablement process works and involve changes at the focal organization that are inseparable to the process. Firstly, in contrast to market settings, in non-market settings, audiences or other actors will need to be convinced of the impact incentive, rather than following their job descriptions or interacting in a symbiotic market environment. Secondly, organizations in non-market settings may not be interested in long-term survival and revenue gains related to that interest. In

this study, we investigate how category creation or emergence may not always be a strategy to perpetuate organizations, but can rather be the means by which an organization's goals transcend its boundaries. Studying organizations that do not carry organizational longevity assumptions may also allow us to unpack notions of cooperation rather than competition as well as other differences. Lastly, cases that involve single organizations driving category efforts are likely to establish the category in a different way because they will have to both establish a clear and firm meaning that others can grasp, while leaving meaning open enough for others to get behind. Theory built from different assumptions is of significance for extending categories literature, but also for helping similar organizations understand how categories can be important tools to create impact, or progress toward solving social issues.

We treat the enablement of a non-market category as a dependent variable and ask how a social purpose organization enables the creation of a new category to achieve impact at scale - as a means to scale and as a mode of institutional change. We ask: *How does an organization construct a category to achieve impact at scale?*

METHODS

Research Setting

The institution of American public education does not get the support it needs to prepare students; much less those who already enter school doors with a disadvantage. Half of American students live in poverty,¹⁹ which dramatically affects their life chances. Education plays a central role in mitigating the effects of poverty with school spending a necessary condition for improved

¹⁹ Southern Education Foundation (2015). A New Majority: Low income students now a majority in the nation's public schools; low-income refers to children who qualified for free or reduced lunch

educational and economic outcomes (Jackson, Johnson & Persico, 2016).²⁰ However, as public school districts in most of America are funded by local property taxes, with poor districts spending 15.6% less per student nationally,²¹ underprivileged students from underprivileged areas face an uphill battle. The discrepancy in funding between Greenwich Connecticut and Bridgeport, Connecticut, for example, is \$6,000 per pupil per year.²²²³ A tax overhaul to subsidize poorer areas and increase chances for all children is not likely; the Tax Cuts and Job Act of 2017 is likely to decrease funding to public schools.²⁴

To combat the effects of poverty and school funding on the lives of children, nonprofit organizations, funded by donations, grants and occasionally earned income, operate around the school system and can take seemingly circuitous paths to improving children's life chances. Nationally, there are 59,324 registered Elementary and Secondary education charities.²⁵²⁶

The role of music education

“When you teach the quadratic equation – is that the goal? So that someone will use it later in life? No, it’s more general. (...) The benefits of music are general life skills – collaboration, flexibility – understanding different perspectives, inquisitiveness, risk-taking, self-reflection, self-discipline, perseverance - Those are things you need to succeed.” – Mike *Blakeslee*, *CEO of NAfME*, 2017.07.29

“Western music has a strangle hold on music education (...) the current structures create harm, systemic oppression”
- *Professor Ruth Wright*, *Sociologist of Music Education*, 2017.07.30

People don’t actually believe all kids deserve a music education – there’s the perception that being left out is “Just part of what happens in music ed.”- Participant at VIP reception 2017.07.29

²⁰ A 10% increase in spending per student for all 12 years of public school leads to 7% higher wages, 0.31 more completed years of education and a 3.2% point reduction in the incidence of adult poverty; students from low-income families experience larger effects

²¹ Semuels, A. (2016). Good School, Rich School; Bad School, Poor School: The inequality at the heart of America’s education system. *The Atlantic Daily*, August 25, 2016.

²² Semuels, A. (2016). Good School, Rich School; Bad School, Poor School: The inequality at the heart of America’s education system. *The Atlantic Daily*, August 25, 2016.

²³ State Department of Education, Grants Management

²⁴ EducationDive.com accessed 04.01.2018, “How the Tax Cuts Could Affect K-12 Education” by Roger Riddell published Dec. 29, 2017.

²⁵ Custom search on GuideStar.org accessed 2017.12.19

²⁶ Unfortunately, it is difficult to get a clear picture on which organizations work to support and supplement the under-funded school system, given that religious private schools can register as nonprofits and after-school support programs that tutor children in between athletic activities may be considered sports rather than education

Establishing or improving music education in underprivileged schools is a roundabout way of approaching the inequality that stems from disadvantaged students and under-supported schools, but a serious one. Education and sociology professionals have elaborated the many wide-ranging benefits of participating in music programs ranging from student engagement in other subjects to developing cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1974) that helps students well beyond their elementary years (Wright, 2015; Burstein, 2016). Yet, sociologists have identified the exclusionary nature of established orchestra and band music programs offered by public schools (Wright, 2015) that support the dominant class (Dunbar-Hall, 2005; Wright, 2011), in addition to lack of funding. Though non-traditional music education is available in the UK, Australia and Scandinavian countries, strong traditional orchestra and band programs in the United States have made the system difficult to reform (Mantie, 2013).

The organization

“I don't really care about modern band. I just care about school kids.”- 2017.09.11_TN_Dave Wish

Established in 2002, Little Kids Rock (LKR) has 38 full time staff²⁷ and operates in 45 out of 50 American states.²⁸²⁹ Since inception, they have supported over 2,300 schools in over 200 districts. Today, the core of the program involves restoring, expanding and innovating music education by training teachers and providing instruments and other resources, as well as partnering with school districts to leverage resources and obtain top-down support.³⁰ The organization helps restore music education by enabling teachers in underfunded schools where music programs are poorly supported or nonexistent and expands and inno-

²⁷ Source: Interview 2017.02.02

²⁸Source: Text overlay on video of Dave Wish keynote, July, 2017

²⁹Source: Website accessed 12/2017

³⁰ Sources: 2015-2016 Annual Report; LittleKidsRock.org website accessed 2018.03.01

vates through the types of music taught, the methodology or pedagogy used and other principles that are unique, such as teaching and encouraging composition. LKR encourages teaching *different types of music* – culturally-relevant such as mariachi or rock that engage more and different students - and *teaching it differently* – through a pedagogy they call ‘Music as a Second Language’ that works to overcome intimidation and get students playing quickly. They work to enable public education to give underprivileged students the well-known benefits of music, in part by enabling teachers to reach them, while more broadly generating excitement for learning.

LKR offers teachers continuing education credit for attending a workshop, during which they explain their approach and philosophy to teaching music. If teachers are interested, they can sign up for the program. Program requirements include obtaining consent from the school principal, registering at the start and end of the year, completing a final assessment and using the program-sponsored instruments at least once per week. Interested teachers obtain a set of instruments such as guitars, bass guitars, drums and keyboards which thereafter belong to the school district and are retained by the district in the event that the teacher leaves his or her profession or school.³¹ One aspect of what that means, Joe P., Regional Program Director for Chicago and former Chicago Public Schools (CPS) teacher relates, is that “we make it enticing to keep the music teacher employed.” Teachers are invited to join online communities such as the teachers’ Facebook group to discuss techniques, tips and share videos or ask questions, and access resources such as tablature

³¹ Source: Field notes: 2017.03.25_FN_101 wrkshp_Oakland

in an online portal called “The Jam Zone.” They are also invited to a yearly community event, called Rockfest.³²

“The goal is not to teach music, but to become better people – get someone excited about something; (...) These kids – they look up to the ‘bad kids’” –*LKR Staff, Field notes, 2017.03.25*

Though the organization started with the mission to change students’ lives, they’ve since broadened it to ‘changing lives,’ after realizing the effects it had on teachers, parents, schools and possibly even communities.

A board member summarized the effect on teachers:

“(…) the pedagogy helps the teachers grow their ability to teach the kids because they're teaching themselves in the same manner that they're teaching the kids. and their careers- we've heard over and over and over, "I was ready to leave, and .." they're re-energized. Our teachers have an average life of 7 years per school and across the country it's 3. – *Board member, 2017.07.28*

Through a variety of internal and external assessments, staff and stakeholders have determined that the program does provide a range of benefits.

“The implementation of Modern Band and the Little Kids Rock program seems to be quite effective with important documented effects on teachers and students. It is likely that the impact of the program will grow as it matures and as teachers become even more familiar and comfortable with the pedagogical approaches advocated by the program.” – *Hal Abeles, Ph.D., Co-Director, The Center for Arts Education Research Teachers College, Columbia University in 2015-2016 Annual Report*

Changing its tune

Started by a former first grade teacher, LKR’s roots are *outside* the music education institution. Having successfully engaged a group of underprivileged first graders by teaching them guitar using a method he created from his years of experience teaching English as a Second Language (ESL), founder Dave Wish decided to take his concept to reach more

³² Source: Field notes: 2017.03.25_FN_101 wrkshp_Oakland

young people by establishing a nonprofit organization. During its first six years, the organization grew to serve 37,563 students in 616 schools.³³ In 2008, Founder and CEO Dave Wish had a conversation with Melanie Faulkner, a teacher and Supervisor of Elementary Music in a Florida school district, who noticed that LKR programs had reached a similar scale to jazz and marching band programs, yet they were not fully integrated or offered across school levels, so children could not always start when they were young and continue with the program as they got older. From this conversation, the concept of “modern band” was born – an abstracted new music *category* to stand on par with orchestra, jazz or band programs, thus changing the institutional structure of music education. Over the next decade, the organization has worked to create category Modern Band and its pedagogy, Music as a Second Language. A summary of differences between Modern Band and traditional music program categories is in table 1.

The new category does not replace the organization, but becomes a major output of the organization and is the pivot point around which the organization changes. Table 1 compares traditional music programs

Insert Table 11 about here

³³ Modern Band Section

Case selection

We chose LKR as our organizational case, a revelatory case with the potential to generate new insights (Yin, 2009). We believed it fit into a new breed of social purpose organizations, preliminarily labeled ‘born-rational’ (own work) that seeks to create so much progress toward a social problem that the organization will cease to operate or shift its work to address other goals. Such organizations are not changed by professionalization and rationalization trends (Dart, 2004; Maier, Meyer & Steinbereithner, 2014; Hwang & Powell, 2009), but rather founded when such ideas are considered normal. Their fundamental premise is different – for these organizations, the goal is to create the most impact rather than the most money. Therefore, we can expect that they have different and nuanced relationships with the impact they create – rather than metrics becoming reactive to what they measure and no longer suitable (DiMaggio, 2002), they may find new strategies to drive value. We also chose Little Kids Rock because it operated nationally and proclaimed that it wanted to achieve its mission and then end., which we saw as further important indicators that separated such an organization from others.

To find such an organization, we started our search at a Silicon Valley venture philanthropy fund. Venture philanthropy is a rationalized form of philanthropy characterized by its application of business practices to investments in social projects (Moody, 2008; Mair & Hehenberger, 2014). We believed that such a funder would be likely to support ‘born rational’ organizations. After reviewing the investee lists of several firms, we met with one fund CEO to discuss ideas and conducted preliminary interviews at three investee organizations in the Bay area. We collected additional data at one of the other two. As our data gathering with LKR developed, we decided to conduct a single in-depth case study. We became particularly interested in LKR on

account of the contrast between what we expected could be a uni-dimensional, business-minded nonprofit, and the soulful, extremely human organization we discovered.

Data Collection

This is an inductive, longitudinal process study of an ‘unusually revelatory’ case, relevant for studying organizational approaches to social issues and a good context for discovering insights that may not be found in all typical settings (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Eisenhardt, Graebner, & Sonenschein, 2016; Yin, 2009). Inductive methods are relevant for studying organizational approaches to grand challenges, such as poverty and inequality (Eisenhardt, Graebner, & Sonenschein, 2016), understood to be perpetuated by the American school system. The study draws on two years of hands-on research, documents and interviews that gather information over the past few years, some dating back to 2007. Data was obtained through privileged access in the forms of external and internal documents, participant observation at key events, staff and stakeholder interviews and closed Facebook group discussions, as outlined in the table. Data collection was done in three main rounds with interim analysis throughout with the aid of ATLAS.ti qualitative software. A summary of data collected is in table 2.

Insert Table 12 about here

Data analysis

We use a constructivist approach to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) in a moderate way that is compatible with realism (Kwan & Tsang 2001) and can partially describe underlying structures

and mechanisms (Van de Ven, 2007: 37; Maxwell, 2012; 9). This supports our interest in attending to interactions at events and to the language used in both written and spoken communication. When looking for the mechanisms behind the process we seek to understand, we are trying to understand the ‘causal powers’ of objects or relations (Sayer, 1992: 86; Maxwell, 2012: 9). The data table and coded examples can be found in the Appendix. The analysis took place in three phases in an iterative process, which was not linear.

Establishing a timeline and case history

Our original motivation for the study was to investigate the relationship a professionalized non-profit organization had with its impact – how it thought about measurement and value, and if it operated differently less ‘professional’ nonprofits that literature predicted could be affected negatively by measurement (DiMaggio, 2002; Maier, Meyer & Steinbereithner 2014). Over time, we realized that the work they were doing to establish ‘Modern Band’ was a main theme of extreme importance to the organization. This helped loosely focus our data gathering, but we remained open to capture salient dynamics. Eventually, we referred back to the literature to understand the meaning of ‘Modern Band’ for LKR and for a broader understanding of the phenomenon. Through continuous iteration, we came to view their work on Modern Band as a process of valuation and as a process of creating a new category.

To understand the trajectory of the organization over time, we temporally bracket LKR’s journey (Langley, 1999) into three phases based around salient turning points that emerged inductively. Over the course of the analysis, we added key events to construct three distinct phases.

The temporal bracketing later helped us to see and to sketch out a broad idea of the process. For example, as we later iterated between working on the timeline and with emerging insights, we could start to see the difference between two processes for creating impact – one that was happening with the organization and how it related to its stakeholders and environment and one that involved the category taking shape and creating impact. Referencing the literature, we named these processes *impact reactivity* and *category impact work*. Following our root interest in valuation processes, such as categories, we referred back to literature on quantification measurement and leveraged the concept of *reactivity*, (DiMaggio, 2002; Espeland & Sauder, 2007) and institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca, 2010). Reactivity refers to how measures “elicit responses from people who intervene in the objects they measure” (Espeland & Sauder, 2007: 2). In an organizational case, the organization is thus not ‘held constant,’ churning out different measurable outputs that may fluctuate, but rather, actors change or rearrange the organization to suit the measurable outcomes they wish it to produce. We describe impact reactivity as a process in which the organization and its relations and actions change in response to the impact goals it has.

Identifying organizational actions and perceptions

Following several rounds of data collection and memo writing, we open-coded the data using Atlas.ti software. Codes emerged from participants’ words and actions and were reshaped and consolidated as new data was analyzed. Open coding was first loosely framed around basic themes and then later re-focused on how the category was enabled. We finalized the coding tree with 23 first order codes. Open coding helped us identify aspects

that we would not have found if we had coded solely for category construction. We realized later that changes at the organization were an integral part in the category enablement process at this type of organization. We also identified other aspects such as *Moving* as a mechanism from inductive coding as emotions and inspiration kept emerging in the data, though we would likely not have sought this out had we been looking solely for a category story.

Once we started to focus on the emerging category story, the merging themes were used to help focus data collection.

Developing the aggregate themes and process model

We worked with emerging patterns, while iterating between theory and data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Charmaz, 2006). We abstracted the data into second-order themes and aggregate dimensions through a process of comparison (Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012; Langley & Abdallah, 2011). This approach is well-suited to work that aims to fill a gap (Langley & Abdallah, 2011). After several rounds of code restructuring, we consolidated our 23 first-order codes into 7 second-order themes and 2 aggregate dimensions. Next, iterating between emerging analysis and the timeline, we used a connecting strategy to identify relationships of contiguity that involve antecedents and consequences (Maxwell, 2012: 110). We constructed the process model to explain how the organization enabled the category over time.

FINDINGS

What follows is a narrative explanation of how the organization refocused its strategy, generalized its work into the concept of ‘modern band’ and refocused the relational system around it, in a process we explain as *impact reactivity*, in addition to operating a parallel process we call *category impact work*, in an effort to use the new category as a means to scale the organization’s mission and change the institutional structure of music education. Table 3 includes a timeline of key events in three phases of category development.

Insert Table 13 about here

The first process we found occurred on the organizational level as LKR transitioned from a growing nonprofit to a growing nonprofit with the goal to establish the category of Modern Band. We called the process *impact reactivity* - a process of shifting strategies in response to a continuously evolving sense of how best to achieve impact goals. We chose *impact reactivity* as a name because both the definition of impact and the organizational path toward it change throughout the process – from the organizational goal of changing students’ lives through increasing the program’s reach, to changing lives through the establishment of the category that would go well beyond the program. The process is characterized by intense attention to how best to approach and reach goals and supported and driven by flexibility and change at the organization and the educational system around it.

The process of impact reactivity involved three inter-linked and reinforcing elements: *Internal refocusing*, *codifying generalized mission*, and *relational refocusing*. These three pieces were necessary in a causal chain for establishing the category.

Internal refocusing

We define *internal refocusing* as changing the internal organization to suit evolving impact goals. Even though the organization was started by a general education teacher outside of traditional music education, from the beginning, it was important to them to get to know the music education system, or institution³⁴ and they constantly focused the organization around the needs of stakeholders in the system that they wanted to influence. By around 2008, the organization already noticed a change – most of the teachers were full-time music teachers, whereas before they had been general education teachers.³⁵

For me, the process was, really a big part of the process for me was learning school systems in a way that I hadn't known them as a teacher. I started studying, so how does music education really work in the public schools. 2017.09.11_TN_Dave Wish

Internally refocusing meant being responsive to new information that emerged from impact studies.

We might say well, we're finding that a nonsatisfactory number of our teachers are doing composition even though we thought that we had trained them very well on how to do composition.. so maybe we need to dive into the training part of that and also add more curriculum. See, so that changes how you're using your internal human resources... 2017.09.11_TN_Dave Wish

³⁴ By music education system, I mean the teachers, schools, districts, colleges, universities and other stakeholders who play a role in deciding what types of music education are taught in public schools. This can be understood as an institution that dictates the 'rules of the game' for music education (North, 1990).

³⁵ Modern Band Section

Rather than aiming to please funders, LKR exhibited high responsiveness and iteration, which fits with the idea that, “the overall goal is to put ourselves out of business.” – 2017.03.25_FN_101 wrkshp_Oakland.

Internally refocusing involved hiring people to fill gaps in knowledge, connections or legitimacy at the organization. As a staff member explained:

I was brought on to sort of add the legitimacy if you will to the side of music, someone that’s sort of inside the field of education. I also understood how things work and all that. and all that fun stuff.” – 2017.02.02_TN_Ryan Zellner

Other staff brought connections to local policymakers³⁶ or served as LKR teachers themselves.³⁷

Bringing in employees with in-depth experiences had other effects as well. It had the effect of providing the necessary condition for the organization to spot an opportunity for the category. One national staff member increasingly realized the opportunity to move up the value chain of music education to address the professors and trainers who teach the new generation of public school music teachers.

“because of my interaction with the Association of Popular Music Education and knowing some people in higher ed doing popular music ed, and just, I was adjunct teaching in higher ed at a couple of different places, community colleges, online for Boston University that sort of thing. I started kind of pushing the higher ed thing with Little Kids Rock. Saying, you know, 'look, there's a lot of.. we're getting these students who aren't prepared to do this thing. Like, we're trying to give them the skills. If we could do work with colleges and universities they can then have that experience over four years in their university preparation and then they'll be better equipped to do these sort of things when they graduate.” 2017.07.31_TN_Bryan Powell

This took root and this employee’s role in the organization shifted over time to focusing on growing modern band among higher education.

³⁶ 2017.03.27_FN_Chi 1

³⁷ 2017.03.25_FN_101 wrkshop_Oakland

Internal refocusing also included deep listening, reflection and response. At a reception for higher education and district officials, CEO Dave Wish, asked participants to discuss barriers to scaling modern band and the absence of key voices in the room. He explained that as a result of this conversation the year before, Mike Blakeslee, the CEO of NAFME (National Association for Music Education) had been invited this year. In this way, the organization's reflections and internal focus linked to relational refocusing, in which it re-organized the external environment of actors working on music education.

Over time, LKR went from,

“(…) being the barbarians at the gate to … partners in the building.” 2017.09.11_TN_Dave Wish

They also re-organized in conjunction with codifying the generalized mission. For example, they developed increasingly professional materials, including a methods book and curriculum, drawing from staff experiences and hiring when necessary, by bringing different voices together.

We have to demonstrate rigor, create rubrics. 2017.03.25_FN_101 wrkshp_Oakland

Gradually, the organization's refocusing efforts coalesced around establishing the modern band category throughout the educational system, while continuing to listen and iterate.

But when we started, that was not our our, that was not what we were doing (referring to music associations and conferences). You know, we were going directly to teachers, and saying let us train you and you can start this program in your school. Now, we're saying to educators, at every level - currently in the classroom and also at universities - um, here are skills and resources that you can have access to - that you need to have access to, um, and we're, we're again infusing them into the system at the right, well really at every level. 2017.09.11_TN_Dave Wish

At the same time, the evolving impact goal of establishing the category on par with other forms of music started to look like a low bar.

And we ask -standing alongside jazz – is that good enough? There are only 15% or so (of school-aged children) in orchestra and band – so on par seems small actually. 2017.07.28_FN_Rock-fest_1_Ft.Collins

(..)that would make it bigger, but the modern band slice of that .. but to stand along side that..to be commensurate with that. is that good enough? That's the other thing that we're wrestling with - 2017.07.28_TN_Board lunch

Codifying generalized mission

The second key component to the impact reactivity process was codifying the general mission, or working to abstract the organization's mission into a form not tied to them. LKR worked to abstract their work into a common and un-owned category of modern band and later the methodology of Music as a Second Language.

As a first step, the organization chose a category name that was generic enough to cover diverse, culturally-responsive music genres, while fitting in with and not offending established music education categories. CEO and Founder Dave Wish explained:

"I thought long and hard about bands, you know, and at first I was calling it the fifth stream (...)... marching band, jazz band, orchestra and chorus and modern band. and, you know, I liked that, but it just didn't really make a lot of sense and I think, I recognized it was a poetic flourish that doesn't stick. and then I thought, you know, rock band and I thought, well, we do hip hop and we do EDM [electronic dance music] and we do other youth-centered, culturally responsive musics as they arise and rock is waning, so why would I call it rock band? Um, and then, how about popular band? because a lot of people talked about it as popular music and I see that word as problematic. Right.. Um, I could picture a music teacher saying, 'oh great - you do popular band? so then what am I doing - I'm doing like, unpopular band? or loser band? so it ..that didn't resonate for me either. and then, I, then I came up with modern band.. and what I liked about it is that it's simple, it's easy to remember, just like pop band or rock band would have been, but most importantly, it's not linked to a time other than today. That which is modern you know, is modern. Are the Beatles modern? Arguably, less and less so. Is Elvis Prestley modern? Now, if it was rock band, we'd be like, well they're rock and roll - there's no doubt there's no one more rock and roll than Elvis Prestley and the Beatles. But are kids listening to them? and if they're not, are we being culturally responsive?" 2017.09.11_TN_Dave Wish

And officially:

I have taken the liberty of naming it, for the time being, 'Modern Band.' Modern Band can and does bridge the unnecessary chasm existing between the music that our children experience in schools and the music they experience in their communities. - *"Rock Their Worlds: On the Need for a Fifth Stream of Music"*

In the report *Modern Band*, the category is articulated over the course of 12 pages, including the repertoire and instrumentation, a comparative analysis of pop songs over time by harmonic structure and a list of six defining benefits, skills and values: Modern band is

student-centered, increases access by integrating beginners more easily, fosters authorship, sustains outside of school, is flexible and regionally adaptable and uses a lay-person's pedagogy. Text from the codified category is replicated in teachers' workshops, reports, impact reports, Rockfest programs and interviews.

In conjunction with defining the category itself, LKR soon realized that it needed to codify the way it was taught as well. This enabled them to be commensurate with other methodologies and also to separate the methodology from the type of music.

“One of our, one of our, methodologies, is we reframe it as music as a second language. This's basically acquiring music as you would a language. and it takes on a very specific, social tactics - stuff like creating a safe place, and and approximation and those sorts of things. - *Interview 2017.02.02_TN_Ryan Zellner*

In an example of how the organization works to codify specific aspects, a national staff member explains:

“...so, what we don't want necessarily, is just that they are like, 'oh, it's kind of like popular music ed, and it's kind of like rock bandy stuff.. just talk about it with your students.' we want them to understand our approach and why we're doing what we're doing and how it's worked. and we want them to have the confidence when they're going to talk about it in the classroom, that they know that it is kind of um, pedagogically sound and it's been um, you know, we've been doing some research about this and we've been thinking through the methodology and we're not just doing rock music in classrooms because it's fun, we're actually doing these things because there's a rationale and a methodology behind it. - *2017.05.23_TN_Bryan Powell*

In this example, the staff member explains how the categories of modern band and music as a second language are more than just ideas, but are sound and legitimate, which they back by research and experience. As of the summer of 2008, CEO Dave Wish was hard at work on a book elaborating the Modern Band approach to learning, *Music as a Second Language*.

Codifying the generalized mission was a first step that continued to be improved over time.

We want modern band to be seen as a stream of - concert band, jazz band, modern band, chorus, orch - so that sort of thing. (...) we've developed a more clear understanding of what modern band

is, how it can work and how it kind of connects to other approaches. 2017.07.31_TN_Bryan Powell

Relational refocusing

Along with internal refocusing and codifying a generalized mission, a third key piece enabled the category to take on life: *relational refocusing*. Whereas internal refocusing was about changing activities at the organization, we define *relational refocusing* as looking outside the organization in a new way and reacting to what is seen there.

A key component to relational refocusing involved how LKR dealt with external stakeholders operating in various parts of the music education system. This was highly visible at the yearly Rockfest. During the first years, Rockfest was a teacher conference that brought together current and potential LKR teachers from across the country for a few days of workshops, talks and music-making in Colorado led by LKR staff, and teachers, and other stakeholders. As of 2014, the event hosted hundreds of music teachers, district supervisors, state stakeholders, higher education professionals, guest rockstars and others. The event was an opportunity to inspire different stakeholders to join together and go above and beyond their own day-to-day work to achieve greater goals together. For example, a 2016 program issues a call to action for teachers to act on their own toward a policy initiative:

With the passage of the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), the government stated that music should be a part of every child's education, no matter their personal circumstance. (...)What can you do help meet this mandate? Talk about the impact that modern band has had on your students with other students, teachers, parents, administrators and community members. Promote your programs and events on your school's website, via social media and with those people mentioned above. Send letters to your local government representatives and tell them how you are helping to fulfill the ESSA mandate by putting the power of music into your students' hands. – Rockfest 2016 Program

In this and other examples, LKR explained how teachers could take action to improve music education.

At Rockfest, LKR teachers mixed with district, state and university stakeholders across the decision-making chain. Plenary talks involved panels about international, sociological, district and funder perspectives, inviting participants to engage with different aspects of modern band – and triangulate the message from other voices. For example:

When you're really committed to having culturally-relevant music programming to complement our longstanding traditional programming – so having modern band gives every kid in the district an opportunity to find their instrument, find their voice and be part of our music education programming – Frank Machos, Director of Music Education, Philadelphia, MB Rockfest 2017 Transcription of video

LKR encouraged the flow of ideas and interaction between groups. In an excerpt from my field notes at the event, one author describes how the organization encouraged interaction:

On the back of each name tag, a person has the name of a band and space for 3 signatures. You are supposed to go around and find your bandmates and get them to sign your nametag. They also had a bunch of other things like taking a photo with people and these could earn you points for the raffle later in the conference. I was surprised by how quickly people got into it. And they would just announce, “Is anyone in The Police?” and run around. It worked to give people a first opening question and an excuse to interact. – 2017.07.28_FN_Rockfest_1_Ft.Collins

They also deliberately invited skeptics and insiders. An early acquaintance one author made at Rockfest was a band leader from Texas. He had explained the two main barriers he saw to adopting modern band – tradition and not knowing how to do it. Throughout the event, he had increasingly positive feedback. One session entitled “This is How We Do It – One Approach to Modern Band” demonstrated the approach with students and guests could talk to or play music with the students afterwards. He noted that seeing the results online was all fine and good, but seeing the process really made a difference³⁸. Inviting

³⁸ *From fieldnotes: 2017.07.28_FN_Rockfest_1_Ft.Collins*

people from across the music spectrum paid off in other ways. As described in *internal refocusing*, the organization practiced reflection that led to inviting Mike Blakeslee, CEO of NAFME to the next year's event. Internal reactions turned to relational refocusing by inviting different people to the event and giving them a voice. In their case, Mike even repeated key statistics from a LKR-commissioned report, responding to a question about program cannibalization on stage:

“The guitar kid is a different kid.” They are not going to take numbers out of orchestra. They studied this: What happened to music participation in general – in 99%, it was the same or went up; Band or orchestra and choir – 97% said same or up: if a kid starts with vocals in modern band, he may join the choir – Modern Band is a gateway – bringing different kids into the music ed system. They got this info from a survey they did following a lot of push back. Use data to argue that those kids also stay in school – results of being in a program.” - Mike Blakeslee, CEO of NAFME repeating LKR survey on stage

By looking out and embracing voice from the system, LKR gained supporters who amplifying their message from an external, legitimate position.

Beyond Rockfest, LKR's unique internal skills also allowed it to refocus relationally in other ways. For example, one LKR employee is an editor of a music education journal and the Executive Director of a music association, in addition to his job at LKR. In his first role, he ran the AmpUp program in New York and later was in charge of program effectiveness and then higher education. He explained how his and the organization's positions enabled them to create new positions between nodes in the music education system.

We had an article come in that was writing about girls, females in rock ensembles in schools. and I said, 'oh well have you met any teachers that are in all girls' schools that are doing this?' and the author said, 'no,' and I said, 'ok, well let me connect you with a couple (...)' So, I've been able to use my connections to Little Kids Rock to just connect folks, but in the same reason that I'm hesitant to get it too nepotistic, I'm not like, 'oh, make sure you write modern band' ' -
2017.07.31_TN_Bryan Powell

His multiple roles, co-existing due to LKR’s own internal refocusing process that brought on more experts with diverse connections, enabled this staff member to connect and position different stakeholders in the music education system, enabling new opportunities.

Fundamentally, LKR saw nonprofits as a structure that did not need to be positioned next to the music education system. Traditionally, nonprofits that work on education topics offer services as add-ons that are never integrated into the system they seek to improve. Rather, to LKR, nonprofits should not try to paste-on a solution to perceived issues with the music education system, but should rather find a way to integrate within the system, to change it, to create lasting value.

You want to be a music ed teacher – you go to one of 523 institutions in the United States that will give you a degree in music. I should not, and my organization should not, go in and remediate after you’re given that degree. Hey it’s great that you’ve been given all of these skills, it’s great that you learned all these things, by the way, here’s a bunch of stuff that nobody told you. That’s not an efficient delivery model. It’s not scalable and it’s not sustainable. 2017.09.11_TN_Dave Wish

The Modern Band category is a way for LKR to embed its values and the successes of its program in the institutional setting of music education.

Category Impact Work

As the process of impact reactivity worked, the category began to take shape. We have identified four mechanisms by which this occurred. Tabl 4 includes a summary of category impact work.

Insert Table 14 about here

Positioning

The category of modern band helped LKR and its partners push for institutional change through the mechanism of *positioning*. First, it simply created a label necessary for communication, positioning its content in the lexicon.

Modern band, as a term might be a new word... but it's not a new thing. People have been doing popular music or contemporary music in settings ... they just necessarily didn't have the language to talk about it. So one of the things I think we're doing is giving - aligning popular music to standards, giving people language, talking about how equity, diversity and inclusion are in some ways addressed by this thing. Figuring out frameworks and lenses through which to look at pedagogies around popular music. I feel like.. so the journal and the association of popular music education, and little kids rock - the more we do those kinds of things, I think, the better it is for practitioners who are doing it to be like, 'Oh, I hadn't thought of it that way, but yes, this is what I'm doing I just hadn't put it in those terms.'
2017.07.31_TN_Bryan Powell

The language also allowed for others to attach themselves to it, growing the category in the process.

The category name itself was comparable to legitimate categories, which helped carve out a place for it in the existing music education structure, positioning it as commensurate.

“Modern Band is a genre-based, instrumental and vocal music program like Jazz Band, Marching Band or Orchestral Programs. Modern Band focuses on the commercially relevant music of the past fifty years with a special emphasis upon the music of today.”– *Dave Wish, Founder and CEO, in Music as a Second Language handbook*

CEO Dave Wish explains how the category helped them move from outsiders to insiders.

Our program, which was quote unquote our program, was never our program. Why not? Because the service providers were always public school teachers. Always. And those public school teachers taught... at the pleasure of their principals. right. If their principal's had said, 'no, you can't do that crazy little kids rock stuff, they couldn't do it.' And so again, it's like, leveraging teacher time to change the way they're teaching and what they're teaching – it has always been core. But that subtle shift made us be perceived as baked in to a district's priorities as opposed to bolted on – as some sort of external solution. And many - I think - worthy educational reform movements failed that first hurdle. I think it's delightful that people think that they can scale a social initiative for children in the ed system that will exist outside of the educational system – you know, but I, but it is kind of folly, right. - 2017.09.11_TN_Dave Wish

As this quote demonstrates, the new category enabled LKR to position its efforts and mission inside the school system.

As a separate category, it was also easier for external stakeholders to identify differences between the new category and the existing ones, and to articulate the value-add of the new one.

“How can modern band augment existing programs? What does Modern Band do that a traditional program doesn’t? Encourages creativity – not an option in orchestra.” – Mike Blakeslee, CEO of NAFME in 2017.07.29_FN_Rockfest_2_Ft.Collins

As also alluded to in the first quote, the category became a meaning vehicle to which other messages could be attached. The organization’s mission was generalized into the modern band category in a way that preserved its interest in inclusivity.

I just had a wonderful phone call today with the department of education for the state of Maine and they’re talking about writing some of our language into their state goals for music education - that it should be culturally responsive, that it should be inclusive. and so, I’m hopeful that as our relationships with these large government entities, states, etc. grows, that the level - like ,you know, our proof of concept and our vehicle of service will be - will be solid enough so that people will bet big on it. and they can bet big and expect big results. 2017.09.11_TN_Dave Wish

The issue of inclusion and equity in education was a strong message linked to the new category.

Music education is a social justice issue. Access to it is separated by the haves and have-nots, and the distribution of resources is determined by zip code and not by need. The Federal government recently passed the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), which states that music is an integral part of a well-rounded education and should be provided to all students, regardless of personal circumstance. The mission of ESSA is clear, but how can we be a change-agent to help realize this vision? Simple. Provide culturally relevant, youth-centered music programs to schools around the country that leverage the cultural capital of today’s youth. - Dave Wish in 2015-2016 Annual Report

Rockfest also served as a place to transmit and position the category. Category terminology was reinforced in all sessions, talks and materials. Presenters also incorporated it. For example, in a 2014 program, an abstract entitled “Integrating Modern Band in the Community College Music Curriculum,” explains that a suburban community college has been working on similar ideas since 2005, but uses the term modern band despite it only entering the lexicon in 2008.

Category impact work was conducted through the mechanism of *positioning* - by encouraging others to add the new category to the established structure next to pre-existing categories, articulating the value-add of the new category, as well as adding meaning and creating insider status. In part because of *positioning*, the organization and its stakeholders were able to achieve institutional change through the new category. “Modern Band” now appears on syllabi at 19 undergraduate universities and one graduate program that are used to teach future teachers³⁹.

Open-sourcing

The next mechanism by which the organization’s category impact work led to change was *open-sourcing*, defined as when the organization began to use the category as a means to drive momentum beyond the program by encouraging and reinforcing openness and non-ownership of the category.

Appearance on syllabi is an example of open-sourcing because future teachers will be taught about Modern Band without the organization’s involvement. At Rockfest in 2014, there was even a talk put on by an external professor about how to change university curriculum⁴⁰.

By giving stakeholders both low-key and high-visibility ways to share their individual approaches and verbally reinforcing their own non-ownership, the organization worked to foster openness around the category. For example, at the annual Modern Band Rockfest, teachers were invited to present posters outlining their own unique approaches. They handed out sheet music and taught others how to repair instruments. In addition, the main sessions at the event were

³⁹ Modern Band: Districts, Colleges and Universities June 12, 2017

⁴⁰ <https://www.littlekidsrock.org/modernbandsymposium2014-sessions/>

organized and run by teachers and other stakeholders. Online, the teachers-only Facebook group includes advice and questions on anything from guitar repair to teaching a D chord. In addition to elevating and supporting stakeholders to ‘make it their own,’ the organization actively repeated its own non-ownership. For example:

“As with any pedagogy, “Music As A Second Language” is a tool for your teaching tool-belt, a spice for your instructional skillet. Please season your classes with it to suit your taste.”- *Intro letter to Music as a Second Language*

“Modern band is a movement, not a club” – it is not exclusive -*Overheard at Rockfest*

LKR themselves actively highlighted differences and encourage adaptation to suit local needs.

“Saw three amazing and totally different programs in Bridgeport today: James Hoebel, Ed Montesi, and Liesl Purviance”. - *Scott Burstein from LKR posting videos from three different modern band programs on the “Little kids rock teachers” Facebook group. May 11, Cedar Grove, NJ, United States,*

External professors also commented that the category allowed for openness and adoption.

I don't have all of their materials, like, on a shelf, but the materials that I have access to, that I've seen and reviewed, still don't quite show all of the stuff that they show with the rhetoric here - of, oh, it's your music, it's your music.. but I do think that it's important that it doesn't necessarily make its way into paper form or slides.. it's almost better that it's happening. (...) I'll bet all around that there are people everywhere that are doing interesting things kind of under the radar, and I wouldn't doubt that maybe you know, if it was like an email or a poll that we could all take - that you would find out that there's a lot more going on than what people have actually addressed. I get that sense. because it is supposed to be that experience. 2017.07.30_TN_Radio Cremata

As a staff member stated:

We don't want to have a method, that is prescriptive, because then we fall into the same ditch that you're trying to dig yourself out of - like this is in the method and that's not - and we're beholden to the method. So we don't want to have that.. 2017.07.31_TN_Bryan Powell

Moving

The organization also leveraged the emotions and shared passions surrounding music; the particular context helps build connections between people and organizations. Emotions were a constant at all events. The first author experienced this early at the teachers’ workshops that provided continuing education credit for teachers and introduced them to the program and to Modern Band. At the workshops, groups of teachers from neighboring

districts applied and were invited to join an all-day Saturday training at a local school. In many ways, it resembled the first day of a school music program – the pupils didn't know each other, they didn't know the 'teachers' and they didn't know much about what they were about to learn. They also didn't know the skill level of other teachers. When we walked through the door, friendly staff members handed out guitars to those who didn't have one. We sat in rows. They broke the ice by going through a round of 'who's your favorite artist?' eliciting shouts of agreement from other teachers. Then, before introducing the program or the ways of teaching, the staff led the group, demonstrating chords and getting everyone involved quickly and easily. Before we knew it, we had played a song together and the whole room started to feel warm.

We learned later that this style of engaging people of different skill levels quickly and easily is a tenant of the program and it was easy to see why a nervous or inexperienced student could forget their worries and have fun within minutes. The workshop continued to build with emotions as teachers learned more and even composed and performed a song in groups, further creating comradery and enhancing the learning experience.

At Rockfest, there was a Battle of the Bands that encouraged mixing and team-building, adhoc drum circles, and sing-alongs in the middle of speeches. Guitars were available for the whole event for those who didn't travel with an instrument. For example:

[This conference] reminds music teachers of why we chose this profession in the first place. To be creative and have fun. To build teams and motor-skills. To share our passion and love for the Universal Language of Music and to make it accessible to ALL!

-Iraida Montijo, Music teacher in Miami, FLRecap of 2017, accessed from: <https://www.lit-tlekidsrock.org/mbsummit/>

Showmanship and rhetorical prowess were a personal strength of CEO Dave Wish, who seemed to take great pleasure in riling up the crowd.

(...) If democracy is the medicine that protects us all from tyranny, then surely, harmony is its active ingredient. There's music in our nation's motto. Listen for it: e pluribus unum: from many, one. It wasn't from one, one. There's a musical conductor's note in our history in the score of American history. If a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand. so when you bring harmony to your kids, when you help them express their unique perspectives, when you empower them, to create and embrace their own music, you help prepare them to take their rightful spot in that great big boisterous band known as our American democracy.

The poet Arthur O'Shanesy famously said that we are the music makers and we are the dreamers of dreams. So it's up to us then, the music makers and the music teachers to show everybody - how is it done! Am I right, people?! (Applause) – Dave Wish speech at Rockfest 2017

For teachers, the conference provided a much-needed boost, in addition to providing training and continuing education credit.

You know, a lot of times, when you're just in the thick of it and in your own school you feel like you're an island and you're all alone and remembering that there is a network, remembering that there are resources and other people that do what you do and care so much about what you're passionate about is reassuring, it's reaffirming - *Shelly Fuerte, General Education Teacher, Chicago, IL in Rockfest 2017 Transcription of video*

Upon reconnecting with an informant from the beginning of the event who had been curious, but 'not bought in,' he told one author: "OK, now I'm ready to buy! It's like a condo (condominium sales process)... where do I sign! ...But maybe I should have a cool-off period first."

The excitement and energy were hard to ignore, but unlike a sales process, the enthusiasm displayed by LKR staff, and mirrored by teachers seemed to be wholly authentic. For teachers, the event seemed to reignite the interest they had when they joined their profession, before years of managing difficult students and funding and pay challenges took their toll. LKR staff, many of whom were teachers, tapped into this need. The energy seemed to ricochet and amplify between teachers, LKR staff and other stakeholders.

Receding

The fourth mechanism by which category impact work led to change and scaling was receding, by which the organization began to fade itself out in favor of the new category.

They articulated and repeated the aspiration for others to help drive the category consistently. For example:

Because our goal is that modern band becomes a peer to the other streams of music ed. and it's not associated with (us). – 2017.07.28_Higher ed workshop

“If our colleges and universities are adequately preparing students to do progressive, contemporary things, you don't need a nonprofit to come in and do these things. – Higher ed workshop., 2017.07.28

We'll know that we're succeeding when modern band starts doing its own things without us. That's the ultimate goal. – 2017.07.31_TN_Bryan Powell 1

They also began to reduce distinctive branding. For example, Rockfest is now called Modern Band Summit, with the LKR logo much smaller.⁴¹ They also created an independent Music as a Second Language website that has almost no LKR branding.

Receding was a crucial part of the how LKR could scale via the modern band category.

“I did the math, if you run forward 15 years and we were to continue at the same rate, we would be one of the largest charities in the United States and that's not going to happen. The US public would have to say, "yeah, these guys are more important than the Catholic charities of America. They're almost as important as the Red Cross. They're more important than the national museum of you know, the American museum of natural history. You know, it's just like, it's not realistic. and also, we'd have the staff of like 3,000 people. Doing the math, it'd be another 100x. So it's not desirable or achievable. So and also if you continue to scale at the same rate where we're funding everything.. it's not just the ideas..you know, we'll only reach 14% of the US school population, which by that point would be 83 million. and so, our so our organization will continue to scale incrementally, but we very much believe that our impact and our reach will continue to scale exponentially and that's why we're partnering with all of these um people throughout the educational ecosystem to ensure that that can happen.”
207.09.11_TN_Dave Wish

⁴¹ Observation made from website view 2017.12.08

By articulated the aspiration for others to help drive the category, reducing distinctive branding and supporting, but not driving institutional efforts to drive new category, the organization enabled the category to exist independently. As a result of impact reactivity and category impact work, the category of Modern Band instigated change and became a way for the organization to scale. By achieving adoption and replication by schools, higher education and external stakeholders, the category took on a life of its own. By achieving placement in university syllabi, the category was able to change the institutional structure of education, carving out a new spot in the value chain of music education.

Under the banner of Modern Band, our district partners adopt our program and make it their own. Modern Band assumes its rightful place alongside existing music programs like Marching Band and Chorus. Because Modern Band becomes an official part of a district's curricular offerings, it sustains over time. It becomes a district priority. By Dave Wish in Modern Band: Districts, Colleges and Universities June 12, 2017

Figure 1 includes a summary of main points in category development.

It wasn't always easy to start programs on the university level. Some programs were very traditional and those sympathetic to popular music had to be careful to not upset colleagues.

Radio Cremat: uh, also, uh, being an assistant professor, um required some nifty, um subversive techniques from my end, and Um, but (unintelligible) It's not that I ever received anything from the school, it just felt scary.. like guitars.

Bryan Powell: not contraband, literally guitars. He was like, "we have to go in once the faculty has left because this is very, you know, subversive things we're doing."

RC: So.. and I think the subversion was, you know, required that I handle that with care.. and I think that got more people on board through that process. Uh, also, along the way, the modern band movement, to use that terminology, has uh, gained traction, and people started sort of coming to it. - Professor Radio Cremat on introducing modern band at Ithaca College

Over time, cultural shifts in music education helped enable the introduction of Modern Band, making it less controversial.

Though the organization still exists and continues to grow, the type of work has shifted. Though the organization is not planning to close its doors any time soon, its activities shifted dramatically

and core activities of having staff members run workshops have started to wind down as staff seek to train teachers to run workshops so staff can grow the category of modern band through state funding schemes and via higher education. Figure 1 illustrates how the category begins to take shape.

Insert Figure 3 about here

To achieve scaling and change, the dual processes of impact reactivity and category impact work interfaced with the education system level. Figure 2 illustrates this process.

Insert Figure 4 about here

DISCUSSION

Category construction may not always be a strategy to perpetuate organizations and to grow markets, but can rather be the means by which an organization's goals transcend its boundaries to create wider impact. In this study, we illustrate how the case organization leverages the valuation process of categorization (e.g. Lamont, 2012) for social change and how the process of category enablement looks different at non-market organizations that operate under assumptions of organizational redundancy and organization-driven categories. We explained how the processes of *impact reactivity* and *category impact work* allowed for the organization to convince external actors and set up the category beyond the organization. The process of category establishment occurs differently because of this different setting.

Our study pushes categories literature to apply beyond traditional settings for understanding how categories as value creation devices can play an important strategic role in social purpose organizational efforts to create impact.

Dynamics and terms from category research on market-based categories can be transported to social-goal-based categories in non-market settings, yet, the key assumptions of actors' market incentives; organizational longevity and category co-creation are not always relevant in non-market settings. In our study, we found *moving* and *open-sourcing* as mechanisms that were important for the non-market need to engage actors who did not have financial incentives to adopt the category. The mechanism of *Moving* was important to bring actors on board. Others have found that ritual interactions create inspiring emotional experiences among audiences who then become evangelists who advocate for organizations (Massa, Helms, Voronov & Wang 2017). We demonstrate how this applies in a context of category creation and highlight the importance of emotions in helping single organizations enable categories.

Unlike category construction in market settings, the expressed goal of achieving impact over lasting as an organization played a role in how the process worked. Though the organization continues to exist, its activities have shifted so as to devote energy to growing Modern Band. Fundamentally, their goal was to achieve social impact and not to maintain operations at a status quo. The process of impact reactivity articulated how the organization reacted and changed based on its goals for achieving impact. In the second process, category impact work, we find *receding* as a mechanism, which is not relevant to typical market settings, yet crucial for establishing a category as a means to scale and as a mode of institutional change.

Additionally, we found that the organization drove the category on its own in the beginning. The category emerged out of a need and progressed as they realized that it was a better way to achieve their goals rather than growing the same activities indefinitely. As with cases of collective construction, our case organization must also work with multiple audiences, but the way they do so was at first organization-led. They had to establish a firm-enough meaning for others to share, while leaving meaning open enough for others to get behind and adopt the new category. We found the mechanisms of *positioning*, *moving* and *open-sourcing* that support this need in non-market settings.

These important differences highlight the need to articulate dedicated non-market strategy research, and in this case, research on *impact work*, or intentional efforts to create impact - progress toward a social issue - at scale by changing an existing structure. This study makes a small step toward that goal. This study demonstrates how, by using a category as a strategic tool to ‘grow the market’ when the market is a non-market setting, a social purpose organization may seek to uncouple itself from the category, using the category as a means to scale and render generic its social goals, increasing attention from other actors, rather than drawing strategic advantages for its own gain as we might expect (Durand, 2006; 2012).

Categories as a means to scale

The category helps the organization’s mission to transcend the organization itself. Through the linked processes we found, the category came to embody the ideals the organization held for music education and could then be adopted by others. In that way, the category served as a unique means of scaling by diffusion (Mulgan, 2006; Seelos & Mair, 2017;

Bloom & Chatterji, 2009; Dees, Battle Anderson & Wei-Sillern, 2004), whereby a blueprint of sorts is disseminated for others to implement. This is an important addition to our knowledge on social purpose organization scaling as more organizations focus on impact rather than organizational longevity.

Categories as a mode of institutional change

The category also provides a structure through which to add to and hence change the existing institutional structure of music education. The metaphoric category product shelf or market structure is an institution – and when a new category is added, it does not necessarily displace existing products, but adds new value to the available array and, by offering a new type of supply, may influence consumer demand.

Prototypical and goal-based perspectives (Durand & Boulongne, 2017) are used to explain the *actions* used to construct a category, yet we know that products can be members of many categories at once. We suggest that these terms can also help describe an institutional setting from the outside and therefore that categories as a concept can be a useful tool for thinking about changing institutional structures. We expand the applicability of perspectives on categories to refer not only to the comparative (prototype view) or cognitive (goal-based view) *actions* used to create or enable the development of a category, but to the *essence* or description of a category member, specifically, the essence of a goal-based category member. We illustrate this in a matrix.

Insert Table 15 about here

The matrix positions the different members of the same ‘school music programs’ prototypical category so as to highlight the different goals each member has. Different members A & B of the same prototypical category will occupy three goal-based squares 1) Member A will have its own goals, 2) Members A & B will share some similar goals and 3) Member B will have its own goals.

Modern Band is labeled and enabled to belong to the prototypical grouping for music education programs next to orchestra, band and jazz band – meaning, ‘it looks like a music program.’ However, as was described, the content of the category – open instrument choice, open genre choice, an emphasis on improvisation, easy, collaborative enjoyment and a different and adaptable pedagogy, among others – is organized as such in order to *make the category work* toward the broad goal of changing lives and the more concrete goal of bringing the benefits of music to more and different kids. Compared to other programs in its category, it operates differently. By thinking in terms of members’ different goals in a common prototypical category, we think about how the prototypical category is possibly changed by a new entrant with different goals – or how a new category member can change institutional structures. We suggest that the extent to which a new member of a prototypical category shares or differs in its goals, the greater the institutional change.

In this case, the category member of ‘Modern Band,’ was created to suit its goals, which necessarily required it to operate differently from incumbent members. Modern Band is created to address social issues by bringing more children into music – and by adapting teaching methods, instruments and styles accordingly. Informants confided that they designed Modern Band in part to avoid falling into the ‘trap’ that jazz had – when jazz became institutionalized in music education, it ceased to hold the essence of jazz – improvisation,

human story-telling, and the culture from which it came. Rather, jazz programs taught the same standards and defined themselves by a specific set of instruments and practices. When new entrants added Jazz Band to the prototypical group, they did not choose to do so with different goals. Essentially, Jazz Band conformed to existing and thus at the time, dominant goals across the prototypical category. Therefore, it created change to the existing structure, but not to a great extent.

Modern Band, however, challenged the prototypical category goals. The types of instruments in Modern Band are adaptable and composition and improvisation are core to its ideals. Thus, as the category of Modern Band spreads, it is established in a way to ensure continued adaptation and learning. As discussed, participation in all programs rose after Modern Band was introduced, so the new member had positive spillover effects on other members in its prototypical group.

Conceiving of categories in non-market settings in terms of prototypical settings and goals can help highlight how social purpose organizations can change institutional structures.

Impact work and non-market strategy

Adding Modern Band to the institution of music education allows schools to engage new and different students in music programs, and thus changes music education as a whole. However, it does not seek to overturn the existing logic, as with institutional entrepreneurship (Battilana, Leca & Boxenbaum, 2009), and refers to a unique type of ‘work’ not already included in the institutional work discussion. Impact work is different from institutional entrepreneurship and adds a new aspect to institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca, 2010) focused on editing or altering institutions that lead to harm so that they instead lead

to different outcomes. We add the concept of *impact work* to describe the growing literature about transforming institutions that are sites where inequalities are replicated (Mair, Wolf & Seelos, 2016; Amis, Mair & Munir forthcoming; 2017) and is an example of organizational approaches to address problematic underlying social systems (e.g. Mair, Wolf & Seelos, 2016).

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates how a social purpose organization develops discourse and interaction around a new category as a tool to diffuse their mission, scaling their work- but not the main activities of their organization- toward the goal of changing an institutional structure. To combat the traditional music system that excludes underprivileged students, the organization created a new category of music – Modern Band and ultimately achieved placement on university syllabi next to traditional programs. The new category helped them overcome barriers and became a structural element inserted in the existing educational institutional framework. Based on fundamentally different premises from the private sector – organizational disappearance and social goal achievement, rather than organizational strategic advantage in a larger market – and organization-centric rather than collective construction - this case demonstrates how categories can be tools for social change. This case is about a unique type of social purpose organization, and thus boundary conditions apply. Results can be generalized to other social purpose organizations that aim to create a category as a means to scale and as a mode to change institutional structures, but may not be generalizable beyond this setting.

Future research may include investigation of other non-market strategies or impact work broadly, and also non-market category dynamics, specifically. This study addresses one aspect of the role of valuation devices in conducting impact work. Future research could investigate others. On categories, studies could investigate potential spillover effects on prototypical categories from intruding goal-based categories. Attributes that are valued in one category may impact existing categories when new ‘supply’ may change ‘customer demand.’ For example, early evidence from LKR shows that participation in traditional music programs increased in schools with Modern Band programs. Studies could also investigate how different members of the same prototypical category differ in terms of goals.

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TABLES
TABLE 11

Comparison Between Traditional Music Program Categories and Modern band

	Existing music programs offered in schools such as orchestra, band or jazz band	Modern Band
How category was created	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The newest music education category, jazz, was established in a way to resemble orchestra and band programs with a set of jazz standards despite the openness of jazz as an art form 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Modern Band was created as a goal-based category - a collection of music and ways of learning that gets kids into music defined first by if and how it works and retroactively described in terms of keys and time signatures
Organizing principle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tradition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goals in use: Bringing more kids into music
Repertoire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Music taught comes from standard pieces 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Music taught comes from what will excite kids Music taught often written by recent and often 'untrained' popular musicians
Main activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reading, practicing and performing music 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Playing, performing, composing and improvising music
Instruments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Standard set of instruments that hasn't changed in decades 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Set of instruments that is constantly evolving (From electric guitar/bass/drums to ukulele, electronic music, etc); encouraged to be adaptive
Pedagogy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Various, often including theory and sheet music reading before playing, though exceptions offer similar pedagogy to MSL 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Music as a Second Language (MSL) gets kids engaged quickly
Consequence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Repeating and reiterating the unintended consequences inherent in established programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Installs an engine for change, adaptation (and scaling)

TABLE 12
Data Collected

Type	Qty	Units
Participant Observation	54	Pages
<i>Oakland, California</i>	10	Pages
Teacher workshop		
Teacher and staff dinner		
<i>Chicago, Illinois</i>	9	Pages
Regional Board Brunch		
School visits	3	Schools
Shadowed meetings	3	Staff meeting, meeting with Department of Arts Education at Chicago Public Schools; informal meeting with Principal
<i>Ft. Collins, Colorado</i>	29	Pages
Participated in intensive 4-day organization-led conference		Observed sessions with District Arts Supervisors, higher education stakeholders, funders, state music education leaders; teacher workshops, VIP reception
Interviews	26	Interviews between 10 minutes and 1hour (average 47 minutes)
National management	10	People (5 people)
Regional staff	2	People
National Board members	4	People (informal, lunch)
Teachers	0	No formal interviews, 15+ chats of 2-10 minutes
National Association CEO	1	Person
Music Professors	9	People
Archival data	2149	Pages
Internal sources	1542	Pages
External sources	607	Pages
Other		
Facebook		Private teacher group

TABLE 13

Timeline: Key events in three phases of category development

Three phases	Key moments at organization	Defining events in category development
<p>2002-2008</p> <p>Establishing and growing the organization</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proof of concept – Dave Wish teaches music to his first grade ESL class and parents collect and donate \$800, unsolicited • Dave decides to grow LKR beyond his school • Original LKR teachers were general education teachers who volunteered to teach music enrichment classes after school • By 2007: Average LKR teachers were full-time music teachers offering LKR classes alongside Jazz Band and orchestra⁴² • 2007: Program serves 20,000 students in 12 cities⁴³ 	<p>N/A</p>
<p>2008 - (overlapping)</p> <p>Process of impact reactivity enables establishment of category</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2008: 37,563 students, 616 schools • 2009: 44,250 students, 705 schools • 2010: 66,649 students, 770 schools • 2011: 79,412 students, 869 schools • 2012: 92,540 students, 869 schools • 2013: 119,898 students, 1,018 schools • 2014: 173,323 students, 1,408 schools • 2015: 225,280 students, 1,502 schools⁴⁴ • By 2009: Districts in New York, Tampa, Los Angeles, Dallas and Chicago partnered with LKR for large-scale rollouts⁴⁵ • 2014: New York City Department of Education announces Amp Up NYC – a plan to bring Modern Band programs to 600 schools and 60% of certified music teachers by 2017 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2008: Idea for new category emerges in conversation between teacher and LKR founder • 2009: Founder announces the term “Modern Band” in an article: “Rock Their Worlds: On the Need for a Fifth Stream of Music”⁴⁶ • 2013: First annual Modern Band Rockfest and Symposium, including teachers and supervisors • 2013 and following years: Modern Band presentations and workshops included in Association of Popular Music Education (APME) conference⁴⁷ • Modern Band Section document created, defining central tenants of Modern Band • 2014: Rockfest includes talks by higher ed professors⁴⁸ • Professors publish scholarly articles using MB
<p>2015 - (overlapping)</p> <p>Transcending the organization: category</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2016: 240,000 students, 1,800 schools, 500,000 students by start of 2016 school year⁴⁹ • 2016: LKR programs perform at the White House Talent Show for First Lady Michelle Obama • 2017: 630,000 students, 2,300 schools⁵⁰ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2015: Rockfest includes districts and higher ed professionals • Efforts made to articulate and establish Music as a Second Language as a pedagogy comparable to others⁵² • 2015: 6 colleges and universities include Modern Band in teacher education⁵³ • 2016: Every Student Succeeds Act passes (independent from organization), giving new mandate and positioning power

⁴² Modern Band Section

⁴³ Modern Band Section

⁴⁴ 2015 Impact report

⁴⁵ Modern Band Section

⁴⁶ Modern Band Section

⁴⁷ Modern Band Section

⁴⁸ <https://www.littlekidsrock.org/modernbandsymposium2014-sessions>

⁴⁹ 2015-2016 Impact Report

⁵⁰ Text overlay in front of 2017.07.28 Dave Wish Keynote at Rockfest

⁵² Methodology - Music as a Second Language

⁵³ Rockfest program 2015

enables scaling and institutional change

- 2017: Chicago Music Expanded program launched, to bring Modern Band programs to 300 schools by 2020⁵¹
- 2017: Work begins on Collective Arts National Impact Dashboard (CANDID) to coordinate arts organizations across the country to help them capture outputs and outcomes
- 2018: New staff hired, growth continues, yet with focus on scaling online and through accessing existing funds
- 2016: 4th Modern Band Rockfest includes representatives from over 19 colleges or universities⁵⁴
- 2015-2016 Impact Report starts speaking about program sustainability “under the banner of Modern Band”
- 2017: Modern Band Rockfest, including representatives from over 15 colleges or universities⁵⁵
- 2017: Modern Band written into syllabi at 19 undergraduate universities and one graduate syllabi⁵⁶
- 2017: Music as a Second Language website launched with almost no LKR branding
- 2018: Modern Band Rockfest renamed Modern Band Summit
- University designing LKR-independent accreditation
- 2018: Music as a Second Language certification to be launched

⁵¹ Chicago Music Expanded Initiative 2017

⁵⁴ 2015-2016 Annual Report

⁵⁵ <https://www.littlekidsrock.org/mbsummit/>

⁵⁶ Modern Band: Districts, Colleges and Universities June 12, 2017

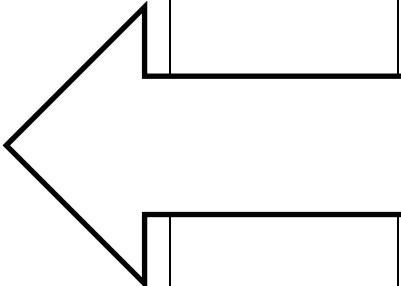
TABLE 14

Category impact work

Mechanism 1. Positioning	Positioning the new category in clear and relatable terms, reducing barriers to support
Mechanism 2. Out-sourcing	Designing interactions and resources to encourage adoption and adaptation
Mechanism 3. Moving	Leveraging the emotions and shared passions surrounding music; the particular context helps build connections between people and organizations
Mechanism 4. Receding	Fading the organization slowly, setting the stage for withdrawal

TABLE 15

Prototypical grouping vs. goals held by different members in common prototypical setting

		Prototypical Category Members' Goals		
Case example	<p>Common prototypical setting:</p> <p>School music programs</p>	<p>Member A's goals</p> <p>Orchestra, band and jazz band all have similar goals:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teach kids to play music • Proficiency goal • Emphasis on individual knowledge-building <p>Proficient kid and program as product goal</p>	<p>Shared goals</p> <p>Members of the common prototypical category 'school music programs' share some goals:</p> <p>Overlap in musical proficiency and interest</p>	<p>Member B's goals</p> <p>Modern Band goals:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Change lives;' get more and different kids to experience the wide-ranging benefits of music • Emphasis on the collective <p>Engagement and excitement as process goal</p>
Generic example	<p>Common prototypical setting</p>	<p>Member A and others like it share similar goals</p>		<p>Member B enters with new goals</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goals are different, but not so different as to displace membership in common prototypical setting • The greater the difference in goals, the greater the institutional change

FIGURES

FIGURE 3

Category Begins to Take Shape

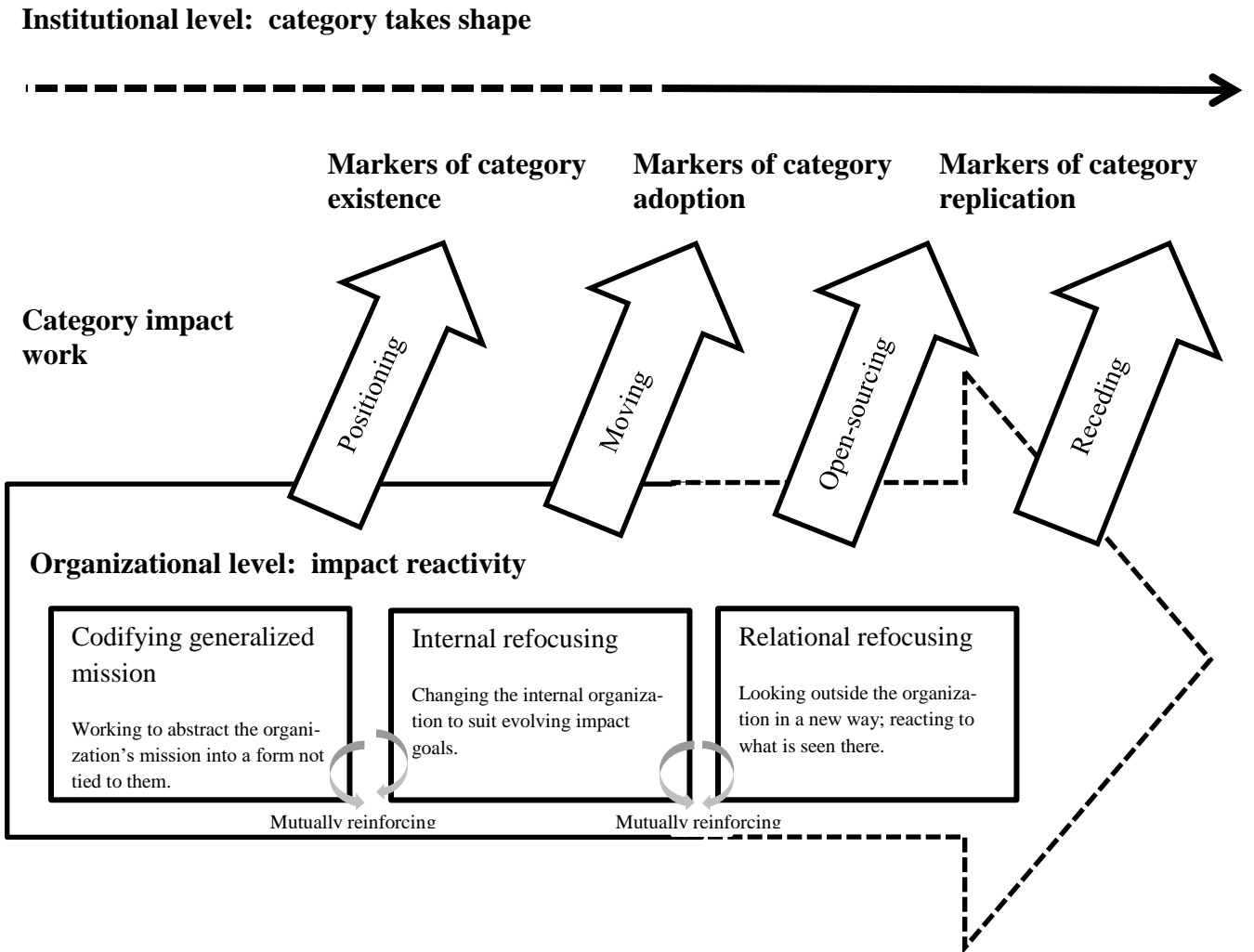
Institutional level: category takes shape



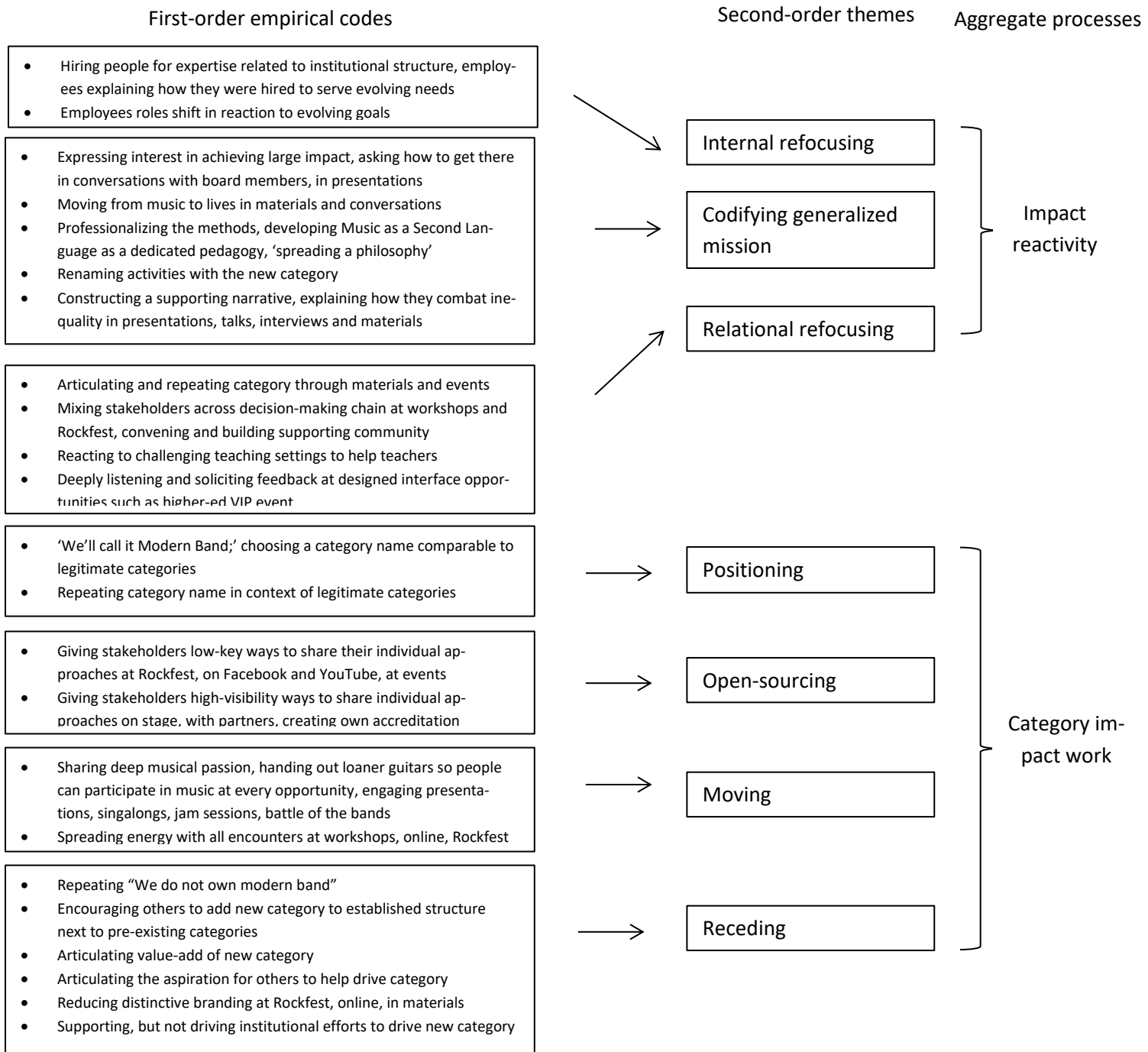
	Markers of category existence	Markers of category adoption	Markers of category replication
K-12 level	LKR invited to give workshops	Teachers apply for external funding for Modern Bands, using common language	Teacher-instigated Facebook conversations about how to help grow Modern Band
University level	Professors use Modern Band name	Modern Band presence on 26 university syllabi next to established categories	University designing LKR-independent accreditation Professors publish scholarly articles using 'Modern Band'
District and national levels	Actors actively join Modern Band efforts in their regions	Actors advocate for Modern Band at LKR-organized events	Actors independently work to get state funds for Modern Band

FIGURE 4.

A Process Model of Category Creation for Impact



APPENDIX
APPENDIX A
Data structure



APPENDIX B

Data Tables

Additional data examples (not used in manuscript) (a representative, but not exhaustive sample of coded data in these groups)

Data Table I. Impact Reactivity

Internal refocusing: Changing the internal organization to suit evolving impact goals

National management interview A, California	Scott Burstein, Director of Teaching and Learning – Started teaching in 1998 in LAPS – marching band, orchestra. Trained in 2004 as an LKR teacher, one of the first teachers – there were only 3 people at LKR then. In 2012 he joined full time as Regional Program Director in LA, full time visiting teachers/helping; 6-7 years ago he took on the role of Director of Teaching and Learning to travel around doing trainings. He connected training and curriculum – they were separate. – 2017.03.25_FN_101 wrkshp_Oakland
Regional staff interview, Chicago	Joe already had connections with local policymakers in the music area in Chicago when he was hired – 2017.03.27_FN_Chi 1
CEO interview, Skype	I always say – if you want to serve someone, you have to meet them where they are. Not where you want them to be, not where you think they should be, but right there – where they actually are . where are music educators? They go to music educators conferences? We should meet them there. Where are music educators? Well the future ones are in schools of education...we should go there.” 2017.09.11_TN_Dave Wish
CEO interview, Skype	One thing is, if you want to influence teachers, public school teachers, a very good thing to do is to hire public school teachers and that's what I did from the very beginning. (...). So we went from having no doctors of music education, now we have you know four of our team have their doctorates and have expertise and network and credibility from a research perspective, but also from their own personal work, networks, within the higher world ed. So it's definitely changed our hiring strategy. 2017.09.11_TN_Dave Wish
CEO interview, Skype	So if we're just doing some outside program, ok that's fine that's cute.. but the second that becomes internal, what do schools have to do, what do teachers have to do - they have to evaluate their students. How is my student doing? they need a rubric or a metric or a report card..or whatever to report out, hey my students are progressing this way and that way. Here's their strengths. Here's their areas for improvement. And so on. So, for example, we recently brought on um, a director of program effectiveness, who's only job it is to help measure the efficacy of our program and help teachers measure the efficacy of their own programs and also by the way, to work with higher ed partners. 2017.09.11_TN_Dave Wish
National management interview B, Colorado	I've been having conversations this week about placing student teachers into modern band programs and then they're getting jobs. What is the next level of that look like? Is it like a match.com. Where I identify 10 good teachers in all these markets and there's a one page - this is my philosophy of music ed and I have a couple of videos of them teaching in the classroom.. so if you're like, 'oh i have a kid who wants to get placed in like LA, and I'm like, 'cool, check out all these teachers and you get to feel like you get to know them. and if you want a placement, we'll help you facilitate that. That could be really cool. I don't know 2017.07.31_TN_Bryan Powell
National staff member B interview, Skype	I've had some higher ed folks who would love to go and take their class to do a site visit, for example, to see what it looks like.. but if you're in the middle of nowhere, you can't do that. um, or if your classroom meets from 7-9 PM at night, well school's are not in session, so that would not work. but that, in the class experience, interview the teacher, maybe show a performance, something of the students.. and then we create these videos and you could then assign students: "watch this video and write a response" or something. There would be ways to bring the modern band experience into the classroom. 2017.05.23_TN_Bryan Powell
Field notes, higher education session at Rockfest	So, when I first had an interview with Ryan and Dave to come here, Dave sat me down and he said, OK so my ultimate goal for Little Kids Rock is to go out of business. and I said, that seems odd. and he explained and he said you know, if our colleges and universities are adequately preparing students to do progressive, contemporary things, you don't need a nonprofit to come in and do these things. If our state arts education agencies have the funding they need to provide instruments for schools, you

don't need a nonprofit to do the fundraising to then get instruments in the hands of kids. and so he says, we do the teacher workshop and then the donation of instruments. I would love for that not to happen. and that only happens if we actively engage with our higher education community to prepare the next generation of music educators. 12: 2017.07.28_TN_Higher ed workshop

- CEO interview, Skype when it becomes the priority of a national entity, a state department of education, school district, a governor, now we're starting to be cooking with gas. Now, we get to a thing where you actually put your hand on – not incremental, organizational impact, but systemic impact. System change. What should be the objective of every nonprofit under the sun except for institutions like hospitals, schools, universities – you know, whatever, we all hope the universities will be here 500 years from now. But do we really hope that homeless shelters will be here or shouldn't we say, no that would be good if we got rid of homelessness. Similarly, with the issue that I'm embracing, if people are feeling alienated from their musicality, if students are being kept from their musical natures by the way that public school music programs are structured – couldn't we fix that? instead of having some outside providers come in, couldn't the system itself address it so that that problem, and then ultimately along with my organization just go away. 18: 2017.09.11_TN_Dave Wish
- National staff member interview C, Skype Popular music is big, uh, it's just being an outsider. We're very much a sort of national organization. and we do have employees in regions, but they are not necessarily embedded in the , we don't have a whole staff in Colorado or any of those places. You know, being on the outside and coming in. It's uh, it's always a challenge. it's like, why are you here. I don't understand what's going on. I haven't heard about this. It doesn't make sense. .. uh, those kinds of things come up. but that's more the relationship building with the arts supervisor. Generally what happens is once we sort of , are introduced into the music stream, the the supervisors and teachers see the impact on the students and themselves and the resources we provide and the attitude changes. which is one of the reasons we have the model we do - you know, the promotional workshop is building that into the system. 2017.02.02_TN_Ryan Zellner
- National staff member B interview, Skype I think what we're starting to do now as an organization, is to understand, we've always understood the importance of higher ed, but to get back to your question about funders, if we write a grant, or if we're going to get a foundation grant for something and they request a budget, maybe some of that is carving out money for engagement with a local higher education institution in that area, so that we do have money to go out and provide workshops, to get higher ed institution on board. In some ways, getting the higher ed partner on board it is, is equally important as getting more schools in that area because if that higher ed - especially if that school does pre-service basic teacher education, they'll be preparing the next generation of teachers who are going to go teach in that school district, perhaps. and we want to engage them. So, we haven't really, I mean, LKR's board of directors is um, is supportive generally, I haven't spoken with them about the higher ed, but the fact that we do have a higher ed position, i think speaks to um, the fact that LKR understands that higher education is important. So now what we're doing is we're budgeting um, funds as we get grants and then we get support and things like that, to, uh, be able to do some of these higher education initiatives. 2017.05.23_TN_Bryan Powell
- Field notes, higher education session at Rockfest and we're really looking at at how to sort of amplify our activity across the board.. because what we try to do is, we wrestle with the big questions. 2017.07.28_TN_Higher ed workshop
- Field notes, higher education session at Rockfest RZ: well initially we were like - kids, teachers, instruments! Kids, teachers, instruments! yay! and then we, you know, we hit 1,000 students and have a cake and then we hit 200,000 students and then we had a cake and then we hit 300,000 and we're like, "OK, we kinda, we got this...we understand how.."
- BP interjects: We got diabetes (Laughs) 2017.07.28_TN_Higher ed workshop
- Field notes, higher education session at Rockfest We are totally open and want to be responsive to what works. It could be a workshop. It could be we help you, if you're re-designing some courses, we have a sample syllabi, that we would love to send.. take what works, and then give us feedback. um.. what are the learning objectives and the student outcomes that your university likes to see in a syllabus and how can that inform what we do? How can we take the work that Jay is doing in his popular music course, and have that influence the work that we're doing. – Bryan P. 2017.07.28_TN_Higher ed workshop.

Codifying generalized mission: Working to abstract the organization's mission into a form not tied to them

- CEO interview, Skype When I started Little Kids Rock, you know, reggae tone didn't exist, electronic dance music didn't exist. these are, and you know, actually when I started teaching, which was all the way back - in the last millenia - uh, you know, uh, and it didn't even exist. and now it's like a force, you know. I mean, rock was the hegemonic king of popular music in the early 1990s, still, and it's been unseated commercially by hip hop and rap. So, if we're going to be culturally responsive, we're going to need to embrace that. 2017.09.11_TN_Dave Wish
- Rockfest Program 2015 We believe that some of the techniques and insights of the "Music As A Second Language" method can add value to music programming in schools that is not strictly limited to Modern Band programs. Other music

programs can benefit from an understanding of “Music As A Second Language” and it is my goal to establish “Music As A Second Language” as a peer to other methods that have similarly affected music education on a global level. Methods such as Orff, Suzuki and Kodály come to mind. I will be dedicating much time to propagating our method more broadly and we invite you to join us. Dave Wish in Rockfest Program 2015

Report: Modern Band: Districts, Colleges and Universities June 12, 2017

The first page in a report is called An Educational Movement: In the 1950’s, the US first heard rock ‘n’ roll, a new popular musical genre that would profoundly influence the nation’s cultural and social landscapes, and whose impact continues to be felt globally. American musical forms like rock, disco, country, top 40, hip-hop and electronic dance music have since become the “lingua franca” of our modern world. Three generations of Americans have embraced this new music, and its primacy and presence are felt everywhere, except in our public schools. Until now...

Little Kids Rock has pioneered youth-centered, culturally relevant music programming across a national network of K-12 schools and our work is redefining what a well-rounded, inclusive music program looks like. We have done this under the moniker of “Modern Band,” a term we coined in 2008 to describe the large-scale, district-wide music programs we are creating with our partners. Modern Band programs teach students how to compose and improvise while performing the musical genres they know and love. Modern Band also utilizes the musical instruments that are common to these genres: guitar, bass, drums, piano, voice and technology

With the shared belief that contemporary popular music is a central cultural asset that is underutilized in public education, a diverse set of school districts across the nation has rallied behind Modern Band and, as a result, millions of children currently attend schools in districts that offer Modern Band classes as a part of their standard in-school music programming.

We have convened a Modern Band movement that is reframing the nation’s dialogue around music education

Modern Band is helping to build programs that are as diverse as the children who attend our public schools. Together we are transforming music education for an entire generation of students and teachers

By Dave Wish in Modern Band: Districts, Colleges and Universities June 12, 2017

Relational refocusing: Looking outside the organization in a new way, reacting to what is seen there

Field notes

There were trading cards in our bags. I had five: A dark green card with a circle icon and *Staff* and *Dave Wish* on it; A dark green card with a circle icon and *Core Value* and *Scaffolding* (The dark green circle cards seem to be organization cards); Two olive green cards with square icons – one says *Four Chords* and one says *Cowbell*. They have little descriptions; One yellow-outlined card called *Modern Band*.

– 2017.07.28_FN_Rockfest_1_Ft.Collins

Mixing stakeholders across decision-making chain

“(...)we purposely didn’t ask our higher ed folks to present, and that’s not because we don’t think you have amazing ideas, but in the past, when higher ed presents, all the higher ed people go to the higher ed sessions and you don’t actually get to go and interact with the teachers and that’s where the, you know, where the magic is.” – 2017.07.28_TN_Higher ed workshop

Field notes, higher education session at Rockfest

On the back of each name tag, a person has the name of a band and space for 3 signatures. You are supposed to go around and find your bandmates and get them to sign your nametag. They also had a bunch of other things like taking a photo with people and these could earn you points for the raffle later in the conference. I was surprised by how quickly people got into it. And they would just announce, “Is anyone in The Police?” and run around. It worked to give people a first opening question and an excuse to interact. – 2017.07.28_FN_Rockfest_1_Ft.Collins

Recap of 2017, accessed from: https://www.littlekidsrock.org/mbsummit/	I arrived at this conference knowing no one, feeling unsure about how to fully implement modern band in my school, and having minimal experience playing guitar. After only three days, I made countless friends, learned and practiced how to inspire my students with modern band, and increased my guitar skills tenfold. Thank you LKR for reigniting my love of music and teaching. Can't wait until next year!!" -Hannah Fraser, Music teacher in Connecticut - Recap of 2017, accessed from: https://www.littlekidsrock.org/mbsummit/
Rockfest 2017 Transcription of video	you see so many talented music educators and artists in one circle is just fun and the wealth of knowledge everyone has - Kendall Bass, Music Teacher, Jersey City, NJ in Rockfest 2017 Transcription of video
Rockfest 2017 Transcription of video	The sharing is a very big piece. Rockfest is a place where people come together. Learn, grow, share, continue to advance in new directions. Radio Cremata, Assistant Professor music Education Ithaca College in Rockfest 2017 Transcription of promotional video
Rockfest 2017 Transcription of video	and all you do is rock out and share ideas. And you pump each other up and you're excited. You come excited you leave excited. It's what I live for and I've been to every one – Sonia Miler, Music teacher, Tampa Florida in Rockfest 2017 Transcription of video
Field notes from California workshop	Rockfest - because, "being a music teacher is lonely," as workshop leader Scott Burnstein said, to much agreement from the room of teachers. Source: Field notes: 2017.03.25_FN_101 wrkshp_Oakland
External professor interview, Ft. Collins	I was talking with the NafMe guy.. you talked to Mike (yeah).. I think this is just inevitable.. what's going on, it just has to happen. Just like grass that just has to come up off the dirt. It's pushing up. If higher ed wants to help, great. If nonprofits want to be a part of it, great. It's just like a place that's going to crack open. and if powers that be like Nafme or Washington or whatever don't want it, it's just going to .. it's going to pop up somewhere else. It has to. So I don't think .. I think we're just here in that time. I just happened to have been born around the time, met the guy who happened to be .. and Lucy Green's work I think was seminal. and that that also really pushed the profession forward. and now, all these people are reading all this scholarship and getting degrees in the profession and our profession is going to be completely full of new people. 2017.07.30_TN_Radio Cremata

Data Table II. Category Impact Work

Mechanism 1. Positioning: Positioning the new category in clear and relatable terms, reducing barriers to support

Article	<p>The concept of a fifth stream of music education is so new that, like Jazz Band before it (aka 'stage band') it lacks a definitive name. I have taken the liberty of naming it, for the time being, 'Modern Band.' Modern Band can and does bridge the unnecessary chasm existing between the music that our children experience in schools and the music they experience in their communities....- <i>"Rock Their Worlds: On the Need for a Fifth Stream of Music"</i></p> <p>"So, we start with sound before sight. Well, other approaches do that as well. Um, you know, Suzuki, elements of Orff. We, use the pentatonic scale in popular music solos. Well, so does Orff. you know. Some of the things we do are also best practices in these other approaches. and so, kind of drawing those connections for members of the higher education community I think is important because then they can see that what we are doing necessarily isn't this brand new thing.. it's, it's couched in um, a lot of what people consider best practice in music music ed. and it also brings in new things to the table, like maybe embracing approximation."</p> <p>(Talking about University logos on their website).. "...those are schools that have written modern band into the syllabus. So at least one of the courses that they offer would um, would uh include modern band. (...) to talk about modern band, in the same way they talk about Orff and Suzuki (...)"</p>
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External professor interview, Ft. Collins I am just a voice in the process. You know, promoting and being critical at the same time. and there's a lot of adopters here. There's a lot of people who I think adopt it after having had failure in some other way. and this seems to be like the next remedy, so there's a lot of that going on, too.

AM: What kind of failure do you mean?

RC: Like, maybe things didn't go well in their teaching or their experiences with their population. They're trying to find a remedy.

AM: Oh right, so inner city..?

Right. This saves their life, right. 2017.07.30_TN_Radio Cremata

External professor interview, Ft. Collins So that subversive thing I learned quickly is how it's packaged and in which way you say it and with whom you align. Did you notice - Ruth's perspective today which was so well-received and so obviously important - there's no doubt - was packaged neatly alongside core values that no one can disagree with. but what she really was saying was - popular music, we need to do this. Band, choir, orchestra - we need to get rid of, or at least somehow make space for this. and that's a hard argument to sell - but much better when you align it to arguments about freedom, oppression, and .. so I learned also through subversion that it's about not just finding one person you can align with or saying it gently, but aligning it to principles and values that really you can't argue against. So we've done a lot of that. 2017.07.30_TN_Radio Cremata

External professor interview, Ft. Collins It's oppressive when it's all about you. It's too much. Even if there's no mean intention. and pedagogy that is focused toward the front - the teacher is the centerpiece. and everybody else is just doing cogs in a wheel roll-playing, which is what orchestra or band or basically any of the secondary models for music we have is. That is oppressive. and it's also lacks comprehensive knowledge, or comprehensive skills that modern band affords. So I talk about oppression and comprehensive knowledge without giving.. and maybe you were part of the advocacy talks that we had... you know, so, we sometimes align ourselves with advocacy arguments that may not have anything to do with our true musical intentions, but it just turns out that maybe some of those advocacy points work. So that's a form of subversion that some of us do in the profession just to help the case. 2017.07.30_TN_Radio Cremata

External professor interview, Ft. Collins Then there's diversity issues, which I think today uh, you'd be stupid if you didn't address - number one and number two - align your cause to diversity because that's a very big piece. and this, I think this music is poised to do more to disrupt some of the exclusive problems that we have in music teaching and learning through the - especially with regard to who participates and what color you are or what, you know, even age you are in certain kinds of music making experiences... it's opening doors and that's more diverse .. So arguments based on diversity are subversive, it's calculated.. at least when I do it, it's always calculated. and there are always by accident. I began to realize - ooh, i like the issue of diversity, for me personally because I am.. but I never realized that I couldn't take that issue and attach it to this other issue that's also work, I mean, it makes my argument stronger. 2017.07.30_TN_Radio Cremata

Field notes, higher education session at Rockfest “(...) you're placing students in New York City. We're interested in access through those students, we're interested in diversity and equity and we're interested in inclusion and we feel like this can widen that door to music participation. Everyone's on board with that. No one is against diversity. Everyone understands that we need to provide access. You know, these are obvious things. so, coming at it from that angle, you know, I think it's really powerful. – Bryan Powell. 2017.07.28_Highered workshop

External professor interview, Ft. Collins It's oppressive when it's all about you. It's too much. Even if there's no mean intention. and pedagogy that is focused toward the front - the teacher is the centerpiece. and everybody else is just doing cogs in a wheel roll-playing, which is what orchestra or band or basically any of the secondary models for music we have is. That is oppressive. and it's also lacks comprehensive knowledge, or comprehensive skills that modern band affords. So I talk about oppression and comprehensive knowledge without giving.. and maybe you were part of the advocacy talks that we had... you know, so, we sometimes align ourselves with advocacy arguments that may not have anything to do with our true musical intentions, but it just turns out that maybe some of those advocacy points work. So that's a form of subversion that some of us do in the profession just to help the case. 2017.07.30_TN_Radio Cremata

External professor interview, Ft. Collins So that subversive thing I learned quickly is how it's packaged and in which way you say it and with whom you align. Did you notice - Ruth's perspective today which was so well-received and so obviously important - there's no doubt - was packaged neatly alongside core values that no one can disagree with. but what she really was saying was - popular music, we need to do this. Band, choir, orchestra - we need to get rid of, or at least somehow make space for this. and that's a hard argument to sell - but much better when you align it to arguments about freedom, oppression, and .. so I learned also through subversion that it's about not just f

one person you can align with or saying it gently, but aligning it to principles and values that really you can't argue against. S
we've done a lot of that. 2017.07.30_TN_Radio Cremata

Mechanism 2. Out-sourcing: Designing interactions and resources to encourage adoption and adaptation

Field note from Rockfest	During lunch, you could wander around a bunch of posters. This was yet another opportunity for teachers to present their work. There were some based on similar breakout sessions. There were handouts of sheet music. Through this, they showcase and leverage teachers' work and also provide an outlet for teachers to share and gain some recognition, be a little elevated on a higher level. – 2017.07.30_FN_Rockfest_3_Ft.Collins
Field note from Rockfest	I sat in on a session led by Chicago teacher Arturo Fuerte. He commands a class of roughly 25 teachers, explaining how he does assessment in his class and leading a discussion on the variety of approaches in the room. 2017.07.31_FN_Rockfest_4_Ft.Collins
Report	“As with any pedagogy, “Music As A Second Language” is a tool for your teaching tool-belt, a spice for your instructional skillet. Please season your classes with it to suit your taste.”- <i>Intro letter to Music as a Second Language</i>
CEO interview, Skype	if students are being kept from their musical natures by the way that public school music programs are structured – couldn't we fix that? instead of having some outside providers come in , couldn't the system itself address it so that that problem, and then ultimately along with my organization just go away. 2017.09.11_TN_Dave Wish

Mechanism 3. Moving: Leveraging the emotions and shared passions surrounding music; the particular context helps build connections between people and organizations

CEO interview, Skype	At Rockfest, there was a Battle of the Bands that encouraged mixing and team-building, adhoc drum circles, and sing-alongs in the middle of speeches. Guitars were available for the whole event for those who didn't travel with an instrument. (add citation from fieldnotes) Training workshops started with music and a round of ‘who's your favorite artist' with loud responses encouraged ‘Amen! Jimi Hendrix is the Man’ (add citation from fieldnotes)
Modern Band Summit website	I know that music is a transformational part of what it means to be a human being and the proof is everywhere. There is no society that doesn't have music, um, and you know, again, music moves us all whether we're students or not students or kids or adults. So, to me, the work we do will be successful when it becomes inconceivable that there would be music education happening that didn't leverage the cultural capital of the students it served. - at least as a part of what it offered. It would be inconceivable that music education programs would not be as diverse as the students that attend them. It would be inconceivable to me that people would think that music comes from music class um, and not to music class. Right. um, the truth is actually both. If a teacher is coming with whatever western art music or jazz sure you can bring that to the class. I assume that they can disseminate that from the class. but that doesn't help, what about all the kids that bring music to the class.. 017.09.11_TN_Dave Wish
Rockfest 2017 Transcription of video	“[This conference] reminds music teachers of why we we chose this profession in the first place. To be creative and have fun. To build teams and motor-skills. To share our passion and love for the Universal Language of Music and to make it accessible to ALL!” -Iraida Montijo, Music teacher in Miami, FLRecap of 2017, accessed from: https://www.littlekidsrock.org/mbsummit/
Teacher Facebook group	Just the environment.. the fact that you can just start jamming with somebody and connect with them on that level, musically... people want to make music together.” - Albert Harrah, music teacher, Dallas, TX in Rockfest 2017 Transcription of video
	(Name withheld): Seeking more advice because the advice I get from this fb group has been the best I've gotten all year! Once all your students have their parts down, what process do you use to put it all together? My 4th graders are learning "Best Day of My Life" uke and singing, 5th graders "Oye Como Va" for MRB and 6th graders "Just the Way You Are" for MRB. They can play their parts individually and in pairs but when it comes to putting it all together as a big group they are getting lost and my organization is lacking. Thinking about maybe putting together videos for them to play along with but I'm not sure how to best do that and also not sure how to go about showing it to them (have tried 5th graders playing along with "Oye Como Va" recording and they still get lost). What do you do that works? Facebook group post 2018.02.28

Mechanism 4. Receding: Fading the organization slowly, setting the stage for withdrawal

Field notes from workshop	Our overall goal is to put ourselves out of business” – Keith H. at 101 workshop – 2017.03.25_FN_101 wrkshp_Oakland
Teacher Facebook group	SH: Thanks for watching that video. If there’s a hit that your kids love that you’d like us to discuss, let us know in the comments. SB: Or better yet, create your own version and share it with the teachers on the Little Kids Rock facebook page. SE: After all, you are the real super stars.” - <i>Last lines of “The Breakdown – Episode 3: Havana by Camila Cabello” ideo posted on “Little Kids Rock Teachers” Facebook group by Spencer Hale, Admin December 1 at 9:42pm</i>
Field notes from dinner with board members, staff and teachers in Oakland	The organization itself is changing its name.. they aren’t sure to what yet. – as of July 2017.
Supporting, but not driving institutional efforts to drive new category	So that’s why um, my job is, as Directof of Higher Education, is solely to kind of work with our higher ed partners and not tell you what you need or not say that music ed is broken and we’re here to fix it. – Bryan Powell, 2017.07.28_TN_Higher ed workshop
Field notes, higher education session at Rockfest	This is going to be the fourth time that I’ve said it, but I just want to emphasize it .. we don’t want to preach to our higher education partners, saying “this is what you need and this is what you should do.” We want to listen first and say, “what are the resources you need? What are you struggling with? How and .. most of the time it’s going to be like, ‘oh, you should talk to Cassandra because she’s doing that.. you should talk to Ithaca, .. USF.. we want to help you make those connections. – Bryan Powell. 2017.07.28_TN_Higher ed workshop
Chicago Music Expanded Initiative 2017	Our classes are known as “Modern Band” and Little Kids Rock is the original Modern Band pioneer. Chicago Public Schools have officially adopted Modern Band as part of its musical course offerings and it now takes its place alongside existing music classes such as chorus, concert band and orchestra. By offering Modern Band, the district has been able to increase the number of students participating in music classes. Importantly, many of the students who benefit from Modern Band would likely not participate in existing programs. The program is currently offered at over one hundred and forty area schools. Over two hundred teachers have been trained and equipped and together they have served over seventy thousand Chicago Public School students. - Chicago Music Expanded Initiative 2017
Teacher Facebook group	Teacher-instigated FaceBook conversations about how to help grow Modern Band Teacher A: (explaining how a conference speaker talked about modern band): I thought he might be poking the beast too soon since we are in the beginning of this revolution. Thoughts? Teacher B (in response to ongoing conversation about a conference speaker who advocated): I think Modern Band is highly adaptable. I’ve begun to incorporate wind instruments in my class because some students are fortunate to have traditional band and MB. Also, everyone doesn’t want to play guitar. As far as song choices go, I venture beyond the 4Chords app and LKR song book sometimes. The main thing is to remember the limitless nature of this course. Response by teacher A: Yes. This guy was a professor of music ed and hadn’t ever taught modern band...” - Facebook group discussion 2018.02.15

CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to understand different aspects of value – from what is valued or suppressed in the emerging field of impact investing, to what valuation concepts can mean for studies in non-market settings and how an organization could use the concept of categories as a way to create impact. In the process, it advances knowledge about the rationalization of the social sector. These studies make several advances to theorizing around institutions and approaches to social issues and also raises new questions.

The first paper addresses questions about what could be lost as fields rationalize and how that occurs through a process of suppression. It identifies pathways to domination and explains the concept of field ideologies. This work helps us to understand an emerging field from an external perspective on the field level. Further research could take a more actor-centric approach. In the paper, we identified that impact investors do not yet know which practices will, “put them on the map.” They struggle to move from a field of tools to a meaningful, well-defined and effective ‘movement.’ Research could investigate impact investing’s role in substantive industry domains. What have they actually done on renewables, for example, and where are the opportunities? Further work could investigate how impact investors further establish the field. The reputation of impact investing as a field of practice is at stake. How field actors manage this is of potential relevance to all organizations trying to balance social and environmental goals with economic imperatives. How do impact investors widen the boundary of mainstream finance while managing legitimacy? Engaging in impact investing is also a matter of reputation for some firms and also for individuals. Further work could investigate different dimensions of reputation.

Investigating these topics could involve looking at boundary work as value creation work, drawing on economic sociology discussions of value and valuation.

The second paper identifies how rationalization can be studied from a place of concern, but also from the perspective that rationalization brings new ways of working that enable new opportunities. This paper itself offers many suggestions for future research. Further work could involve a full structured review.

The third paper illustrates ideas imagined through the second paper with an empirical case study. The paper demonstrates that categories can be a way to scale and to change structures. Beyond the future research ideas articulated in the paper, this work suggests a few areas of interest for future research. For one, comparative research on organizations that undergo processes of rationalization and professionalization vs. those that are ‘born into it’ is warranted. I originally set out to do a comparison between two cases: one that adopted impact measurement and changed in the process and one that was ‘born rational’ and had a different relationship to their impact and how they worked. I conducted preliminary research on a community-focused organization in the UK. However, I found that measurement was only one part of the changes they were undergoing. It would be impossible to attribute changes simply to measurement because measurement was only one piece of an overall professionalization story that involved extensive changes. They were streamlining their strategy not to react to measures, but to have more focus and plan for the future. They were preparing for the retirement of founders, trying to generate revenue and establishing themselves in a new central location, which changed their beneficiaries and the community in different new ways. Though I could not do a comparison, what this early research showed was that professionalization and rationalization trends are not easy to unpick. An

organization implementing some new processes or going through certain changes is likely to be going through others. Future research may rather investigate the dimensions of organizational transitions from the bottom-up and trace how the organization as a whole changes and if any consequences can be identified on its beneficiary community.

From the initial field work, interviews and observations, some comparisons and contrasts between a ‘turning rational’ and a ‘born rational’ organization can be identified. Employees at both organizations shared deep passion for their work. The employees in the ‘rational’ and national LKR case were no less interested, engaged or caring for their communities than those in the community-focused organization. The community-focused organization lacked certain competencies, but sought consultants to help.

One interesting area of contrast came from the topic of place. The community organization had recently relocated from a location closer to its main beneficiary community to a central downtown location. The new location encouraged the beneficiary community to venture into the downtown area and had the effect of broadening their horizons while also encouraging drop-ins from curious passersby. Research could investigate the role of place in social impact strategies and how local and place-based interventions can differentiate from national projects.

Beyond social settings

Further research could build on this body of work in private or public settings. Paper 1 raises questions about fields in phases of emergence. Further research could extend this idea in new ways. More work is needed to understand how field ideologies and other ‘bits and pieces of institutions’ (Schneiberg & Clemens, 2006) develop and what’s at stake.

Future research could investigate value and valuation in this process rather than the role of power, as we did in the paper. For example: How are human and environmental needs valued and thus embedded in organizations and in fields? How does valuation matter for establishing certain ideas as dominant over others? How do different factors (national, cultural, ideological, organizational forms) influence the use (or lack of use) of valuation devices?

Further research building on Paper 2 could do a review of value and valuation and institutions. What roles do valuation devices have in shaping institutions? How do value and valuation work *as* institutions? How do these roles intersect with social and environmental value?

APPENDIX

Summary of main objectives and findings

Paper	Objectives	Findings
<p>1. Systemic Power in the Field of Impact Investing: Pathways to domination and emerging field ideologies</p> <p>(Equal authorship with Lisa Hehenberger and Johanna Mair)</p>	<p>How is domination naturalized? How can we surface underlying sets of ideas held by groups of actors in emerging fields of practice in order to study the process of domination?</p>	<p>We uncovered three modes of suppression that worked to naturalize domination in an emerging field, leading to structuration and institutionalization.</p> <p>We introduce the idea of field ideologies where power is located in relationships among ideas.</p> <p>We also bring new analytical tools together to detect and uncover difficult-to-see processes.</p>
<p>2. The Vocabulary of Valuation: Tools for investigating the changing nature of social purpose organizing</p>	<p>What areas of future research emerge from an integration of valuation literature with management work on socially- and environmentally-driven organizations?</p>	<p>Valuation concepts are relevant for understanding what can happen to organizations undergoing rationalization processes as well as for understanding dynamics among a new type of ‘born rational’ organization</p>
<p>3. Categories as Impact Drivers: How a social-purpose organization enables the emergence of a new category as a means to scale and as a mode of institutional change</p>	<p>How does an organization create a category as an impact driver?</p>	<p>Categories can be tools for scaling and for change. The case organization underwent interlinked processes of impact reactivity and category impact work.</p>

List of papers

This thesis includes three papers:

1. Systemic Power in the Field of Impact Investing: Pathways to domination and emerging field ideologies
(Equal authorship with Lisa Hehenberger and Johanna Mair)
2. The Vocabulary of Valuation: Tools for investigating the changing nature of social purpose organizing
3. Categories as Impact Drivers: How a social-purpose organization enables the emergence of a new category as a means to scale and as a mode of institutional change