

Walking on Eggshells

The Balancing Act of Temporal Work in a Setting of Culinary Change

Cappelen, Sophie Marie

Document Version

Final published version

Publication date:

2021

License

Unspecified

Citation for published version (APA):

Cappelen, S. M. (2021). *Walking on Eggshells: The Balancing Act of Temporal Work in a Setting of Culinary Change*. Copenhagen Business School [Phd]. PhD Series No. 18.2021

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ISSN 0906-6934

Print ISBN: 978-87-7568-012-2
Online ISBN: 978-87-7568-013-9

WALKING ON EGGSHELLS: THE BALANCING ACT OF TEMPORAL WORK IN A SETTING OF CULINARY CHANGE

PhD Series 18.2021

Sophie Marie Cappelen

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EGGSHELLS

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CBS

COPENHAGEN BUSINESS SCHOOL

HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

Walking on Eggshells

The balancing act of temporal work in a setting of
culinary change

PhD dissertation

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Word count: 59.564

Sophie Marie Cappelen
Walking on Eggshells: The balancing act of
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1st edition 2021
PhD Series 18.2021

© Sophie Marie Cappelen

ISSN 0906-6934

Print ISBN: 978-87-7568-012-2
Online ISBN: 978-87-7568-013-9

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Table of contents

List of figures and tables.....	5
Acknowledgements.....	6
Abstract.....	8
Dansk resumé.....	10
Preface.....	12
1. Introduction.....	13
The temporality of food organizing.....	13
Research question.....	14
Research contexts.....	16
The structure of the dissertation.....	17
2. Working with time and temporality.....	20
Organizational time and temporality.....	20
Temporal work.....	24
Temporal work: Working the past by constructing historical narratives.....	24
Temporal work: Using the past to construct organizational identity.....	27
Temporal work: Managing temporal tensions.....	30
Avenues and questions to pursue.....	34
3. Methodology.....	37
Epistemology and philosophy of science.....	37
Conducting a qualitative case study.....	38
Introduction to the study and core constructs.....	40
Data collection.....	40
Data collection: Paper 1.....	41
Data collection: Papers 2 and 3.....	45
Ethical and moral considerations.....	51
Analysing, coding, and theorizing the data.....	53

4. Paper 1: Inventing culinary heritage through strategic historical ambiguity.....	55
5. Paper 2: Hijacked by hope: Dynamics of mission drift and identity dilution in a nonprofit organization.....	86
6. Paper 3: Trapped in a vicious circle: Unfolding the unintended consequences of temporal work.....	111
7. Discussion and concluding remarks.....	143
The balancing act of temporal work.....	148
Implications of the findings and opportunities for future research.....	152
Collected references.....	155
Appendices.....	172
Appendix A. Co-author declarations.....	172
Appendix B. Examples of interview guides.....	176
Appendix C. Photographs from the field.....	179
Empirical setting 1 (Turkish culinary movement).....	179
Empirical setting 2 (Danish school garden organization).....	180
Appendix D. New Anatolian Kitchen Manifesto.....	181

List of tables, figures and charts

- **Table 1.** Overview of research questions (pp. 17-18)
 - **Table 2.** Overview of data collected: Empirical setting 1 (pp. 44-46)
 - **Table 3.** Overview of data collected: Empirical setting 2 (pp. 50-51)
 - **Table 4.** Paper 1: Overview of data (pp. 64-65)
 - **Table 5.** Paper 2: Overview of data (pp. 95-96)
 - **Table 6.** Overview of shifts in temporal focus: Events, transitions and turning points (pp. 102-103)
 - **Table 7.** Overview of data (p. 121)
 - **Table 8.** Paper 3: Coding tree (p. 124)
 - **Table 9.** Overview of papers and findings (pp. 145-146)
 - **Table 10.** Theoretical and empirical contributions (p. 147)
-
- **Figure 1.** Paper 1: Coding tree (p. 67)
 - **Figure 2.** The three forms of strategic ambiguity in relation to historical narratives (p. 77)
 - **Figure 3.** Total number of school gardens (p. 98)
 - **Figure 4.** Temporal focus and stages of identity search and dilution (p. 106)
 - **Figure 5.** Temporal shifts leading to hybridity imbalance (p. 133)
-
- **Chart 1.** Chronological overview of ongoing and planned projects (pp. 129-130)

Acknowledgements

As I am writing this, my time as a PhD student is coming to an end. I feel genuinely grateful for these years, which have allowed me to grow both professionally and intellectually as well as personally. It has been an exciting and challenging journey. Some days - particularly during the Covid lockdown - have been full of doubt and confusion, but mostly these years have been filled with cheerful and stimulating moments.

There are numerous people that have been critical in supporting me in finalising this dissertation. First and foremost, my wonderful supervisor Jesper Strandgaard Pedersen has played a vital role in this process. His encouragement, optimism and exceptional ability of understanding and supporting even the most half-baked ideas has been invaluable throughout this time. I could not have wished for a better supervisor to guide me through this journey. I would also like to thank Tor Hernes for supervision in the early stages of the project. His contagious enthusiasm for studying issues related to time and temporality has greatly contributed to lighting my curiosity towards this research field. Being part of the Centre of Organizational Time and its regular reading group has allowed me to take part in stimulating conversations and I would like to thank all the members of COT for having contributed to this. Moreover, I owe many thanks to my wonderful colleagues at the Department of Organization at CBS. Being 'locked out' of the university for much of the past year has made it even more clear to me, how much I have enjoyed being part of this community.

During the process of finalising this dissertation, I have greatly appreciated and benefited from the constructive feedback received at various conferences and seminar presentations. In particular, I would like to thank Roy Suddaby, Silviya Svejenova, Juliane Reinecke and Joana Geraldi for providing me with excellent comments and suggestions at my first and second Work in Progress seminars. Further, I am grateful to have had the opportunity to spend a semester at SCANCOR, Stanford University, where I made and gained new friends and learnings, both on and off campus.

I would also like to thank all my informants for inviting me into their organizational spheres. Without their openness and willingness to share their thoughts, ambitions and doubts I would

not have been able to write this dissertation. I truly appreciate their trust and interest in my work.

Finally, to my family and my friend Maria, a big thank you for all your support and encouragement along the way. And lastly, a special salute goes out to my boyfriend Jakob and my dog Gregers, who have done an excellent job in replacing my colleagues while working from home. Your encouragement, love and support have meant the world to me.

Sophie Marie Cappelen

Frederiksberg, April 2021

Abstract

This dissertation investigates the temporal aspects of food organizing by examining two organizational settings in which actors aim to promote sustainable food initiatives. While a broad number of organizational perspectives applied to study the culinary field, the role of time and temporality in has remained largely implicit in these discussions. Studying how culinary organizations and organizational actors strategically engage with time, the dissertation is guided by the following question: How do organizations and organizational actors construct and manage temporal structures in a setting of culinary change?

The findings of the dissertation are based on a qualitative case study, conducted in two different empirical settings that each capture organizational efforts to promote sustainable food initiatives. Both studies reflect an ethnographic approach, consisting of interviews, observations, and organizational documents. The dissertation consists of three papers that each aim to capture how organizational actors engage in temporal work in different and complementary ways and settings. In doing so, the dissertation aims to extend current theoretical understanding of how time constitutes an important resource for organizational action, while also highlighting unintended consequences of temporal work.

The first paper of the dissertation outlines how organizational actors in a Turkish culinary movement employ strategic ambiguity to construct legitimate historical narratives of a common cultural heritage. The study identifies three forms of ambiguity that the organizational actors use to construct and perform a vaguely defined past in the present. Drawing on these findings, the paper theorizes a link between historical narratives and strategic ambiguity by introducing the notion of ‘strategic historical ambiguity’.

The second paper illustrates how an enduring, one-sided temporal focus on the future results in organizational memory loss and identity dilution. Studying a Danish nonprofit school garden organization, the study examines how temporal focus shapes processes of organizational identity construction. The results of the paper show that temporal focus signifies a key mechanism for organizational remembering and identity construction, and that temporal

identity narratives have the potential to hijack organizational direction. The findings contribute to research on organizational memory by focusing on unintended actions and the consequences of silencing or forgetting the past.

Based on the same dataset as the foregoing study, the third and final paper of the dissertation examines how project-based organizations balance conflicting temporal structures. This paper contributes to discussions on temporal structures and tensions in project-based organizations by suggesting the term temporal hybridity. The results of the study demonstrate how failing to balance and maintain temporal hybridity trigger unintended organizational consequences. The study identifies two temporal shifts in which the balance between the two primary temporal structures of the organization is altered.

Together, the papers of the dissertation demonstrate how organizations and organizational actors aiming to initiate culinary change, construct and manage temporal structures by engaging in temporal work. Drawing on a perspective of time as a social construct, I find that organizations and organizational actors engaged in temporal work to construct and manage various forms of temporal structures, such as historical narratives, organizational memory, and temporal hybridity. Across the papers, the findings show that temporal work denotes a balancing act in which organizations must learn to embrace and juggle multiple—and often conflicting—temporal demands and pressures. This means that efforts to construct and manage temporal structures go hand in hand. As such, temporal tensions are not something to be resolved but, rather, an inherent part of organizational life that actors must cope with continually.

The thesis contributes to discussions of temporal structures by showing how organizations and organizational actors in a culinary setting both succeed and struggle to maintain this balance when engaging temporal work. More specifically, the dissertation contributes to discussions on organizational uses of the past, organizational forgetting and remembering, and to literature on temporal tensions.

Danske resumé

Denne afhandling undersøger de tidsmæssige aspekter af madorganisering ved at undersøge to organisatoriske omgivelser, hvor aktører arbejder for at fremme bæredygtige madinitiativer. Mens et bredt antal organisatoriske perspektiver anvendt til at studere det kulinariske felt, har tid og temporalitet stort set været implicit i disse diskussioner. Gennem at undersøge, hvordan kulinariske organisationer og organisatoriske aktører strategisk interagerer med tid, guides afhandlingen af følgende spørgsmål: Hvordan konstruerer og styrer organisationer og organisationsaktører tidsmæssige strukturer i en ramme af kulinariske forandringer?

Afhandlingens fund er baseret på en kvalitativ case-undersøgelse, der er udført i to forskellige empiriske omgivelser. Begge undersøgelser afspejler en etnografisk tilgang bestående af interviews, observationer og organisatoriske dokumenter. Afhandlingen består af tre artikler, der hver har til formål at fange, hvordan organisatoriske aktører engagerer sig i tidsmæssigt arbejde ('temporal work') på forskellige og komplementære måder. Dermed har afhandlingen til formål at udvide den nuværende teoretiske forståelse af, hvordan tid udgør en vigtig ressource for organisatorisk handling, samtidig med at den fremhæver utilsigtede konsekvenser af tidsmæssigt arbejde.

Afhandlingens første artikel skitserer, hvordan organisatoriske aktører i en tyrkisk kulinarisk bevægelse anvender strategisk tvetydighed for at konstruere legitime historiske fortællinger om en fælles kulturarv. Undersøgelsen identificerer tre former for tvetydighed, som de organisatoriske aktører bruger til at konstruere en vagt defineret fortid i nutiden. På baggrund af disse fund teoretiserer artiklen en sammenhæng mellem historiske fortællinger og strategisk tvetydighed ved at introducere begrebet 'strategisk historisk tvetydighed'.

Den anden artikel illustrerer, hvordan et vedvarende, ensidig tidsmæssigt fokus på fremtiden resulterer i organisatorisk hukommelsestab og identitetsfortynding. Studiet af en dansk nonprofit skolehaveorganisation undersøger, hvordan tidsmæssigt fokus former organisatorisk identitetskonstruktion. Resultaterne af undersøgelsen viser, at temporalt fokus betegner en nøglemekanisme til organisatorisk erindring og identitetskonstruktion, og at tidsmæssige identitetsfortællinger har potentialet til at kapre den organisatorisk retning. Fundene bidrager til forskning i organisatorisk hukommelse ved at fokusere på utilsigtede handlinger og konsekvenserne af at tie eller glemme fortiden.

Baseret på det samme datasæt som den foregående undersøgelse, studerer afhandlingens tredje og sidste artikel, hvordan projektbaserede organisationer afvejer modstridende tidsmæssige strukturer. Denne artikel bidrager til diskussioner om tidsmæssige strukturer og spændinger i projektbaserede organisationer ved at foreslå udtrykket 'tidsmæssig hybriditet'. Resultaterne af studiet viser, hvordan manglende balance og vedligeholdelse af tidsmæssig hybriditet udløser utilsigtede organisatoriske konsekvenser. Undersøgelsen identificerer to tidsmæssige skift, hvor balancen mellem de to primære tidsmæssige strukturer i organisationen ændres.

Sammen viser afhandlingens artikler og resultater, hvordan organisationer og organisatoriske aktører konstruerer og styrer timelige strukturer ved at engagere sig i 'temporal work'. Med udgangspunkt i et perspektiv der forstår tid som en social konstruktion finder jeg, at organisationer og organisatoriske aktører beskæftiger sig med tidsmæssigt arbejde for at konstruere og styre forskellige former for tidsmæssige strukturer, såsom historiske fortællinger, organisatorisk hukommelse og tidsmæssig hybriditet. På tværs af artiklerne viser resultaterne, at tidsmæssigt arbejde betegner en afbalanceringshandling, hvor organisationer skal lære at omfavne og jonglere flere - og ofte modstridende - tidsmæssige krav og pres. Det betyder, at bestræbelser på at konstruere og styre tidsmæssige strukturer går hånd i hånd. Som sådan er tidsmæssige spændinger ikke noget, der skal løses, men snarere en iboende del af det organisatoriske liv, som aktører konstant skal klare.

Afhandlingen bidrager til diskussioner om tidsmæssige strukturer ved at vise, hvordan organisationer og organisatoriske aktører i kulinariske omgivelser både lykkes og kæmper for at opretholde denne balance, når de deltager i tidsligt arbejde. Mere specifikt bidrager afhandlingen til diskussioner om organisatoriske anvendelser af fortiden, organisatorisk hukommelse og til litteratur om tidsmæssige spændinger.

Preface

This dissertation consists of three empirical papers, which have either been published or submitted to academic, peer-reviewed journals. Earlier versions of the papers have been presented in various forums, including international conferences and seminars. The details of each paper are listed below.

The paper **‘Inventing Culinary Heritage Through Strategic Historical Ambiguity’** (Chapter 4) is an empirical paper which I co-authored with my supervisor Professor Jesper Strandgaard Pedersen, Department of Organization, Copenhagen Business School. The paper has been published in *Organizational Studies* (2021, vol. 42, no. 2: pp. 223–244) and is part of the Special Issue ‘Food Organizing Matters: Paradoxes, Problems and Potentialities’. I presented earlier versions of the paper at the 12th Organization Studies Summer Workshop in Crete (2017); at the SCANCOR-Weatherhead Center Conference, Harvard University (2018); at the SCANCOR seminar series, Stanford University (2019); and at the OT@IOA paper workshop series, Copenhagen Business School (2019).

The paper **‘Hijacked by Hope: Dynamics of Mission Drift and Identity Dilution in a Nonprofit Organization’** (Chapter 5) is an empirical paper, also co-authored with Professor Jesper Strandgaard Pedersen, Department of Organization, Copenhagen Business School. This paper has been published in *RAE-Revista de Administração de Empresas [Journal of Business Management]* (2021, vol. 61, no. 1: pp. 1–15) and is part of a Special Issue titled ‘History, Memory and the Past in Management and Organization Studies’. I presented earlier versions of the paper at the LAEMOS Conference in Buenos Aires (2018); at the New Institutional Workshop in Uppsala (2019); at the 35th EGOS Colloquium in Edinburgh (2019); and at the ‘Imagine.. Creative Industries Research Centre’ seminar series, Copenhagen Business School.

Finally, the paper **‘Trapped in a Vicious Circle: Unfolding the Unintended Consequences of Temporal Work’** (Chapter 6) is a single-authored, empirical paper. This paper has been submitted to the *Scandinavian Journal of Management* and awaits critical review. I presented earlier versions of the paper at the 10th International Symposium on Process Organization Studies (2018); at the New Institutional Workshop in Uppsala (2019); and at the 35th EGOS Colloquium in Edinburgh (2019).

1. Introduction

The temporality of food organizing

Whereas food can be a source of conflict and contestation within and across communities, it is also often cited as the cultural or social glue of our societies (Kniffin, Wansink, Devine & Sobal, 2015). Culinary products and their organization play key roles in the performance of traditions and ceremonial passages and in the mundane practices of our everyday routines. Because food is such a central element in our lives, the organizing practices and processes behind its production and consumption therefore greatly influence how we shape and develop societies (Steel, 2013). Yet, in recent decades gloomy images and reports have regularly flooded scientific journals and media outlets, displaying pressing reminders of the detrimental and unsustainable state of contemporary food systems (Willett et al., 2019). Obesity, malnutrition, and environmental devastation are but a few of the consequences of both global and local culinary organizing, which are in desperate need of change. While current food systems have been deemed key contributors to pollution and environmental devastation, some people have nevertheless suggested that food organizing holds many of the solutions to our problems. In trying to address such issues, a growing number of organizational responses promote innovative, sustainable approaches to cultivating and eating food. Such organizational efforts leverage, shape, and transform the ways in which food organizing unfolds, and reveal how both food organizing and organizations are closely interlinked (Moser, Reinecke, den Hond, Svejenova, & Croidieu, 2021).

In line with this development, the culinary field has received growing attention from organizational and management scholars (e.g., Moser et al., 2021). Within this research stream, scholars have applied several theoretical perspectives to showcase the many paradoxes, problems, and potentialities associated with the organizing of food. Studies have focused on a broad array of organizational issues, ranging from legitimacy and category work (Delmestri & Greenwood, 2016; Byrkjeflot, Strandgaard Pedersen & Svejenova, 2013; Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2005; Svejenova, Mazza, & Planellas, 2007), to how chefs develop their creativity (Svejenova, Planellas, & Vives, 2010; Stierand, 2015), innovative ambitions (Petruzzelli & Savino, 2014; Opazo, 2012; Lane & Lup, 2015), and entrepreneurial skills (Bouty & Gomez, 2013). Other scholars have focused on how food activists can initiate the emergence of social

movements (Weber, Heinze, & DeSoucey, 2008), gastronationalism (DeSoucey, 2010; Hiroko, 2008), or new identities (Ashforth & Reingen, 2014; Leitch, 2003; Rao et al., 2003). These studies have demonstrated not only that food organizing represents an interesting setting for studying organizationally relevant issues but also that organizational scholars have much to learn from studying this context.

Despite the various perspectives applied to the culinary field, the role of time and temporality in culinary and food organizing has remained largely implicit in previous theoretical discussions, with a few exceptions (Mattilia, Mesiranta, Närvänen, Koskinen & Sutinen, 2019; Reinecke & Ansari, 2015; Moser et al., 2021). This is surprising given the many temporal dimensions inherent in food and its organization. For example, the temporal aspect of culinary organizing is tightly intertwined with the social dimension of eating and the history of culinary practices and cultures, whereby food functions as identity markers for groups and collectives. Moreover, these dimensions include seasonality and the acceleration or prolonging of growth cycles, the durability of products and halting of decomposition, and various sustainability issues. Organizations' ability to manage and manipulate these dimensions has been important for shaping the culinary field. While time constrains the organizing of food due to the obvious fact of food's perishability, there are multiple ways for organizations to shape the temporal organizing of the culinary field. This thesis aims to probe the temporal aspects of food organizing by examining how culinary actors and organizations deal with time and temporality in their efforts to reach their goals. To do so, I ask the following question: ***How do organizations and organizational actors construct and manage temporal structures in a setting of culinary change?***

The question I pose assumes that the organization of time matters when organizations and organizational actors try to initiate change in their fields. Numerous organizational researchers have argued this point, by showing how managing and changing temporal structures—that is, temporal assumptions and norms (Rowell, Gustafsson, & Clemente 2016)—can shape organizational pathways and opportunities (e.g., Schultz & Hernes, 2020). Such temporal assumptions and norms may relate to what actors perceive to be the appropriate pace, expected sequences, durations, and rates of recurrence in organizational activities and processes (Barley, 1988; Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence & Tushman, 2001). Other scholars have focused on the

relationship among the past, present, and future, to show how the construction of representations of the past may change an organization's identity (Hatch & Schultz, 2017), legitimacy (Lubinski, 2018), brand (Foster et al., 2011), or strategy (Schultz & Hernes, 2013, 2019). For example, Schultz and Hernes (2013) studied time in the form of material memory and found that revisiting the past enabled the construction of a new, future organizational vision. Similarly, Foster, Suddaby, Minkus and Wiebe (2011) showed how organizations construct historical narratives by drawing on national social memory assets to promote particular brand identities. These studies demonstrate not only the various ways in which scholars might investigate temporal structures (i.e., as rhythms, horizons, historical narratives, organizational memory, etc.), but they also exemplify the many approaches to managing temporal structures and assumptions for organizations' strategic benefit. These studies have showed how time, in its various forms and shapes, represents an important dimension of organizational life and that the organization of time might, in fact, hold the key to initiating or preventing change.

Within this stream of temporal research, the notion of temporal work (Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013) has been central to understanding how organizations modify or manage the temporal structures and assumptions that shape organizational life. For example, Kaplan and Orlikowski (2013) demonstrated how temporal work during a strategy-making process enabled organizational actors to negotiate and link different understandings of what had happened in the past, what was at stake in the present, and what actors assumed would occur in the future. Other studies have shown how engaging in temporal work allows organizations and organizational actors to influence and even alter temporal structures in ways that better align with their envisioned goals (Chreim, 2005) and cultural contexts (Reinecke & Ansari, 2015; Kim, Bansal & Haugh, 2019) or that ensure temporal fit between different organizational units (Ancona et al., 2001), functions (Ancona & Chong, 1997), or stakeholders (Gersick, 1994; Perez-Nordtvedt, Payne, Short & Kedia, 2008). These studies are just a few that highlight the strategic potential of temporal work, and while research has advanced significantly in terms of mapping the various forms and settings in which temporal work occurs, questions remain unanswered.

For instance, while previous studies of discursive forms of temporal work have demonstrated how organizations employ historical narratives as strategic tools (Foster, Coraiola, Suddaby, Kroezen & Chandler, 2017), we still have little knowledge of how organizational actors work to authenticate and legitimize such narratives. Moreover, we still know little about the limits and downsides of temporal work. Previous studies of temporal work largely focus on the intentional, purposeful action that drives such work. Because of this focus, the literature has, to a certain extent, overlooked the difficulty of managing underlying temporal structures and frames (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002).

Adopting a temporal lens, this dissertation studies how organizations and organizational actors aim to initiate culinary change. In doing so, I aim to discover the various ways in which time may be both a resource and a challenge in organizational efforts to change culinary organizing. The thesis thus seeks to advance scholarly and empirical understanding of how organizations and organizational actors in the culinary field engage in temporal work to construct or manage temporal structures.

Research contexts

The research contexts for studying how organizations and organizational actors construct and manage temporal structures include two culinary settings, one in Turkey and the other in Denmark. Both settings illustrate different forms of organizational efforts to promote and change culinary organizing, and these settings can be considered new types of initiatives that have emerged in response to how contemporary society produces and consumes food. Both organizational settings also emerged as offshoots from private ventures, but since their initiation, they have gained traction in what we can describe as grassroots settings, where they rely heavily on the backing and active support of the communities in which they operate. While there are several similarities in how the organizational settings emerged, there are also many distinctions regarding how they are organized and operate.

The first empirical setting explores an emerging culinary movement in Istanbul. This movement aims to promote a sustainable food agenda by inventing a new, regional cuisine inspired by old traditions. In doing so, the movement aspires to construct a culinary heritage and elevate the category of elite Turkish cooking. This category, called the New Anatolian

Kitchen (NAK), is driven by multiple individual and collective groups of actors who, together, strive to reconceptualise regional culinary heritage.

Whereas the first empirical setting depicts how multiple actors collectively feed into the process of constructing and defining culinary heritage, the second empirical setting centres on the work of one organization. Far removed from the elite kitchens of the Turkish gastro-entrepreneurs, the second setting describes the efforts of a nonprofit organization to revitalise the school garden movement in Denmark. This setting involves a nonprofit organization working closely with external funders and political institutions to establish a national network of school gardens. By establishing school gardens and initiating other food-related projects, the organization works to educate children about sustainable gardening and cooking through teaching in the school gardens.

I describe both research settings more extensively in Chapter 3, which covers methodology, and in Chapters 4–6, which present the empirical papers of this thesis.

Structure of the dissertation

To answer the overarching research question, the main chapters of the dissertation, Chapters 4–6, are each guided by a research question. These questions allow me to study how organizations and organizational actors construct and manage temporal structures in a setting of culinary change by examining different temporal structures in different empirical settings. Table 1 illustrates the research question and forms of temporal structures explored in Chapters 4–6.

Table 1. Overview of research questions

Chapter	Research question	Temporal structures as:
4: Inventing Culinary Heritage Through Strategic Historical Ambiguity	How do organizational actors use strategic ambiguity to construct legitimate historical narratives of a common cultural heritage?	Historical narratives
5: Hijacked by Hope: Dynamics of Mission Drift and Identity Dilution in a Nonprofit Organization	How does temporal focus shape processes of organizational identity construction?	Organizational memory

6: Trapped in a Vicious Circle: Unfolding the Unintended Consequences of Temporal Work	How do project-based organizations balance conflicting temporal structures?	Hybridity and tensions
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In Chapter 2, ‘Working with time and temporality’, I review and consolidate much of the literature on temporal work, which is relevant for this study and has formed the theoretical basis of the research. The chapter outlines how scholars have studied and defined organizational time, specifically temporal work, as “strategic efforts made by individual, collective or organizational actors to influence, sustain or redirect temporal structures or assumptions” (Bansal, Reinecke, Suddaby & Langley, 2019: 1). Considering temporal work as organizational efforts to manage or modify socially constructed temporal structures and narratives, I argue for the significance of temporal work in organizational uses of the past, processes of organizational remembering, organizational identity construction, and organizational hybridity. Finally, I identify central theoretical gaps that require further development and investigation.

In Chapter 3, ‘Methodology’, I describe my methodological strategies and concerns by outlining the course of actions and reflections that arose during case selection, data collection, and data analysis. I describe how the research design involves a qualitative case study approach, conducted in two different empirical settings that each capture organizational efforts to promote sustainable food consumption. Both studies reflect an ethnographic approach, consisting of interviews, observations, and organizational documents.

Following the methodological chapter, the subsequent chapters present the three empirical papers, which investigate different aspects of how organizations and organizational actors construct and manage temporal structures in settings of culinary change. These efforts all exemplify temporal work in different ways. The objective of this dissertation is therefore to examine the various ways in which culinary actors and organizations engage temporal work, and demonstrate the possibilities and challenges of such work.

In Chapter 4, the first paper, titled ‘Inventing Culinary Heritage Through Strategic Historical Ambiguity’, outlines how organizational actors in a Turkish culinary movement employ strategic ambiguity to construct legitimate historical narratives of a common cultural heritage.

The chapter is guided by the question, *How do organizational actors use strategic ambiguity to construct and legitimate historical narratives of a common cultural heritage?* I identify three forms of ambiguity that the organizational actors use to construct and perform a vaguely defined past in the present. Using these findings, I theorize a link between historical narratives and strategic ambiguity by introducing the notion of ‘strategic historical ambiguity’.

In Chapter 5, the second paper, ‘Hijacked by Hope: Dynamics of Mission Drift and Identity Dilution in a Nonprofit Organization’, illustrates how an enduring, one-sided temporal focus on the future results in organizational memory loss and identity dilution. Addressing the question, *How does temporal focus shape processes of organizational identity construction?*, the paper contributes to research on organizational memory by focusing on unintended actions and the consequences of silencing or forgetting the past. In this paper, I argue that temporal focus signifies a key mechanism for organizational remembering and identity construction, and temporal identity narratives have the potential to hijack organizational direction.

In Chapter 6, the third and final paper, ‘Trapped in a Vicious Circle: Unfolding the Unintended Consequences of Temporal Work’, asks the question, *How do project-based organizations balance conflicting temporal structures?* Through this study, I contribute to discussions on temporal structures and tensions in project-based organizations by suggesting the term temporal hybridity. I find how failure to balance and maintain temporal hybridity trigger unintended organizational consequences and identify two shifts in which the balance between the two primary temporal structures of the organization is tilted. The paper demonstrates how an inclination to prioritize short-term matters over long-term concerns may be related to the way in which powerful stakeholders impose and encourage particular temporal structures onto the organization it supports.

Chapter 7 returns to the overarching researching question posed in this chapter. Considering the findings of the three empirical papers, I discuss their theoretical and empirical contributions, before presenting an answer to my research question.

All references are listed at the end of the dissertations. In addition, chapter 4-6 also provide references at the end of each chapter.

2. Working with time and temporality

In this chapter, I summarize and discuss the research and key constructs that have informed my study. The purpose of this chapter is thus to synthesize and consolidate prior knowledge of temporal work, which forms the theoretical basis of my doctoral thesis.

In this thesis, I study how time constitutes both a resource and an obstacle in organizational efforts to promote sustainable food initiatives. I draw on a perspective of time as a social construct (Sorokin & Merton, 1937), expressed in various temporal structures such as historical narratives (Foster et al., 2017), organizational memories (Anteby & Molnár, 2012), and the short-term and long-term concerns (Slawinski & Bansal, 2015) of project-based organization (Bakker et al., 2016). While the following review is divided into different sections, note that several theoretical concepts and discussions interrelate and sometimes overlap.

The three papers in the dissertation aim to capture how organizational actors engage temporal work in different and complementary ways and settings. In doing so, the papers aim to extend our current theoretical understanding of how time constitutes an important resource for organizational action, while also highlighting unintended consequences of temporal work. This chapter presents the central questions and findings of prior research and suggests avenues requiring investigation. In the next section, I begin with a brief overview of the literature on organizational time and temporality, before discussing the research conducted on various forms of temporal work. I conclude the chapter by presenting avenues and questions to pursue.

Organizational time and temporality

Whereas organizational researchers have been interested in the role of time for decades (Schein, 1992; Butler, 1995), scholarly interest in organizational time and temporality has flourished since the beginning of the twenty-first century. Following Ancona, Okhuysen and Perlow's (2001) call to integrate temporal research, scholars have made significant progress. The growing research on time and temporality in management and organization studies has showed that time, in its various forms and shapes, represents an important dimension of organization life. Scholars disagree, however, on their conceptions of time, which range from

time as objective and linear to a more subjective, processual, and socially grounded phenomenon.

The conception that until recently has prevailed most in organizational and management studies is that of clock-based time. This notion considers time as homogenous, objective, linear, and uniform and is tightly linked to ideas of economic progress and rationalisation. Frederick W. Taylor, commonly viewed as the father of scientific management, developed his time and motion studies (Taylor, 1911/2004) grounded in the conception of clock time. These early theories presented an approach to determine the amount of time required to most efficiently solve specific organizational tasks. By imposing a standardized and linear logic on temporality, time could thus be translated and commodified as external, quantifiable markers that guide and control organizational activities (Hassard, 2001). The perception of time as a scarce resource emerges in common expressions that warn us against ‘wasting time’, largely because ‘time is money’. While Taylorism and the principles of scientific management (Taylor, 1911) were introduced more than a century ago, this view prevails in recent perspectives such as Lean Management theories, primarily interested in how organizations can streamline activities to improve efficiency and thus ‘save time’ (Al-Araidah, Momani, Khasawneh, & Momami, 2010; Fetter & Freeman, 1986; Locke, 1982). Similarly, project studies have traditionally regarded time as linear, scarce, and valuable, in which “time is used ... in a linear form, to lead the way from a starting point to termination” (Lundin & Söderholm, 1995: 440).

The linear, objective notion of clock time assumes the past, present, and future to be distinct, and regards the past as irreparable, the present as transient, and the future as infinite and exploitable (Hassard, Decker, & Rowlinson, 2020: 173). This differs from what scholars have called *processual* or *event-based time* (Chia, 2002; Hernes, 2014), which draws on work by philosophers such as Heidegger (1927/2002), Mead (1932), Bergson (1912), and Whitehead (1929), to study the role of time and process in organizations (e.g., Chia, 2002; Hernes, Simpson, & Söderlund, 2013; Langley, Smallman, Tsoukas, & Van de Ven, 2013). This perspective perceives time to be nonlinear, qualitatively determined, and endogenous to events and processes (Reinecke & Ansari, 2017), which means that time is viewed as *in* the event. For example, Fine (1990) argued that the notion of efficiency should be studied as an experience in its own right rather than as merely an obstacle to be managed. These studies, moreover, highlight the importance of subjective and intersubjective temporal experience, whereby

organizational actors construct meaning in an ongoing present suspended between the past and the future. This perspective views temporality as an ongoing relationship among the past, present, and future (Schultz & Hernes, 2013).

In a slightly different way, several notable scholars within the sociological tradition have argued that time is inherently social (Sorokin & Merton, 1937). This means that collective experiences and structures shape temporal perceptions. Durkheim (1976), for example, considered time as a collective phenomenon anchored in the macro-structures of a collective consciousness. Durkheim's thinking also shaped the thinking of Halbwachs, who developed the concept of collective memory, which he considered to be not only socially mediated but also socially structured (Halbwachs, 1992: 38). Moreover, Zerubavel (2003) made an important contribution to the study of social time by showing how the structures of collective memory rely on the construction of coherent, meaningful narratives about the past.

Also emphasizing the social and qualitative nature of time, Sorokin and Merton (1937) noted that "systems of time reckoning reflect the social activities of the group" (1937: 620) and persist insofar as they provide meaning for the collective. This means that temporal structures depend on the organization and functions of the group. To exemplify this, they point to the seven-day week, which, they argue, is not determined by astronomical time but is bound to the time of the market. Finally, Gurvitch (1964) noted that society consists of a plurality of social times. These times may conflict, and social groups therefore compete to instil their preferred social time on the collective.

While Bergson (1912: 274) argued that "imaginary homogeneous time is an idol of language, a fiction", more recent organizational research on time has attempted to bridge the gap between objective and subjective perceptions of time through the notion of temporal structures (Hernes & Schultz, 2020; Orlikowski & Yates, 2002). Whereas scholars have defined this construct in different ways, organizational scholars agree that temporal structures denote visible patterns of timing and pacing activities as well as the underlying temporal assumptions and orientations that guide the enactment of activities (Rowell et al., 2016). Temporal structures are thus seen as structures that enable organizations to "guide, orient and coordinate their ongoing activities" (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002: 684). These structures shape organizational temporal realities and frames, as they denote the appropriate tempo, timing, and duration of organizational activities.

Moreover, temporal structures reflect a culturally based “shared conceptualization of time and temporal values” (Bluedorn & Waller, 2006: 355) and are grounded in temporal norms and expectations which, through mental and material manifestations, guide action in organizations (Blount & Janicik, 2001). Temporal structures thus provide rhythm and form to organizational life and allow organizations to coordinate and align their activities both internally and externally. This process allows prediction, control, and synchronization, capabilities that enable collaboration within and across organizations (McGrath & Rotchford, 1984).

Whereas temporal structures traditionally have referred to timing and pacing activities, these structures may also include temporal assumptions about the past, present, and future. These structures may be discernible in organizational discourse and narratives, which provide shared conceptions of what happened in the past and how the future will likely unfold (Schultz & Hernes, 2019). Temporal structures may therefore also include organizational memories and historical narratives, as Foster et al. (2017: 1177) noted: “History-telling provides a temporal structure to which individuals and groups can identify to make sense of their own personal and collective histories”. This formulation echoes Zerubavel’s (2003) point on how constructed narratives about the past offer a scaffolding for group identification: “acquiring a group’s memories and thereby identifying with its collective past is part of the process of acquiring any social identity, and familiarizing members with that past is a major part of communities’ efforts to assimilate them” (Zerubavel, 2003: 3).

Several scholars have noted that organizations are embedded in numerous, and sometimes competing, temporal structures (e.g., Reinecke & Ansari, 2015). Nowotny (1992) called this pluritemporalism and described it as “the existence of a plurality of different modes of social time(s) which may exist side by side” (1992: 424). While some temporal structures are connected to seasonal rhythms of nature, such as harvesting cycles, most are socially constructed (e.g., seven-day week, time zones, calendars, daylight savings time) and, thus, inherently provisional. Over time, these structures may become so heavily engrained in the social fabric that organizational actors stop questioning them. Through their enactment, the structures become internalised as actors begin to develop a shared frame of “expected sequences, durations, temporal locations, and rates of recurrence” (Barley, 1988: 129). Drawing on structuration theory (Giddens, 1984), Orlikowski and Yates (2002) note that temporal structures both constrain and enable organizations. Because the authors consider

temporal structures as merely “stabilized-for-now” (Schryer, 1993 in Orlikowski & Yates, 2002: 687), they focus on the process of temporal structuring, as structures are both the medium and outcome of social action. This means that although temporal structures may appear as objective and natural, change may occur through both intentional and unintentional action. Scholars have called this form of action temporal work, defined as “any individual, collective or organizational effort to influence, sustain or redirect the temporal structures or assumptions that shape strategic action” (Bansal et al., 2019: 1).

Temporal work

Whereas Kaplan and Orlikowski (2013) were the first to coin the term ‘temporal work’ in management studies, research on other forms of organizational ‘work’ was already established. Philips and Lawrence (2012) argued that management and organizational research reflected a ‘turn to work’ since the turn of the century. Examining a broad range of studies, they found that a common trait across different forms of work denotes situations in which individuals and organizations purposely and strategically attempt to influence their social-symbolic contexts. This effort can describe boundary work (Gieryn, 1983), institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), or identity work (Brown & Toyoki, 2013), to name a few prominent types. This understanding of work is broader than that of Kaplan and Orlikowski (2013), who defined temporal work as “negotiating and resolving tensions among different understandings of what has happened in the past, what is at stake in the present, and what might emerge in the future” (2013: 965). In a call for papers by *Strategic Organization* (2019), Bansal et al. (2019) further extended the notion by defining temporal work as “any individual, collective or organizational effort to influence, sustain or redirect the temporal structures or assumptions that shape strategic action” (Bansal et al., 2019: 1). This definition clearly resembles previous studies of work which emphasize agentic action to alter environments. As Bansal et al. (2019) implied, the notion of temporal work might thus extend to include a variation of organizational temporal action, as the following paragraphs discuss.

Temporal work: Working the past by constructing historical narratives

The discursive approach to temporal work, often called ‘uses of the past’, emphasizes the malleability of how actors interpret and present the past. Wadhwani, Suddaby, Mordhorst and Popp (2018) understand the past as “a source of symbolic resources available for a wide variety of creative uses” (2018: 1664). This interpretation clearly distinguishes the past from history, whereby history denotes the narrative accounts created about the past (Munslow, 2016). While

organizational scholars have long acknowledged that history represents important dimensions of organizational life (e.g., Stinchcombe, 1965), recent years have shown organizational scholars' growing awareness that actors construct and use history to shape specific organizational outcomes (e.g., Coraiola, Foster, & Suddaby, 2015). This form of work has also been called rhetorical history (Suddaby, Foster & Quinn Trank 2016), which denotes the "deliberate and strategic use of persuasive language to construct historical identity narratives" (2016: 297). This line of organizational inquiry considers historical narratives as strategic assets and resources, which can be used and even manipulated to produce deliberate organizational results (Foster et al., 2017). This perspective regards history as not merely a collection of past experience or a consequence of previous circumstances but also as a tool through which actors select, interpret, and convey events to achieve strategic aims (Foster et al., 2017). History is therefore viewed not as an objectively fixed entity that can be grasped by looking into the past but, rather, as something malleable, negotiated, and given meaning through individual and collective processes of temporal work (Zundel, Holt & Popp, 2016).

Previous studies have demonstrated a broad range of strategic ends that the temporal work of historical narratives can reinforce. For example, historical narratives have been used to demarcate and initiate both organizational continuity and change (Suddaby & Foster, 2017). This form of temporal work occurs through attempts at 'working the past' (Linde, 2009), whereby organizational actors employ the past as raw material from which they subsequently assemble and (re)construct history into a coherent, plausible narrative. In her study of an American insurance company, Linde (2009) showed how actors used organizational narratives about the past to construct and negotiate organizational identity. This form of manipulation typically involves mnemonic cutting and pasting, through which managers aim to construct historical continuity or discontinuity (Zerubavel, 2003). In a study of discursive narrative strategies in a Canadian bank, Chreim (2005: 567) portrayed this form of action by showing how managers engaged in selective reporting of temporal elements through the juxtaposition of the "modern and attractive" with the "outdated and undesirable". Other studies have illustrated how organizations construct demarcations between the past and present to promote category change, as Delmestri and Greenwood (2016) showed in their study of the formerly struggling Italian grappa industry. Together, these examples illustrate the significant role of intentional uses of language and discursive resources in temporal work.

Previous studies have shown that actors may construct historical narratives from a wide variety of sources. In corporations, managers may draw on material from organizational archives (Hatch & Schultz, 2017; Schultz & Hernes, 2013) or corporate museums (Ravasi, Rindova & Stigliani, 2019) to establish mutual recognition of what past events signify for present and future action. In these cases, managers engage in temporal work by using historical evidence, images, and anecdotes to construct narratives that establish coherence between past achievement, present action, and future expectations (Kroeze & Keulen, 2013). Other studies have suggested that historical narratives originating outside organizational boundaries might promote such processes more effectively (e.g., Cailluet, Gorge & Özçağlar-Toulouse, 2018; Foster, Suddaby, Minkus, & Wiebe, 2011; Lubinski, 2018). These accounts may be based on national (Foster et al., 2017; Mordhorst, 2014), regional (Howard-Grenville, Metzger, & Meyer, 2013; Oertel & Thommes, 2018), or industry narratives (Hills, Voronov, & Hinings, 2013; Kroezen & Heugens, 2019; Lamertz, Foster, Coraiola, & Kroezen, 2016), from which actors adopt symbols and practices to support stakeholder identification with the organization(s). For example, Lubinski (2018) studied German companies' use of historical narratives in colonial India and found that Indians and Germans attempted to "outpast" (2018: 1785) the British by invoking an earlier origin, thereby claiming authenticity through antiquity. To strengthen legitimacy and membership identification, organizations may therefore "actively work their history through organizational and institutional memory to fuse the memory and identity of the individual and the community in a process that serves the ultimate goal of reproducing the organization as an institution" (Suddaby et al., 2016: 306).

While most research on discursive forms of temporal work has shown how organizational actors construct historical narratives through intentional use of spoken or written language, studies have also increasingly highlighted the significance of visual or material resources in historical narrative construction (Ravasi et al., 2019). In their examination of Carlsberg brewery, Hatch and Schultz (2017) showed how the organization used a particular historical artefact to lend authenticity to strategic actions and decisions. Similarly, Schultz and Hernes (2013) found that the toy manufacturer Lego employed material memory forms as the company evoked the past to reconstruct a present organizational identity. Furthermore, Howard-Grenville et al. (2013) demonstrated how community leaders used tangible resources such as money and talent to resurrect a forgotten collective identity. By employing mnemonic technologies such as records and symbols of the past, the aforementioned studies demonstrate how organizations cue and stimulate memory to make historical narratives appear as logical

chains of events (Olick, 1999). In this process, organizations couple various forms of textual, material, and oral memory to project historical coherence and authenticity, a phenomenon that Hatch and Schultz (2017) frame as organizational historicizing.

Temporal work: Using the past to construct organizational identity

Previous studies of organizational uses of the past have demonstrated that temporality is a key element in organizational identity construction (Schultz & Hernes, 2013). In past decades, scholars have considered the notion of organizational identity to revolve around three claims, namely, what actors assert as the central, distinctive, and enduring features of an organization, all of which become particularly salient during moments of crisis or rapid transition (Albert & Whetten, 1985). A more recent focus on change processes has further enabled recognition of identity as periodically or partially adjusting to alterations in organizational contexts and institutional environments (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006; Corley & Gioia, 2004; Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury, 2011). Scholars have called this type of change “adaptive instability” (Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2000: 64). Lately, however, scholars have added further nuance to the enduring feature of identity, through a more dynamic and temporal perspective. This view considers identity to be simultaneously changing and enduring, as organizational members may engage temporal work by using elements from the past and the ongoing present to guide the construction of future identities (Schultz & Hernes, 2013; Hatch & Schultz, 2017). This perspective perceives identity as a process of continuous change, which, consequently, means that identity is “by definition always in the making and never settles” (Schultz, 2016: 96). Because identity narratives describe lived, ongoing time, they are “in-process and unfinished, continuously made and remade as episodes happen” (Ezzy, 1998: 247).

In line with the aforementioned perspective of identities as ongoing constructions, several organizational scholars have noted that organizational actors engage temporal work by mobilising organizational memories to guide ongoing construction of present and future identities (Maclean, Harvey, Sillince, & Golant, 2018; Schultz & Hernes, 2013). This view of organizational memory draws on the notion of collective memory (Olick, 1999) and consists of mental and structural artefacts which are embedded and distributed across different levels and structures in and beyond the organization (Walsh & Ungson, 1991). This understanding of collective memory assumes that group memory as a temporal structure lives beyond individual recollection, that is to say, as a collective construction (Foroughi et al., 2020). Memories are

not seen as a repository of past experience but, rather, as images that become activated in particular social contexts (Halbwachs, 1992) by various forms of memory cues (Schultz & Hernes, 2013). Organizational memory is therefore seen as closely tied to organizational identity, as groups become constituted through the process of remembering, whereby actors remake the past for present collective purposes (Olick & Robbins, 1998).

Scholars have conceptualised the act of assigning particular present significance to past events as organizational remembering and have defined it as “the process by which actors use both rhetoric and history to socially construct membership with an organization” (Suddaby et al., 2016: 298). Using rhetorical tools and discursive narratives, organizational actors create shared values based on shared memory in order to construct a common identity anchored in a socially constructed common past. In these attempted uses of the past, organizations employ mnemonic traces and narratives as raw material from which they subsequently assemble identity. To do so, actors rely on mnemonic technologies, such as symbols like material memory forms and shared narratives, to frame and inform what is collectively remembered (Lippmann & Aldrich, 2016; Schultz & Hernes, 2013). How organizations identify themselves is thus “intimately and intricately connected with the stories they have embraced regarding the path they have travelled to the present” (Heisler, 2008: 15) and where they imagine themselves heading in the future.

While organizational identities undergo continuous evolution, they can nevertheless appear stable (Anteby & Molnár, 2012). To construct such identity narratives, managers may meddle with organizational remembering by consciously and continually excluding memories that diverge from the aspired organizational identity narrative. Anteby and Molnár (2012) portrayed such organizational actions in their study of a French aerospace company, which showed how managers intentionally omitted contradictory elements of the organization’s past in order to sustain organizational identity over time. Through the strategic use of historical narratives, organizations might also construct demarcations between the past and the present to promote identity change. For example, Ybema (2010) showed how organizational actors might alter their identities by engaging in temporal discontinuity talk. A study of a Dutch national newspaper illustrated this finding, in which Ybema revealed how organizational actors enabled identity change by constructing sharp contrasts between old and new through organizational narratives and stories. These examples of “temporal talk” (Suddaby et al., 2016: 297) illustrate

how temporal work, in the form of intentional use of narratives and discursive resources, plays a major role in identity formation and change.

Through ongoing repetition, temporal narratives may gain salience over time, thus further contributing to the stability of organizational identity and the meanings that individuals share regarding the organizational past (Dailey & Browning, 2014). In their study of an organizational transition at Procter & Gamble, Maclean et al. (2018) found that actors used organizational rhetoric as an anchor of the past and as a tool for preparing the organization for future change. In this way, narratives are both generative and performative (Maclean et al., 2015), as stories that are (re)told and remembered provide organizations with action scripts for the future (Bluedorn, 2002).

Discussions of organizational memory have previously focused on remembrance. This focus is perhaps not too surprising, given that scholars have linked organizational remembering to key issues such as organizational knowledge and learning (e.g., Madsen, 2009; Brunsson, 2009; Holan & Phillips, 2004). Furthermore, scholars typically perceive remembrance as the exception rather than the rule and, thus, a process that demands more-deliberate action. Yet, nascent research on organizational memory has argued that organizational forgetting should be regarded as an equally significant dimension of memory (Mena et al., 2016). The concept denotes “the absence of institutionalized memory” (Fine, 2012: 59), whereby a shared understanding of what happened in the past is either lacking or neglected. While some organizational forgetting has been shown to relate to high employee turnover (Easterby-Smith & Lyles, 2011), other studies have attributed organizational forgetting to unconscious processes of inertia over time (Walsh & Ungson, 1991).

Several studies have highlighted the benefits of organizational forgetting. For example, Wilkin and Bristow (1987) maintained that forgetting may strengthen the organization’s ability to disrupt and innovate as well as to alleviate loss of morale following organizational setbacks. Moreover, Blaschke and Schoeneborn (2006: 100) argued for the “forgotten function of forgetting”, noting that forgetting can help organizations become more attentive to environmental changes and, thus, more capable of developing and adjusting according to continuously changing environments.

Recent findings have emphasized that forgetting may be achieved from deliberate, active, and instrumental “forgetting work” (Mena et al., 2016: 720). Studying a Scottish bank, Mena et al. (2016) showed how the organization facilitated collective forgetting in order to silence accounts of previous corporate irresponsibility. Other studies suggest that selective forgetting may function as an organizational tool to support identity maintenance (Anteby & Molnár, 2012; Ybema, 2010) or support organizations attempting to distance themselves from an illegitimate past, as Booth et al. (2007) showed in their study of a German publishing house. The authors showed that in the late 1990s, the publisher was held accountable for printing antisemitic material during the Nazi era (Clark, Delahaye, Procter, & Rowlinson, 2007).

Temporal work: Managing temporal tensions

Recent studies have suggested that organizations engage temporal work as a response to various forms of temporal tensions (e.g., Slawinski & Bansal, 2015). Scholars have linked such tensions to the supposed conflict between clock time and process time (George & Jones, 2000) and how the relationship between these conceptions shapes and produces challenges in organizational settings (Reinecke & Ansari, 2017; Hofmeister, 1997). For example, in a study of Fairtrade, Reinecke and Ansari (2015) showed how a clock-time orientation hampered the organization’s ability to tackle social problems, due to the limited capacity of linear structures to address an ambiguous temporal trajectory of development. Their study, moreover, showed how organizational actors bridged these tensions by adopting an ambitemporal approach to manage competing temporal structures. Similarly, Slawinski and Bansal (2015) investigated the intertemporal tensions inherent in climate change issues in a study of five Canadian oil companies. The study showed how firms that could juxtapose temporal tensions by adopting temporal ambidexterity better attended to both short- and long-term time concerns (Slawinski & Bansal, 2015). These findings provide insight into the ways in which organizations may accommodate and combine multiple temporalities to manage conflicting temporal structures, such as those of markets and development or sustainability. Moreover, the results imply that even if temporal tensions are irresolvable, organizations still can work strategically to manage and balance them.

Another form of temporal tension may be expressed as conflicting or unbalanced temporal orientations, which refers to the value that organizations assign to the past, present, and future (Kunisch, Bartunek, Mueller & Huy, 2017). Such orientations are distinct yet related to the

concept of *temporal focus*, which refers to the degree to which organizations and organizational actors direct their attention toward the past, present, and/or future. For example, Clark and Collins (1993) argued that organizations holding a past-directed temporal focus assigned higher value and importance to past events, whereas those with a future-leaning temporal orientation and focus assigned higher value to what was yet to come (Bluedorn, 2002). This supposition corresponds with those of Nadkarni and Chen's (2014), who found in a study of CEOs' temporal focus that those operating in a dynamic environment performed better when they held a dominant temporal focus on the present and future. Interestingly, CEOs who led companies in more-stable environments were found to benefit from a stronger focus on the past and present. Other scholars have found that a present temporal focus may encourage organizations to emphasize immediate, adjacent, and short-term goals (Marginson & McAulay, 2008), while a past temporal focus might enhance organizational learning and decision-making (Shipp, Edwards, & Lambert, 2009). In a study of the telecommunications industry, Marginson and McAulay (2008) showed that organizations with a dominant present focus were inclined to prioritize the here and now in their decisions and actions, which, in turn, heightened their risk of falling prey to short-termism. These findings indicate the potential challenges that may arise from an unevenly distributed temporal focus.

Other studies of temporal tensions have shown that organizations are inclined to align pace, rhythm, and cycles to those of their field through processes of entrainment (Ancona & Waller, 2007). While organizations each hold and enact distinct temporal structures (Blagoev & Schreyögg, 2019), these are, in turn, embedded in the larger macro-level temporal structures of social institutions. This form of embeddedness makes up "the temporal integration of the different levels of social structure and gives rise to the need for temporal "stratification" and "synchronicity" (Louis & Weigart, 1981/1990: 83). A key challenge for organizations is, thus, to align the multiple rhythms, paces, and cycles of both internal and external temporal structures. These timing norms are enacted through a process of entrainment by which "rhythmic patterns come into alignment and then behave in a parallel fashion" (Bluedorn, 2002: 147). These temporal patterns present themselves as powerful "zeitgebers" (Blagoev & Schreyögg, 2019: 1820), which pressure organizations to synchronize and align their activities with dominant temporal structures (Ancona & Chong, 1996).

One stream of entrainment research has considered hegemonic temporal structures to be largely external and unmodifiable (ibid, 1996). These studies emphasize the power of external rhythms and cycles and suggest that organizations need to entrain with those structures to thrive. Scholars have argued that failure to do so leads organizations into a state of temporal misfit, which studies have related to suboptimal performance (Perez-Nordtvedt et al., 2008) and organizational decline (Ancona & Chong, 1996). While some research has shown that diverging from established temporal structures is likely to be penalised, other studies have noted that organizations may, nonetheless, alter temporal structures. Although such changes may result unintentionally from innovations or disruptive events (Eisenhardt & Brown, 1998), other studies have shown that organizational actors strategically manage to modify stable temporal norms (Staudenmeyer, Tyre, & Perlow, 2002). This means that rather than entraining to institutional temporal structures, organizations in a state of temporal misfit can pursue temporal enactment to restore temporal fit (Standifer & Bluedorn, 2006). This form of temporal work implies that organizations *do not adapt* to the dominant temporal structures but, rather, strategically work to change the dominant rhythm, cycle, or pace of their environments. For example, Eisenhardt and Brown (1998) found that companies such as Sony and Intel were able to modify the governing pace for innovation and new product launches in their markets by accelerating the frequency of product releases. Similarly, Bluedorn and Denhardt (1988) described how the Missouri tourism industry lobbied to change the timing of the public-school holiday to better align it with the holiday of industry workers. In their study of a newly founded university, Granqvist and Gustafsson (2016) outlined other successful attempts to engage in institutional temporal work, showing how actors did so by constructing windows of opportunity, synchronicity, and perceptions of irreversibility during a process of institutional change.

Whereas these studies display successful attempts at temporal work, they also demonstrate how powerful actors may be more likely to successfully alter temporal field structures. Moreover, while most research argues that organizations and individuals benefit from engaging in temporal enactment, Blagoev and Schreyögg (2019) demonstrated how temporal work might also bring negative consequences. Conducting a study of extreme work hours in an elite consulting firm, they revealed how temporal work can create a situation of temporal lock-in, whereby organizations become trapped in the temporal structures they helped to build. An

important implication of their finding is that both strategic efforts of entrainment and enactment carry their own particular organizational advantages and disadvantages.

Finally, research on temporal tensions has also outlined how particular organizational forms and structures may relate to organizational experiences of temporal friction. This form of tension has emerged in debates on temporary organizing in which scholars have noted the underlying tension between the temporary and the permanent which defines project-based organizations (e.g., Bakker, DeFillipi, Schwab & Sydow, 2016). While the notion of time has played a major role in discussions of temporary organizations and projects, scholars have tended to equate project time with clock time. In a seminal paper on temporary organizing, Lundin and Söderholm (1995) described the role of time as follows: “time is used ... in a linear form, to lead the way from a starting point to termination” (ibid., 1995: 440). Similarly, Ibert (2004) noted that permanent and temporary forms of organization could be distinguished according to their conceptions of time: “For a firm a *cyclical time conception* is applied, whereas the project follows a *linear time conception*” (2004: 1530). However, as Bakker et al. (2016) noted, the tensions between the temporary and the permanent represent an ongoing tension in project-based organizations. Whereas the finalisation of a project signifies organizational success, the completion of a project might equally threaten the very existence of the organization. This organizational setup requires project-based organizations to enact two opposing, yet inherent temporal structures that each “guide, orient, and coordinate the ongoing activities of the organization” (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002: 684). Because project-based organizations are contingent on the incoming of new projects in order to survive, being embedded in both these structures makes project-based organizations prone to experience temporal tensions and misfit (Geraldi, Stjerne & Oehmen, 2020). This further entails that the temporal structures that condition and guide activities in project-based organizations inevitably give rise to tensions, defined by Schad, Lewis, Raisch and Smith (2016: 10) as a “persistent contradiction between interdependent elements”. While the time delimitation of projects shapes organizational processes by creating a sense of urgency as deadlines approach (Gersick, 1994), failing to deliver a project on time will likely be penalised and affect future possibilities of attaining new projects. As project-based organizations depend on new projects in order to survive, being embedded in both structures may cause project-based organizations to experience temporal misalignment and misfit (Perez-Nordtvedt et al., 2008).

Avenues and questions to pursue

The literature review above displays the many interesting avenues of research on temporal work. Nevertheless, as temporal work remains a fairly new construct within organizational studies, many other important research topics remain unexplored. Even though scholars have made great progress in mapping the various forms and settings of temporal work, many questions remain unanswered. For example, as the review shows, more research is needed on how actors use temporally oriented activities to achieve strategic outcomes (Bansal et al., 2019). This is particularly true for discursive forms of temporal work, such as rhetorical history (Suddaby, Foster & Quinn Trank, 2010) and organizational action that involves uses of the past (Lubinski, 2018). Whereas previous studies of discursive forms of temporal work have demonstrated how organizations employ historical narratives as strategic tools (Foster et al., 2017), we still have little knowledge of how organizational actors authenticate and legitimize such narratives.

To date, previous research has shown how organizations compete for antiquity in order to claim the authenticity of their proposed organizational narratives (Lubinski, 2018). To do so, organizations resurrect nearly forgotten narratives by searching through corporate archives and material records (Hatch & Schultz, 2017; Ravasi et al., 2019) or by drawing on societal and institutional memories (Cailluet et al., 2018; Foster et al., 2017; Oertel & Thommes, 2018). These findings indicate that organizations appear to favour some parts and arrangements of the past over others when constructing and employing historical narratives. Still, how organizational actors authenticate and legitimize such narratives remains understudied. Organizational narratives are rarely presented as full-fledged narratives (Vaara, Sonenshein & Boje, 2016) but, rather, as fraught with ambiguity. This raises the question of how organizations might employ or even construct ambiguity in order to legitimize their aspired historical narratives. Chapter 4 (Paper 1) of this thesis therefore aims to fill this gap by focusing on the role of ambiguity in historical narratives and how organizations construct and employ them.

Another topic raised in the debate on how remembering and forgetting shape organizational identity construction is the role of temporal agency (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998) in this process. Previous research has emphasized the temporal foundations of identity construction (Ezzy, 1998) and revealed how organizations can mobilise memories from the past to stake out

new directions for the future (Shultz & Hernes, 2013). These studies have noted how organizations engage temporal work by consciously including or omitting elements from the past in order to promote a sense of identity, continuity, or change (e.g., Anteby & Molnár, 2012; Hatch & Schultz, 2017; Rowlinson, Casey, Hansen, & Mills, 2014; Foster, Suddaby, Minkus, & Wiebe, 2011). While these findings indicate that temporal focus—the degree to which organizations tend to focus on the past, present, and/or future—matter, the *role* of temporal focus in the process of organizational identity construction has nevertheless remained largely implicit. The second paper of the thesis brings this issue to the forefront by examining how temporal focus shapes processes of organizational identity construction. In exploring this issue, I draw on perspectives that consider organizational remembering and forgetting as two sides of the same coin (Anteby & Molnár, 2012). Moreover, in line with studies highlighting the plasticity of organizational identity (e.g., Anteby & Molnár, 2012; Kreiner et al., 2015), Chapter 5 builds on research which considers identity construction as an unfolding process of searching in response to events, transitions, and turning points (Maclean, Harvey, Gordon, & Shaw, 2015).

Furthermore, current conceptualisations of temporal work tend to emphasize the intentional and purposeful action that drives such work. Because of this focus, the literature has previously downplayed the difficulty of changing underlying temporal structures and frames (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002). Previous research has shown how organizational actors may straddle opposing temporal structures through temporal brokerage (Reinecke & Ansari, 2015) or temporal ambidexterity (Slawinski & Bansal, 2015). These findings illustrate how organizations work to reduce and manage tensions originating from different temporal logics and structures. Despite these notable exceptions, which show how organizations may exert agency over the temporal structures in which they are embedded (Reinecke & Ansari, 2015), we still do not know much about the limits of such work (McGivern et al., 2018). Because purposeful action often brings unintentional consequences despite strategic intentions (e.g., Blagoev & Schreyögg, 2019), there is a need to consider strategic and purposive action more broadly. This means that to fully understand temporal work, we should include not merely the intentional but also the unintentional consequences of temporal work. Chapters 5 and 6 address this issue by studying the unintended consequences of temporal work. These chapters build on previous research on temporal work, which considers such actions to be intentional and strategic

(Granqvist & Gustafsson, 2016), yet broaden the scope of temporal work by considering the unintentional consequences of such work.

Whereas Chapter 5 (Paper 2) addresses issues of identity and memory, Chapter 6 (Paper 3) focuses on temporal work in relation to temporal tensions (Slawinski & Bansal, 2015; Reinecke & Ansari, 2015). While numerous studies of temporal structures have been empirically anchored in project settings (e.g., Granqvist & Gustafsson, 2016; Reinecke & Ansari, 2015; Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013), few have addressed how project-based organizations holding a hybrid temporal structure might experience certain challenges related to this structure. As the recent shift toward a “projectified society” (Lundin & Söderholm, 1998: 13) has made temporary organizing the default mode rather than the manner in which actors deal with extraordinary tasks (Hobday, 2000), studies need to address how project-based organizations deal with temporal tensions. Accordingly, Chapter 6 (Paper 3) contributes to this discussion by showing how project-based organizations experience and manage conflicting temporal structures.

3. Methodology

This dissertation investigates how organizational actors construct and manage temporal structures in a setting of culinary change. To answer the overarching research question outlined above, the study has applied a qualitative, case-oriented methodology. This chapter describes the methodology and methods employed in each of the cases. As temporal structures and temporal work represent the key concepts of this inquiry, this chapter also elaborates on how I have operationalised and studied these phenomena. Before doing so, I discuss the epistemology and theoretical perspective informing the thesis.

Epistemology and philosophy of science

Questions of method are secondary to questions of paradigm, which we define as the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways (Guba & Lincoln, 1994: 105).

Guba and Lincoln's (1994) statement highlights the need to clarify the theoretical and epistemological perspective that has informed and guided my research, after which I will present the methods I have employed. A social constructivist perspective (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) informs this study. Defining this perspective is the view that "all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context" (Crotty, 1998: 42). Different from a positivist stance, social reality is seen as constructed rather than discovered. This means that human beings construct human reality as they engage in the world that they interpret. While we acknowledge the physical world, there are numerous ways of perceiving, understanding, and communicating this world (Justesen & Mik-Meyer, 2012). In simpler terms, what is perceived as reality is bound to change in different social contexts. For studies of temporal structures, this means that different groups, organizations, and individuals might perceive and follow different temporal structures while simultaneously adhering to some of the same structures.

In the social constructivist view, meaning is neither simply objective nor subjective. The central question is rather "how subjective meanings *become* facticities" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966: 30). This further means that comprehension of human knowledge and the results of studying human interactions will always be suggestive. The point is thus not to validate or debunk the

realness of reality but, rather, to study how social reality is developed, transmitted, and sustained in social situations and institutionalised over time—that is to say, how social constructions, such as temporal structures, happen (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2009).

In addition to adopting these basic assumptions of the social constructivist perspective, I assume that organizational actors are ‘knowledgeable agents’, which means that ‘people in organizations know what they are trying to do and can explain their thoughts, intentions, and actions’ (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012: 17). This assumption has several consequences, particularly for analysing and writing the research, which I discuss later in this chapter.

Conducting a qualitative case study

The assumptions outlined above have not only shaped my conceptual interest in the research but also bear methodological consequences for the study’s implementation, including formulation of the research questions and the methods selected and carried out (Justesen & Mik-Meyer, 2012). For example, studying the social construction of temporal structures suggests that I focus more on “the means by which organization members go about constructing and understanding their experience and less on the number or frequency of measurable occurrences” (Gioia, Patvardhan, Hamilton & Corley, 2013: 2). Therefore, to investigate how actors perceive and enact temporal structures through various forms of temporal work, this study adopts a qualitative approach. This focus entails a deep, ethnographically inspired engagement in the field, to reveal how informants appreciate and understand their social world—how they construct meaning and act in accordance with this meaningful reality.

I have adopted a case-study methodology, which involves empirical investigation of a contemporary phenomenon within its natural (lived and practiced) context (Eisenhardt, 1989). Case studies provide context-dependent, intimate knowledge of a specific phenomenon (Flyvbjerg, 2006) in which the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are ambiguous. Furthermore, different data sources characterize case studies, making them well suited to explore in-depth or complex issues (Meyer, 2001). The goal is to identify patterned behaviour which reveals something about the case and contributes to theory development.

This dissertation’s study comprises two cases. The first paper describes the first case, titled ‘Inventing Culinary Heritage Through Strategic Historical Ambiguity’. This paper results from a field study exploring an emerging culinary movement based in Istanbul, Turkey. This

movement aims to promote a sustainable food agenda by inventing a new, regional cuisine inspired by old traditions. Based on 15 interviews, observations, and documents, the study explores how actors employ historical narratives located in a vaguely defined past as tools to craft legitimate historical narratives about a common cultural heritage.

The second case is explored and investigated in the two subsequent papers, titled '*Hijacked by Hope: Dynamics of Mission Drift and Identity Dilution in a Nonprofit Organization*', and '*Trapped in a Vicious Circle: Unfolding the Unintended Consequences of Temporal Work*'. These two papers result from a longitudinal study of a Danish nonprofit organization that promotes sustainable eating habits by establishing and managing school gardens across the country. Based on a series of interviews, observations, and archival material, the two papers investigate two different aspects of organizing temporal structures, namely, organizational memory and temporary organizing. The findings of these studies reveal challenges associated with these two forms of temporal work.

While I am, of course, interested in both cases, they should be labelled primarily as cases of instrumental interest (Stake, 2000). This means that I have chosen and studied the cases primarily because they provide insight and theoretical knowledge of a particular phenomenon, which is temporal work and structures of food organizing.

The two field studies allow investigation of the role of temporal structures in organizational settings in which actors strive to initiate field-level change, and the studies share features, which makes them interesting to compare. The similarities are as follows. First, both cases represent organizational contexts in which actors promote sustainable change in the food sector. Second, both cases structure these initiatives as social movements whereby the participants aim to promote a new, sustainable food agenda by reinventing culinary traditions and practices. To do so, actors in both fields approach their work in a grassroots manner by engaging local communities.

Despite the common features of the cases, this is not a comparative study of culinary movements in the traditional sense, in which two cases are compared along similar dimensions. Instead, the study is what Stake (2000) calls a collective case study, involving the investigation of temporal structures and work in various culinary settings. The two organizational settings studied are located in two countries, Turkey and Denmark, and consist of different types of

organizational constellations. While the first field study, in Turkey, investigates a group of informally organized actors, the second study, in Denmark, follows the development of a project-based nonprofit organization. Pursuing their food agendas, the actors experience different challenges and engage in different types of temporal work.

Introduction to the study and core constructs

As stated, this dissertation's research assumes that temporal structures are social constructions. This implies broad understanding of temporal structures, specifically structures that enable organizations and organizational actors to guide action and orient themselves in their social contexts. To understand how organizational actors construct and manage various temporal structures requires a form of phenomenological access (Giorgi, 1985) to individual and collective perceptions and understandings of temporal phenomena. To gain this access, I have engaged in fieldwork and employed a bundle of methods labelled the case-study approach (Stake, 2000).

Because the study was initially an inductive, open inquiry into the role of temporality in food organizing, the core constructs of each paper and for the dissertation as a whole emerged during the research process. As discussed in the previous (theoretical) chapter, the notion of temporal structures is an emerging concept in the organizational literature and has previously been defined as the norms and assumptions about time that actors often take for granted but which are produced and reproduced through ongoing activities and social interactions (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002). This dissertation has narrowed and operationalised this broadly defined, wide-ranging concept to study temporal structures as different subconcepts: historical narratives (e.g., Foster et al., 2017), organizational memory (Foroughi et al., 2020), and temporal hybridity and tensions (Schad, Lewis & Smith, 2016).

Following Foster et al. (2017), I define the first concept, historical narratives, as narratives constructed around the past. I define the second concept, organizational memory, as a temporal structure consisting of the collectively shared reinterpretation, re-enactment and reframing of the past in organizations (Foroughi et al., 2020). Finally, I define temporal hybridity and tensions as “persistent contradiction between interdependent elements” in line with Schad et al.'s (2016: 10) definition. These concepts will be further unfolded in chapter 4-6, respectively.

Data collection

The following section describes the data collection strategy and process. For clarity's sake, I discuss separately the data collection process of the two field studies.

Data collection:

Paper 1: 'Inventing Culinary Heritage Through Strategic Historical Ambiguity'

The data collection process for the first (Turkish) case began in 2015. The initial aim was to understand how organizational actors associated with the emerging movement worked to legitimize their efforts to create a new, regional cuisine. Having resided in Istanbul, I was fascinated by this new development and was curious about the images and notions of the past being employed to accomplish this endeavour. These notions emerged in the movement's manifesto and in media material, in which photos and interviews with prominent chefs described the background and purpose of the emerging movement. The messages highlighted that in order to cook sustainable food and to save culinary traditions, the traditions would have to be renewed. These observations about renewing culinary traditions served as the initial ideas for the first article of this thesis.

Embarking on the process of data collection, I first conducted extensive desk research about the emerging movement. This step also involved gathering online archival material (Kozinets, 2010), such as interviews with chefs and press releases. I also reviewed food guides, restaurant web pages, and restaurant menus. This process enabled me to identify several key initiators and actors of the movement whom I wished to interview. I chose these informants on the basis of purposive sampling (Willes, 2017), which means that I believed these informants to have the most relevant information for the study. My goal was thus to interview key members of the culinary movement or individuals with comprehensive knowledge of Istanbul's food and restaurant scene. Having created a list of these potential informants, I subsequently approached each individually via email.

Gaining access to the field to set up interviews, however, proved to be more challenging than I had originally assumed. Upon arrival in Istanbul, I had scheduled only two interviews. As I only had planned a three-week stay, I grew nervous about whether I would be able to access the field. Because many of the prospective interviewees were considered high-status actors and so-called celebrity chefs, establishing contacts proved to be challenging initially. Even obtaining contact information was difficult. Coming from Scandinavia, a region known for its

flat social hierarchy and egalitarian society, I began to realise that I now found myself in a different culture where things were done somewhat differently.

Despite my initial doubt and bewilderment, the data collection process quickly took a positive turn. To my relief, the first couple of interviews opened doors to the culinary community of Istanbul. In addition to having in-depth knowledge of the culinary culture of Turkey, the interviewees were gatekeepers (Field-Springer, 2017) and, hence, well connected to several key players in the Istanbul food scene. Through the help of these informants, I subsequently was able to schedule more interviews. From there, a snowball effect (Noy, 2007) began to occur, and within a few weeks I had conducted nearly all of the initially planned interviews, in addition to several more. All of the 14 initial interviews were semi-structured (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2018), open-ended, and lasted between 30–125 minutes, with an average length of 67 minutes. The guide used for the interviews was similar across the different meetings, although adapted somewhat to each interviewee's profession and role in the movement (see Paper 1 for examples of interview topics). The informants held various professional roles such as chefs, restaurateurs, food writers, journalists, educators, food researchers, and cooking school managers. Some members occupied several professional roles (see Table 2 for a list of informants).

I conducted the interviews in line with Holstein and Gubrium's (1995: 17) active approach, which entails understanding the interview as "a form of interpretive practice involving respondent and interviewer as they articulate ongoing interpretive structures, resources and orientations". This means that the interview is perceived as a social encounter whereby the interviewer constructs, rather than extracts, knowledge together with the interviewee. This meant that I tried to remain conscious of my role as an interviewer. For example, being a foreigner made me aware that I might not share all of the same cultural connotations and references with those of my Turkish informants. To prevent meaning from getting lost in translation, I made sure to frequently ask follow-up questions or get the informants to elaborate the issues discussed. I avoided asking questions that would elicit yes/no answers and made sure to circumvent potentially controversial topics, such as political issues, at the beginning of the conversation. I conducted the interviews in English, which also made me aware that some informants might find this to be a challenge. For most informants, however, this did not seem to cause much of an obstacle, as many of them had lived several years in foreign, often English-speaking, countries. All interviews were audio recorded and subsequently transcribed.

Six months after the initial round of data collection, I returned to the site to conduct two more interviews. This round consisted of one follow-up interview with a leading chef and one interview with an anthropologist closely associated with the movement. Returning to Istanbul provided the opportunity to ask follow-up questions that had emerged after the first round of interviews and to inquire into recent developments about the movement. I also met with three informants from the first visit and engaged in informal conversations with them. While I did not record these three meetings, I wrote field notes (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2002) containing topics and reflections on the conversations.

The interviews occurred in various settings and were chosen according to the interviewees' preference and convenience (Warren, 2012). Several interviews were conducted in restaurants, offices, cooking schools, and workshops (i.e., culinary experimental labs) connected to the culinary movement (cf. Table 2 below). This provided opportunities to conduct less-formal, direct observations (Jorgensen, 1989). Conducting the interviews in this setting was beneficial for several reasons. First, it provided the opportunity to become well acquainted with how the actors staged and performed the movement. Conducting observations alongside the interviews was beneficial to gain deeper understanding of the context and phenomenon under investigation. For example, by visiting and observing various field settings, I was able to note the aesthetics, design, and location of the setting, which indicated the status of the movement's actors and of their audiences. I recorded these observations in field notes and through photographs. Moreover, conducting the interviews while dining at the restaurants provided the opportunity to ask specific questions about the food and surroundings, such as the history of and inspirations for the dishes and philosophy of the restaurant. This allowed me to take part in a sensory experience in which the food was a medium to stimulate conversation and provide visual cues, as Pink (2015) noted. These observations thus provided new dimensions for understanding both the context and the phenomenon studied: how actors constructed and employed historical narratives to legitimize the movement.

By tasting variations of the New Anatolian cuisine, I was able to note similarities and differences between the chefs' interpretations and, hence, better appreciate how the movement was expressed and performed. I was also allowed to witness a photo shoot of new dishes in a restaurant. I also observed one chef cooking and visited the experimental workshop of another

chef. In this way, I obtained a sense of how different chefs performed the concept of New Anatolian cuisine.

Moreover, capturing photographs during moments of observation functioned as memory cues that later helped me to remember details and impressions of the field site. The photographs were predominantly of the food, but some were also of restaurant milieus, kitchens, offices, culinary schools, and workshops. In addition to stimulating my recollection of the field, the photographs conveyed distinctive case characteristics to other observers and readers (Yin, 2009: 92). Appendix C includes examples of the photographs.

Table 2 below provides an overview of the data collected for the first empirical setting.

Table 2. Overview of data collected: Empirical setting 1

Type of data collected	Overview of informants	Interval 1: March 2015	Interval 2: September 2015
Interviews: 15	<p>Informants #1–4: Chef and restaurant owner</p> <p>Informant #5: Chef, restaurant owner, and food columnist of a daily newspaper</p> <p>Informant #6: Restaurant owner</p> <p>Informant #7: Food anthropologist and chef</p> <p>Informants #8–9: Food activist, chef, and nonprofit founder</p> <p>Informant #10: Culinary journalist, cookbook author, and food consultant</p> <p>Informant #11: University researcher; food anthropology</p> <p>Informant #12: Publisher and cookbook author</p> <p>Informant #13: Culinary researcher and editor of a semi-academic food journal</p> <p>Informant #14:</p>	<p>Chefs and restaurateurs: 7 interviews conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 35 min.–2 h.</p> <p>Culinary researchers: 2 interviews conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 54 min.–1 h. 5 min.</p> <p>Food critics, journalists, and editors: 2 interviews conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1 h. 9 min.–1 h. 43 min.</p> <p>Food activists (working for a relevant nonprofit): 1 group interview with two cofounders of the organization, conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1 h.</p> <p>Representatives from cooking schools: 2 interviews conducted in person; notes taken. 1 interview was a group interview with 6 participants. Duration: 47 min.–1 h. 23 min.</p>	<p>Chefs and restaurateurs: 1 interview (second interview) conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1 h. and 4 min.</p> <p>Food anthropologist: 1 interview conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 54 min.</p>

	<p>Founder and director of a public (formerly private) culinary school</p> <p>Informant #15: Founder of a private culinary school</p> <p>Informant #16: Director of a private culinary school.</p>		
Observations: Ca. 50 h.	<p>Dining at 6 NAK restaurants: 20 h.</p> <p>Visiting and touring two culinary schools: 4 h.</p> <p>Visit to a chef's innovation workshop: 2 h.</p> <p>Visit to nonprofit headquarter: 2 h.</p> <p>Observing a chef cook: 1 h.</p>	<p>Dining at 3 NAK restaurants. Two returning visits: 10 h.</p> <p>Observing a photo shoot of new dishes for new menu/web page in a restaurant: 1 h.</p>	
Examples of organizational documents	<p>New Anatolian Kitchen Manifesto. Published 2012.</p> <p>Restaurant menus from identified New Anatolian restaurants.</p> <p>Web page descriptions of organizational/restaurant vision, motto, approach etc.</p> <p>Project description: 'Gastronomika: Repositioning Anatolian Cuisine' (12 pages).</p> <p>Pearly Gastronomy guide 2018 (online).</p>		
Media material	<p>Press clippings containing interviews and portrayals of the movement from 2005–2018 from both national and international sources.</p>		
Examples of photographic and video material	<p>Self-captured photos during observations.</p> <p>Master classes given by chefs at summits and conferences (collected from YouTube).</p> <p>Television appearances (collected from YouTube).</p> <p>'Feed your soul' (Ruhun Doysun) film series—11 episodes of 15–25 min (collected from YouTube).</p>		

Data collection:

Paper 2: 'Hijacked by Hope: Dynamics of Mission Drift and Identity Dilution in a Nonprofit Organization' and Paper 3: 'Trapped in a Vicious Circle: Unfolding the Unintended Consequences of Temporal Work'

The empirical data forming the foundation of Papers 2 and 3 derive from the second field study, the Danish school garden case. This study was designed as a longitudinal study (Segrin, 2017), to allow me to observe and investigate my phenomenon of interest over time. Data collection for the study began in 2016 and lasted until the end of 2019. The data set covers a wide range of sources, including archival material, 25 interviews, and 150 hours of ethnographic material (see Table 3 on p. 50).

Whereas gaining access to the field in the first study posed initial challenges, the organization established contact in the second field study. The initial connection occurred following the nonprofit organization's request to conduct a study of its organization and dissemination of the school garden movement. This project consisted of a group of three researchers, including myself. Being part of this team provided entry to the organization, which meant easy access to empirical data. As the nonprofit organization was attempting to revive, reinvent, and (re)establish the school garden movement in Denmark, it appeared to be an obvious case to integrate into my initial research design. Similar to the Turkish case, the Danish case provided an interesting parallel setting to study issues of temporality and sustainable food organizing. I therefore selected this case in line with Flyvbjerg's (2006) criteria of information value, which means that I selected the cases based on expectations about their information content.

The first step in the data collection process was to gather archival material. These documents represented an important part of the ethnographic work, as organizational documents provide insight into the everyday life and work of organizations. Rather than merely being containers of content, documents should be regarded as "social facts in that they are produced, shared and used in socially organized ways" (Prior, 2003: 58). By collecting organizational documents, I could thus explore particular textual versions of social, temporal reality. Archival data sources included strategy formulations, vision statements, and funding applications, which helped to strengthen my understanding of how the organization envisioned its future and, moreover, planned to reach that future. Later, other documents, such as mail correspondence and meeting minutes, provided insight into multiple points of view as events unfolded across organizational space and time (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Through ongoing discussions with organizational members, I was also able to trace how plans and visions changed and developed over time (Langley, 1999).

To become familiar with the organization and its educational concept, I began the field work by spending time on the organization's premises during school visits. Following Jorgensen (1989), I engaged in participant observation by helping the garden instructors assist the children throughout their visit. To get a sense of the organization and the movement's reach and range, I subsequently visited several of the school gardens that had either been initiated or inspired by the organization's educational concept. I engaged in extensive desk research to locate potential school gardens for fieldwork, which included both observation and interviews. I subsequently chose locations based on the criteria of information value (Flyvbjerg, 2006). I made the final selection of school gardens in consultation with the nonprofit organization's managers. To my surprise, the main organization (i.e., the secretariat), due to rapid growth, had lost oversight of the total number of school gardens employing the organizational label and brand, which indicated that managers' attention was focused elsewhere. This observation gave rise to the initial idea for Paper 2 on organizational memory (see Chapter 5).

The initial round of fieldwork consisted of eight visits to school gardens located across the country, during which I gathered both observational and interview data. The informants occupied various professional roles, ranging from gardeners, teachers, and local bureaucrats from the municipality, who were involved in initiating or operating the school gardens.

Parallel to the fieldwork in the various school gardens, a series of meetings (n:18), some organized as workshops, was held with the main organization's management. These meetings functioned as status updates on organizational progress and provided the opportunity to pose questions and prompt discussions of organizational issues. Different from the data collection process in the first (Turkish) case, in which I mainly engaged in nonparticipant observation, participant observation (Jorgensen, 1989) played a significant role in data collection for the second case, whereby data were created and collected partly in collaboration with the informants. This method provided a unique opportunity to gather information on the organizational members' perceived reality. In this form of observation, the researcher is not merely an observer but, rather, has the opportunity to take on various roles within the case-study setting (Kawulich, 2005). Because of this double role, scholars have previously described this approach as an oxymoron, as it requires the researcher to simultaneously practice both emotional involvement and objective detachment (Tedlock, 2000: 465). To circumvent this dilemma, all meetings and workshops were organized and held by at least two members of the

project team. Having two researchers at the site allowed us to divide roles, by which we made sure that the participant role did not require too much attention relative to the observer role.

The meetings and workshops were held either on the organization's premises or at the university and allowed us to closely follow organizational developments and concerns as they emerged. The participating team from the nonprofit organization ranged between two and six people, whereas the research team during these visits usually consisted of two people, including myself. Having several people at the site allowed for task division so that both active participation and observation could occur. My role consisted primarily of observing and taking notes, while I also occasionally posed questions to the participants. The questions involved clarifying the meaning of statements or having the informants reflect on discussion topics. The benefit of this form of observation and interaction with the organization was to avoid the problem of attitudinal fallacy (Jerolmack & Khan, 2014), that is, the discrepancy between talk and action (March, 1980).

Moreover, talking to organizational members in groups allowed insight into collective organizational experiences and memories in a different yet complementary way to what interviews would allow. Goffman (1989) states this in the following way:

Two-person situations are not good because people can lie to you while they're with you. But with three people there, then they have to maintain their ties across those two other persons (other than yourself), and there's a limit to how they can do that. So that if you are in multi-person situation, you've got a better chance of seeing things the way they really are (Goffman, 1989:131).

Being part of this organizational setting made it possible to observe interactions between organizational members and to notice who was invited to participate in the various meetings and workshops. Conversely, one-on-one discussions with organizational members also allowed discussion of more-sensitive topics that might be avoided in group discussion, such as disagreements and frustrations. These discussions were key to understanding the organization's interpersonal dynamics.

During the process of fieldwork, gathering field notes became an important tool for noting atmospheres, individual reflections, and frustrations that came up before or after the scheduled

workshops had ended. The content of the notes focused more over time as the research focus sharpened and the themes of the two latter research papers emerged.

After a year of fieldwork in the organization, I conducted several interviews with key organizational members. By that time, I had gained in-depth knowledge of central organizational issues, and conducting interviews provided the opportunity to dig deeper into emerging issues and findings that appeared to relate to organizational memory and identity. As with the first case, these interviews were semi-structured, active, and open-ended (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015; Holstein & Gubrium, 2001). In broad terms, these interviews aimed to gather empirical data about the social world of people in the organization, by asking questions about their (working) lives. The purpose of these interviews was, moreover, to stimulate narrative production around issues linked to organizational memory and identity. By doing so, I aimed to gain deeper understanding of each informant's temporal reality by provoking "interpretive developments that might emerge too rarely to be effectually captured in their natural habitat" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2001: 124). The interviews thus became key supplements to the observational and archival material, whereby participants elaborated on both similar and different organizational memories.

Because all interviews rely on a certain level of interaction between interviewer and interviewee, there is no way to avoid contamination of the informants' responses. This realisation is perhaps especially important when inquiring into organizational memory, as questions about what happened in the past depend significantly on how the questions are formulated. It was therefore important to remain aware of potential cue dependency regarding the informants' recollections, as the ability to remember is 'obviously highly dependent on a number of contextual factors, factors that are themselves always in flux' (Olick, 1999: 340). To limit the effects of cue dependency, I asked questions in an open form and manner to avoid directing participants' recollection process to match my preconceived ideas about decisive organizational events. I conducted interviews with organizational members individually, which lasted between one and two hours. Questions in the interview guide intended to encourage recollection and sharing of "flashbulb memories" (Brown & Kulik, 1977: 77), which are memories that follow a surprising or consequential event and which people perceive as decisive. Questions were also formulated to inquire into more-stable memory structures grounded in prevailing organizational narratives (Boje, 2008). See Appendix B for examples of interview guides.

Fieldwork revealed that applying for external funding played a major role in the organization's situation. This observation led to the theme for Paper 3, in which I examine the role of temporary projects and external funding. Having gathered large amounts of data on the nonprofit organization, I had gained deep insight into how it perceived and structured its time. During this time, I learned that the foundations on which the organization relied for continued operation played a major role in their temporal structures. For this reason, I conducted five additional interviews with representatives from five different philanthropic foundations (see Table 3 below). The purpose of these interviews was to more broadly understand how the foundations perceived their temporal reality and how their temporal structures coincided with those of the organization. I decided to interview the foundations rather late in the process of data collection. I chose the foundations based on purposive sampling (Willes, 2017), to gain a broad range of perspectives on the issue. The foundations varied in size and budget and only one foundation had previously donated money to the nonprofit organization in its initial years of operation. The interviews lasted 30–75 minutes. I conducted four interviews at the foundations' offices and the final one by phone.

Table 3 below provides an overview of the data collected for the field study.

Table 3. Overview of data collected: Empirical setting 2

Types of data collected	Specification
Observations: ca. 150 h.	Meetings and workshops: 80 h. School garden networking events: 30 h. School garden visits: 43 h.
Interviews: 25	Organizational management team: 6 interviews conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1–2 h. Organizational founder and chairman of the board: 1 interview conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1–2 h. School garden representatives: 13 interviews conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1–2 h. Foundations: 5 interviews in person: notes taken. Duration 30 min.–1 h. 15 min.
Examples of organizational documents	Project applications: 227 pp. Project evaluations: 212 pp. Organizational strategy proposals: 6 pp.

	Organizational statutes and description: 63 pp. School garden manuals: 90 pp. Press releases: 16 pp. Email correspondence with organizational members Web page material w/descriptions of organizational vision, mission, educational concept, etc.
Media material	Press clippings containing interviews and portrayals of the organization from 2003–2019 from mainly national sources.
Examples of photographic material	Self-captured photos during observations.

Ethical and moral considerations

A criterion for research quality is based on the ethical considerations informing the research process and the presentation and use of the research product. While ethical behaviour in terms of honest reporting of data and findings and avoidance of plagiarism always applies, qualitative research involving human activity must consider some additional issues, as Veal and Burton (2014) emphasize.

Several ethical and moral considerations arose during the research, some of which were common to the two cases and some of which were not. For example, in the Turkish case, ethical considerations included deciding whether to accept restaurant meals for free. I did, of course, offer to pay but often encountered the informants' resistance and insistence. Although I did accept some free meals and greatly appreciated the delicious food and generosity, it was important for me as researcher to not be influenced or feel expected to portray certain actors in specific ways. Because I was not interested in the quality of the food but, rather, the historical narratives portrayed and told through the food, I believe that accepting free meals did not compromise my research.

The second ethical issue relates to confidentiality. Although absolute confidentiality may be difficult to ensure, this issue was a high priority when I collected data and reported on both field studies. This led to reflections on which and how much details about informants and the settings I should disclose (Christians, 2000). This was particularly salient for the Turkish case, as I was aware of growing political tensions in the country and the recent deterioration of freedom of speech. I therefore found it essential to exercise caution when inquiring about certain topics, such as issues portraying the government from a critical point of view. Because

the culinary movement could be interpreted, to some extent, as a political movement, I have chosen to shield most of my informants' identities. While I do mention some of the key actors' identities because it would be difficult to describe the movement without mentioning them, I have nevertheless withheld their names when including quotes from interviews. Instead, I have included only their professional roles. None of the informants requested confidentiality or anonymity, and while most spoke openly about their political opinions, some would occasionally state comments that were off the record both during interviews and after they had ended. Whereas I noted and used these remarks for contextual understanding, I have not included them in the paper.

Maintaining confidentiality was also a concern when I collected data and reported on the second, Danish case. For example, when interviewing the foundations about their work, I wavered on whether to disclose the nonprofit organization's identity. I finally decided not to do so, because I considered that posing critical questions to the foundations could potentially harm the nonprofit organization's future chances of obtaining donations. While withholding this information might have benefitted the level of trust, openness, and perhaps specificity in the foundations' answers, I did not want to risk that any critical questions about the foundations' work might impair the nonprofit organization's efforts in any way.

Moreover, being engaged by the nonprofit organization to conduct a research project on their organization and dissemination while simultaneously conducting my own dissertation research (although many overlapping interests and foci existed in these two projects) sometimes challenged the balance of being both an independent researcher and a research project participant with deliveries. This balancing act became easier over time as my project focus sharpened. Being able to present emerging findings of the papers also made the research process more transparent, which, in turn, made it easier for organizational members to distinguish the commissioned project from my dissertation project.

Finally, ensuring data accuracy was another concern with regard to translating interview transcripts and organizational documents into English. As the interviews in the second case were conducted in Danish, I wanted to ensure that the informants' intended meanings came through in translation. To avoid misunderstandings or inaccurate translations, the organization

was asked to verify both transcripts and early versions of the papers. In this way, the informants had the opportunity to correct or adjust the meanings of their statements.

Analysing, coding, and theorizing the data

The data material was transcribed and subsequently systematized and analysed through an inductive, cyclical process of coding. This process had two main functions. First, it served an interpretive function, which allowed me to reflect and ponder the data's meaning. Second, coding served as a practical tool to categorize data (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013). I coded all data, including interview transcripts, archival material, and field notes, by using the software programme NVivo. Following Gioia et al. (2012), I coded and categorized the data into first-order concepts and then subsequently into second-order concepts. While coding, I also wrote memos (Schreiber, 2001) to document my thoughts and emerging theoretical ideas.

Whereas scholars often describe the coding process as a neat, logical affair, this description does not accurately depict my process of trying to make sense of my data. For example, when I had a paper accepted for revision and resubmission, each time I had to return to the drawing board to rethink and redo the coding. While this work was tedious and time-consuming, it also allowed me to become deeply acquainted with my data. These rounds of revision were also highly beneficial in terms of revealing findings and sharpening the papers' conceptual focus. The papers describe and visualise the coding process in more detail. For an example and elaboration of this process, see Paper 1.

The first two papers study historical and identity narratives. To study these narrative forms, I engaged in narrative analysis (Vaara et al., 2016) in which I interpreted stories told within the research context. My focus and interest were to understand the purposes of the narratives, how they were performed, and their content. Moreover, rather than looking for full-fledged narratives, I sought to locate narrative fragments and cues in the data (Boje, 2001). This form of analysis goes beyond the more traditional forms of narrative analysis stemming from literary theory or linguistics, as it broadens the scope of how we consider narratives to be used and reproduced (Vaara et al., 2016). Analysing the dataset of the first (Turkish) empirical setting, my co-author and I noted how notions of past and present were expressed and, subsequently, how such elements were combined in a coherent narrative. We examined not merely the content of the identified narratives but also the ways in which they were structured and performed (Boje, 1991; Mishler, 1995). Through this approach, we examined how the statements and

activities of the movement members expressed and manifested the identified narratives materially and symbolically. Analysis the dataset of the second (Danish) empirical setting the coding was focused on capturing narrative cues that presented expressions of identity, which allowed my co-author and I to see a shift in temporal focus over time. Following Langley (1999), I employed the analytical strategy of temporal bracketing in the third, final paper. This form of analysis decomposes “data into successive adjacent periods [which] enables the explicit examination of how actions of one period lead to changes in the context that will affect action in subsequent periods” (1999:703). For more detail about how I did this, see Paper 3.

Note that the analytical process did not start after I had collected the data but, rather, began as a parallel process to the data collection as a result of stumbling upon puzzling incidents in the field. For example, as I became familiar with the nonprofit organization and noted incessant organizational focus on future development rather than on its stated mission (Paper 2), I began to reflect on how this counterintuitive fixation had happened. This reflection led to my interest in the role of organizational memory, or rather, lack thereof.

I made sense of emerging findings and subsequently theorized them through an analytical process of abduction (Locke, Golden-Biddle & Feldman, 2008), which enabled me to go back and forth to develop plausible explanations for what was going on. This process is best described as an interactive, iterative movement of going back and forth between theory and data, which allowed me to discern connections that enhanced my theoretical understanding of the studied phenomenon.

The following sections (Chapters 4–6) of the dissertation present the three papers forming the basis of the study.

4. Inventing Culinary Heritage through Strategic Historical Ambiguity

Abstract

Studies have shown how organizations create and use historical narratives to ‘outpast’ competing narratives, in attempts to claim authenticity through antiquity. We extend this work by exploring how organizations deliberately use historical narratives located in a vaguely defined past as a tool to craft legitimate historical narratives of a common cultural heritage. We theorise a link between strategic ambiguity and historical narratives by explaining how organizational actors construct a vaguely defined past and how historical narratives help these actors invent a cultural heritage. Conducting an in-depth case study of a culinary movement based in Istanbul, Turkey, we identify three forms of ambiguity that enable the construction of a common cultural heritage. These forms include ambiguity of origin, ambiguity of artefacts and ambiguity of ownership, and enable actors to concretise and perform a vaguely defined past in the present. Our study advances understanding of organizational uses of the past and suggests the term ‘strategic historical ambiguity’ to capture how ambiguity is deliberately used as a tool to craft legitimate historical narratives of a common cultural heritage.

Keywords: *culinary movement, cultural heritage, historical narratives, strategic ambiguity, strategic historical ambiguity, uses of the past*

Introduction

While many studies have examined how organizations construct and employ historical narratives for strategic ends (e.g. Foster, Coraiola, Suddaby, Kroezen, & Chandler, 2017), scholars have recently underscored the need to explain how the temporality of such narratives matters in this process (Wadhwani, Suddaby, Mordhorst, & Popp, 2018). Previous studies have shown, for example, how organizations work to ‘outpast’ other narratives, in attempts to claim authenticity through antiquity (Lubinski, 2018). To do so, organizations resurrect nearly forgotten narratives by diving into corporate archives (Hatch & Schultz, 2017; Ravasi, Rindova, & Stigliani, 2019) or by drawing on institutional memories of a society (Cailluet, Gorge, & Özçağlar-Toulouse, 2018; Foster et al., 2017; Oertel & Thommes, 2018). Thus, when constructing and employing historical narratives, organizations seem to prefer some parts of the past to others. Whereas previous studies have illustrated the variety of forms and sources of historical narratives, few studies address ideas and uses of ambiguity in these narratives. We fill this gap by focusing on the ambiguity of historical narratives and how organizations construct and employ them.

Whereas organizational scholars have made great progress in exploring how organizations might use the past strategically, we still know very little about how organizations use ambiguity as a strategy when they construct and employ historical narratives. We draw on the concept of *strategic ambiguity* (Eisenberg, 1984) defined as how ‘ambiguity is used strategically to foster agreement on abstractions without limiting specific interpretations’ (Eisenberg, 1984: 231). We extend this work by exploring how historical narratives located in a vaguely defined past are used as a tool to create a common cultural heritage. We thereby aim to answer the following question: How do organizational actors use strategic ambiguity to construct legitimate historical narratives of a common cultural heritage?

The study examines how a nascent group of organizational actors aims to mobilise support to legitimise a new, local cuisine, which they claim is temporally anchored in an unspecified ancient past. The paper explores how this group constructs and employs historical narratives to authenticate and legitimise their efforts to develop a novel cuisine and culinary heritage. We study an emerging, Istanbul-based culinary movement that aims to construct a ‘New Anatolian Kitchen’ based on regional culinary customs and traditions. To do so, organizational actors engage in a deliberate process to invent and craft a coherent and convincing narrative. In

constructing this narrative, the organizational actors remember certain events of the past and deliberately forget others, in order to highlight or silence competing narratives of an ancient past, an imperial (Ottoman) recent past, and a modern present (Turkish) state.

We specify three forms of ambiguity that enable the construction of cultural heritage. They include ambiguity of origin, ambiguity of artefacts and ambiguity of ownership, which enable the past to be enacted and performed in the present. We theorise a link between strategic ambiguity and historical narratives by showing how the construction of ambiguous historical narratives helps organizational actors to craft legitimate historical narratives. Finally, we suggest that ambiguous historical narratives enable organizational actors, such as those in the emerging culinary movement, to construct a cultural heritage by suspending the formation of competing clear-cut historical narratives. In the following sections we define and elaborate on the core constructs of our study.

Historical Narratives and Working the Past

While scholars have long recognised history's key role in organizational life (e.g. Stinchcombe, 1965), growing awareness has emerged of how actors use history to shape specific organizational outcomes (e.g. Coraiola, Foster, & Suddaby, 2015). This stream of research considers historical narratives as strategic assets and resources, which can be used to produce deliberate organizational results (Foster et al., 2017). As such, history is not merely an accumulation of past experience or a product of past circumstances but also a potential strategic tool through which events are selected, interpreted and conveyed to specific audiences for specific purposes (Foster et al., 2017). These studies distinguish organizational history from the organizational past. Whereas they see the past as the time before the present, they consider history to be the narrative accounts we create about it (Munslow, 2016). They regard history not as an objectively fixed entity that can be grasped by looking into the past but, rather, as something malleable that is interpreted (Reinecke & Ansari, 2015) and given meaning through individual and collective processes of narration (Zundel, Holt, & Popp, 2016).

Previous research has demonstrated how organizational actors use historical narratives for a broad range of strategic purposes, to create both continuity and change (Suddaby & Foster, 2017). Through attempts at 'working the past' (Linde, 2008), organizations employ the past as raw material, from which history is subsequently assembled and (re)constructed into a coherent

narrative. This form of manipulation typically involves mnemonic cutting and pasting, through which managers aim to construct historical continuity or discontinuity (Chreim, 2005; Zerubavel, 2003). In their study of a French aerospace company, Anteby and Molnár (2012) showed how management suppressed change and variability through selective remembering and forgetting, to make organizational history and identity appear more coherent. Other studies have shown how the past may also represent a burden that organizational actors try to cast off (Foster et al., 2017), and organizations construct demarcations between the past and present to promote identity or category change (Delmestri & Greenwood, 2016; Ybema, 2010).

Constructing Historical Narratives

Studies have shown how historical narratives may be constructed from a wide variety of sources. In corporations, managers may draw on material from inside organizational archives (Hatch & Schultz, 2017; Schultz & Hernes, 2013) or corporate museums (Ravasi et al., 2019) when constructing a common understanding of what past events mean for present and future action. In these cases, managers act as historians by using historical evidence and anecdotes to build narratives that create coherence between past achievement, present action and future expectations (Kroeze & Keulen, 2013). Other studies have suggested that historical narratives originating *outside* organizational boundaries might promote such processes more effectively (Cailluet et al., 2018; Foster et al., 2011; Lubinski, 2018). These accounts may be based on national (Foster et al., 2017; Mordhorst, 2014), regional (Howard-Grenville, Metzger, & Meyer, 2013; Oertel & Thommes, 2018), or industry narratives (Hills, Voronov, & Hinings, 2013; Kroezen & Heugens, 2019; Lamertz, Foster, Coraiola, & Kroezen, 2016), from which symbols and practices are adopted to support stakeholder identification with the organization(s). To strengthen legitimacy and membership identification, organizations may therefore ‘actively work their history through organizational and institutional memory to fuse the memory and identity of the individual and the community in a process that serves the ultimate goal of reproducing the organization as an institution’ (Suddaby, Foster & Quinn Trank, 2016: 306).

While most research has shown how organizational actors construct historical narratives through the intentional use of spoken or written language, some studies have also highlighted the importance of visual or material resources. In their examination of Carlsberg brewery, Hatch and Schultz (2017) showed how the organization used a particular historical artefact to

lend authenticity to strategic actions. Similarly, Schultz and Hernes (2013) found that the toy manufacturer Lego employed material memory forms as the company evoked the past to reconstruct a present identity; Howard-Grenville et al. (2013) demonstrated how community leaders employed tangible resources such as money and talent to resurrect a forgotten collective identity. Through the use of mnemonic technologies, such as records and symbols of the past, organizations cue and stimulate memory to make historical narratives appear as logically consistent chains of events (Olick, 1999). In this process, organizations couple various forms of textual, material and oral memory to project historical coherence and authenticity, a phenomenon framed as organizational historicizing (Hatch & Schultz, 2017).

Strategic ambiguity—anchoring narratives in a vaguely defined past

Whereas previous studies have illustrated historical narratives' varied forms and sources, few studies examine ideas and uses of ambiguity in such narratives. Nonetheless, some studies show how appropriating an ancient (rather than a recent) past allows for more flexible interpretation. Studying the use of historical narratives by German companies in colonial India, Lubinski (2018) shows how Indians and Germans attempted to 'outpast' the British by invoking an earlier origin, thereby claiming authenticity through antiquity. While these findings show how history situated in an ancient past may be used to outdo competing narratives, we still know little about how organizational actors work to authenticate and legitimise such narratives.

To address this gap, we draw on the concept of strategic ambiguity (Eisenberg, 1984). Eisenberg (1984) introduced and defined the term as follows: "ambiguity is used strategically to foster agreement on abstractions without limiting specific interpretations" (Eisenberg, 1984: 231). We define this ambiguity as constructed through opaque rhetorical and material statements that allow multiple interpretations to exist among people who perceive themselves to attend to the same idea. In this way, strategic ambiguity may be used to construct and maintain unified diversity. Whereas early research on strategic ambiguity focused on internal organizational uses, recent work showed how ambiguous statements may also be employed for external use, to control external stakeholders or enable collective action (Davenport & Leitch, 2005; Jarzabkowski, Sillince, & Shaw, 2010). Scandellius and Cohen (2016) suggest that the construction of strategic ambiguity allows multiple stakeholder responses and interpretations to exist in a unified diversity. Building on this view, we extend research on strategic ambiguity

by linking it to historical narratives located in a vaguely defined past, to show how organizations use such narratives as a tool. We use the term ‘strategic’ to underline organizations’ intentional, purposeful efforts to construct and use ambiguity in historical narratives. Finally, we consider not only organizational actors’ rhetorical, historical claims but also how they enact and perform those claims through action, material forms and mnemonic cues.

The Research Setting: New Anatolian Kitchen

In recent years, the republic of Turkey, the so-called melting pot of the occident and the orient, has been trying to define its culture. The precarious balance of ancient and modern times, which led to political unrest during the spring of 2013, is currently also reflected in the country’s changing gastronomic scene and identity (Cheshes, 2013). At the forefront of the culinary movement emerging in Istanbul stands the gastro-entrepreneur Mehmet Gürs. Through his flagship restaurant Mikla, often cited as the best restaurant in Istanbul, Gürs is one of the leading initiators of a movement based on traditional cooking from the Anatolian region. His current vision for the new culinary concept first emerged in 2009, when he hired Tangor Tan, a food anthropologist who had studied and worked under Slow Food founder Carlo Petrini.

In 2011, the Italian food writer Gabriele Zanatta coined the label ‘New Anatolian Kitchen’, following a presentation by Gürs at the international cooking convention *Identità Golose* in Milan (Slow Food, 2015). The subsequent year, after several years of research and investigation of the region’s culinary heritage, Gürs finally launched the New Anatolian Kitchen Manifesto, a testimony opening with the following solicitation: “Dare to look at the traditional habits, products and techniques with a new and fresh perspective” (New Anatolian Kitchen Manifesto, 2012, see Appendix D). Since the manifesto’s launch, Mikla’s anthropologist has been exploring the regional culinary heritage of the countryside, learning about ingredients and methods from different ethnic groups and communities. While on the road to rediscover the ‘Anatolian region’, covering areas from Iran to Bulgaria, the anthropologist has tasted and tried more than 5000 different products and techniques, all of which he has carefully documented and brought back to the Mikla Lab for further exploration and innovation (Shingler, 2017). Thus, Mikla currently sources ingredients from more than 250 small producers in Turkey, Armenia, Syria, Iran, Iraq, Greece and Bulgaria.

By capitalising on his position as a celebrity chef and media darling, Gürs was able to direct attention to his vision. Following the launch of the manifesto several Istanbul-based chefs also recognised the strategic intent and potential in these ideas and began to implement the ideas in their own kitchens. Thus, previously separate but similar efforts and ideas were now slowly uniting through one label: New Anatolian Kitchen. The movement gained momentum, as more chefs in Istanbul's restaurant scene increasingly began serving modern interpretations of traditional dishes based on ingredients discovered and gathered on exploratory trips in the Anatolian region.

In 2013, the movement expanded beyond the high-end restaurant scene, through the formation of the interdisciplinary, nonprofit organization Gastronomika – Repositioning Anatolian Cuisine. The organization aims to create 'a multidisciplinary re-identification project' (Gastronomika webpage, 2014: 2) that can allow the Anatolian culinary heritage to meet the preferences of contemporary diners. The organization promotes itself as "an interdisciplinary culinary movement that aims to reposition the rooted Anatolian cuisine domestically and internationally" (Gastronomika webpage, 2017). Furthermore, Gastronomika intends "to reposition the gastronomic, visual and audial narratives of the Anatolian cuisine" and states its motive "to redefine and literally rebrand the Anatolian cuisine" (Gastronomika webpage, 2017).

Gastronomika comprises an interdisciplinary project team of chefs, designers and historians who collaboratively work to revitalise and transform Anatolian cooking for modern palates. Their goal has been to change people's perceptions of Turkish and Anatolian cuisine, while using a vast spectrum of traditional ingredients and cooking techniques to create contemporary, relevant forms of local gastronomy (Gastronomika, 2014). By constructing an open, bilingual, public archive called the KaraTahta (Blackboard), Gastronomika attempts to democratise the culinary movement by inviting people to share recipes and knowledge, thereby collectively helping to create the New Anatolian Kitchen. Moreover, the local community is invited to take part in cooking sessions through the initiative #AçıkMutfak (Open Kitchen), in which Gastronomika's chefs help community members to cook and explore recipes and techniques of the regional cuisine. Gastronomika is working to reidentify and redesign the Anatolian cuisine by giving lectures and seminars, arranging free food tastings, and designing tools that allow people to use traditional techniques in small, urban settings. The latter concept is called

‘hacking modern kitchen’ and is an ongoing programme for designing and prototyping different design practices to help contemporary urban dwellers make better use of Anatolian culinary heritage.

Data and Methods

The study examines how organizations strategically craft, employ and enact historical narratives to construct a cultural heritage. The New Anatolian Kitchen movement is the empirical setting for studying how a group of organizational actors use history and tradition to construct a culinary heritage as the basis for an emerging movement. Assuming an agentic view of history (Foster et al., 2017; Reinecke & Ansari, 2015), we study how New Anatolian Kitchen members deliberately draw on historical narratives and use selected time frames to construct a particular cultural heritage.

Data collection

We gathered all primary data, including interviews, photos and observations, on site in Istanbul during two intervals in 2015. The interviews, forming the primary empirical foundation of the analysis, consist of 15 semi-structured, open-ended interviews with 16 informants in the culinary field in Istanbul. We conducted several of the interviews in restaurants described as New Anatolian, which allowed discussion of the food served. We recorded all interviews and followed up some interviews with informal meetings and conversations in later visits to Istanbul in 2017. We have anonymised the interviewees and presented them only by their professional roles, due to the political situation in Turkey.

Following Flyvbjerg (2006), we identified the informants through extensive research prior to embarking on the fieldwork and chose them through strategic sampling and their information value based on their prominent roles in Istanbul’s culinary field. We strategically sampled the informants to include various roles (chefs, restaurateurs, food writers, journalists, food researchers and culinary school managers), to represent different institutions within Istanbul’s culinary field, and to reflect involvement in or knowledge of the emerging movement. Despite our challenges associated with accessing the field, the informants proved to be well-connected gatekeepers to Istanbul’s culinary community. With their assistance, we scheduled more interviews, and a snowballing effect (Noy, 2007) occurred, providing access to additional informants and revealing that the group of organizational actors make up a tight-knit community. To better understand their role in the New Anatolian Kitchen, we asked the

informants about their background, philosophy and approach to cooking, their views on the current and future state of the New Anatolian Kitchen, and whether they considered themselves to be part of a movement. While some of the interviewed chefs and restaurant owners initially were reluctant to adopt the 'New Anatolian' label, they all considered themselves to be part of the movement and supportive of its aim, thus signifying the emergent nature of such processes.

To supplement the accounts and ideational thinking about the New Anatolian Kitchen and to better understand its activities and physical manifestations, we conducted direct on-site observation (approximately 50 hours) of how the movement was enacted and performed. On-site observation allowed us to take photos and record field notes, which helped us to recall key details and develop contextual understanding of the case. Visiting and dining at several of the restaurants associated with the movement allowed us to engage in sensory experiences whereby the dishes served as a medium to stimulate conversation and supplemented the information from the interviews (Pink, 2015). These observational visits also allowed us to document narrative cues expressed through visual and textual material such as interior design, artwork and menu presentations. Tasting variations of New Anatolian Kitchen dishes brought deeper understanding of what the movement entails, by allowing us to compare the chefs' interpretations of dishes, including the ingredients and styles of plating.

Other observations included witnessing one chef cook, visiting the innovation workshop of another chef, guided tours of two culinary schools, and visiting the headquarters of a nonprofit where regular meetings, seminars and food tastings occurred. While visiting the innovation work- shop, the first author learned about ongoing experiments, observed different cooking tools and ingredients, and examined photographic material captured during exploratory trips to the Anatolian countryside. These experiences enhanced our overall understanding of how various organizational actors narrate and perform the notion of New Anatolian Kitchen. Moreover, we gathered written documents, such as the movement's manifesto, to gain insight into the movement's vision and self-presentation. We also gathered and reviewed documents stating organizational goals, restaurant mottos, menu descriptions and so forth.

Secondary data in the form of media news articles and books supplemented the primary sources. This data was important for gaining deeper understanding of the historical background and the political and socioeconomic context before and after we entered the field (Prior, 2004). We found media news articles mainly through online search engines, such as Google and

Factiva, by using relevant key words such as ‘new Anatolian cuisine’, ‘new Anatolian kitchen’, the equivalent Turkish translation ‘*Yeni Anadolu Mutfağı*’, or the names of chefs and their restaurants. We also collected photographic material (both self-captured photographs and material found online) and video material from YouTube showing members of the movement giving master classes and presentations.

Primary and secondary data sources are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Overview of data.

Type of data collected	Interval 1: March 2015	Interval 2: September 2015	Data use
Interviews: 15	<p>Chefs and restaurateurs: 7 interviews conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 35 min. – 2 h.</p> <p>Culinary researchers: 2 interviews conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 54 min. – 1 h. 5 min.</p> <p>Food critics, journalists and editors: 2 interviews conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1 h. 9 min. – 1 h. 43 min.</p> <p>Food activists (working for a relevant nonprofit): 1 group interview with two co-founders of the organization, conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1 h.</p> <p>Representatives from cooking schools: 2 interviews conducted in person; notes taken. 1 interview was a group interview with 6 participants. Duration: 47 min. – 1 h. 23 min.</p>	<p>Chefs and restaurateurs: 1 interview (second interview) conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1 h. and 4 min.</p> <p>Food anthropologist: 1 interview conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 54 min.</p>	<p>Interview data: Provide insight on actors’ role in NAK and how they assign meaning to the NAK label with regard to the past and the present.</p> <p>Interview statements are used to identify narratives concerning NAK. The narratives help us understand the intentions behind NAK as well as its emergence, self-presentation and explanation about the ideas behind the culinary invention.</p>
Observations: Ca. 50 h.	<p>Dining at 6 NAK restaurants: 20 h.</p> <p>Visiting and touring two culinary schools: 4 h.</p> <p>Visit to a chef’s innovation workshop: 2 h.</p> <p>Visit to nonprofit headquarter:</p>	<p>Dining at 3 NAK restaurants. Two returning visits: 10 h.</p> <p>Observing a photo-shoot of new dishes for new menu/webpage in a restaurant: 1 h.</p>	<p>On-site observations: Used to supplement accounts and ideational thinking about NAK.</p> <p>Provide us with narrative cues, physical-material manifestations and actions performing NAK in the present.</p>

	2 h. Observing a chef cook: 1 h.		Used to evidence how NAK is concretised, enacted and performed.
Examples of organizational documents	New Anatolian Kitchen Manifesto. Published 2012. Restaurant menus from identified New Anatolian restaurants. Webpage descriptions of organizational/restaurant vision, motto, approach etc. Project description: “Gastronomika: Repositioning Anatolian Cuisine” (12 pages). Pearly Gastronomy guide 2018 (online).	Written material: Public material that is used to provide insight into the communicated vision for NAK and self-presentation in the public domain. Used to supplement narratives collected via interviews.	
Media material	Press clippings containing interviews and portrayals of the movement from 2005-2018 from both national and international sources.	Provide external audiences’ view on NAK. Is also used to provide contextual understanding of historical background and present political and socio-economic context in Turkey.	
Examples of photographic and video material	Self-captured photos during observations. Master classes given by chefs at summits and conferences (collected from YouTube). Television appearances (collected from YouTube). “Feed your soul” (Ruhun Doysun) series - 11 episodes of 15-25 min. (collected from YouTube)	Some of the material is used to document physical-material manifestations of NAK (fx. Dishes), Other material is used to get examples of public narratives on NAK.	

Data analysis

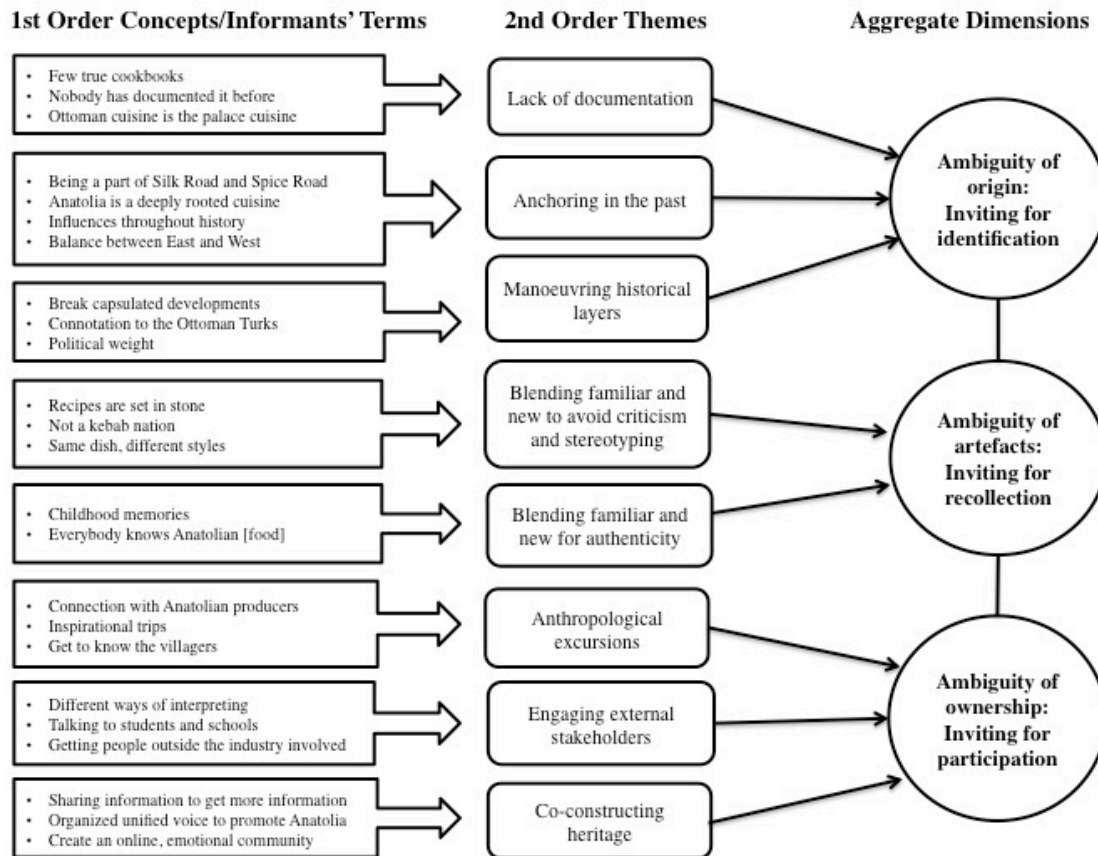
Embarking on the analysis, we used interview transcripts and document statements (e.g. from the manifesto) to identify text segments that expressed particular notions, demarcations and combinations of time and place. Specifically, we noted how organizational actors interpreted and assigned meaning to a label (i.e. New Anatolian Kitchen). Following Gioia, Corley and Hamilton (2012), we embarked on the analysis in an inductive way, reading through interview transcripts, field notes and collected documents multiple times to become deeply familiar with the data. During this process, we noted thoughts and ideas before reviewing the data more systematically.

Subsequently, we began a cyclical process of coding, in which we identified first-order concepts. This helped us to remain as close to the informants' own wording and opinions as possible, while following up on the broader themes employed in the initial phase. We continually compared emerging second-order themes to specific instances or key events described by informants that applied to the themes and theoretical categories. This included recording the past and present elements of the narratives. We examined how organizational actors sought to construct historical (dis)continuity in their narratives (Zerubavel, 2003), while simultaneously noting elements that were purposely left out or forgotten. Throughout the process, we continually reflected on how these narratives could be interpreted in light of current conditions in the broader culinary and local Turkish contexts (i.e. the Turkish political climate). We further examined how the different informants (mainly the chefs) understood and described their work and how they used narratives to justify current action.

In addition, we analysed photos and film clips, along with text, in a triangulating manner. Through this approach, we examined how the statements and activities of the movement members expressed and manifested the identified narratives materially and symbolically. Specifically, we analysed how notions of past and present were expressed and, subsequently, how such elements were combined in a coherent narrative. We examined not merely the content of the identified narratives but also the ways in which they were structured and performed (Boje, 1991; Mishler, 1995). We also traced how the media conveyed and communicated these narratives.

This first round of coding resulted in an initial list of 24 first-order codes. These included first-order concepts such as 'few true cookbooks', 'influences throughout history', 'connotations to Ottoman Turks', 'not a Kebab nation' and 'childhood memories', among others (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Coding tree



Having identified many first-order codes, we looked for overlap and patterns across the emerging themes. Using meaning condensation, we reduced the 24 first-order codes to eight second-order codes, which included themes such as ‘lack of documentation’, ‘anchoring in the past’, ‘manoeuvring historical layers’ and ‘blending familiar and new for authenticity’. We subsequently grouped these codes into three aggregate forms of ambiguity, which we identified in our data as ambiguity of origin, ambiguity of artefacts and ambiguity of ownership. This reduction was an iterative process, moving back and forth between data and theory, matching theoretical concepts such as ‘strategic ambiguity’ (Eisenberg, 1984) with data-generated themes (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to provide new insights. Throughout the analysis, from collecting the data to documenting the findings, we continuously revisited the data and engaged in discussions to test and develop mutual understanding of how that data should be interpreted and the theoretical implications of our understanding (Gioia et al., 2012).

In the following sections, we show how the group of organizational actors work to construct a new culinary heritage by drawing on historical narratives and using ambiguity as a strategic tool to create and legitimise such narratives. Considering our data, we specify three forms of

ambiguity that enable this construction: ambiguity of origin, ambiguity of artefacts and ambiguity of ownership, which we outline in the following sections.

Findings

Ambiguity of origin

Ambiguity of origin concerns how the New Anatolian Kitchen movement has invoked certain historical narratives to intentionally circumvent and ‘outpast’ other historical narratives, in order to construct an alternative narrative located in a vaguely defined, ambiguous past, while inviting identification and helping the movement grow and gain acceptance.

While the informants stressed regional geography and history as the movement’s foundation, we noted how they kept these defining elements vague when describing the kitchen:

The Anatolian kitchen is not restricted to the Turkish or the Ottoman kitchen. All products are of different ethnic origins and religions of Anatolia, the birthplace of cultures during a very long span of time before and after the Ottoman Empire, constitute the kitchen of this region. (New Anatolian Kitchen Manifesto, 2012)

The quotation shows how the organizational actors construct ambiguity of origin by drawing on historical narratives situated in an unspecified, ambiguous past. To do so, they take advantage of the sparsely documented culinary history of the region:

The stuff that’s been there for generations (. . .) for hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of years (. . .) I don’t know anything about it, very little about it. Some theories yes, I know some of it, but the people in this part of the world they have not had the habit of taking notes or tracking their history. You find very few true cookbooks or even history books about what happened a hundred years ago. (Interview #1 chef and restaurant owner)

Most documentation and depictions of Turkish cuisine have focused on elite kitchens, developed in the palaces and elite Istanbul circles during the Ottoman era (Claflin & Scholliers, 2013; Pekin & Sümer, 1996). One informant explains: “Ottoman cuisine means palace cuisine; away from the people” (interview #13 culinary researcher and editor), while another informant states:

You can’t get that information from other places outside the palace. You cannot know the people’s food. What they were eating (. . .) I mean it’s difficult. Of course, there are

books about that, but it's kind of difficult. (Interview #12 publisher and cookbook author)

While scant documentation of the Anatolian kitchen could potentially pose a challenge, the movement uses limited knowledge of ordinary people's cooking and eating habits as a strategic advantage. In this way, the lack of documentation opens a window of opportunity whereby the group of organizational actors become less constrained in constructing a culinary heritage based on historical resources that fit the movement's purpose. The under-documented knowledge of culinary history allows the movement's members to increase their discretionary freedom as they historicise the past. The following statement summarises this approach:

I mean, when I look at Anatolian cooking, I don't only look at the Ottoman cooking, that's only one little part in history. Eight hundred years is nothing in human history! It's nothing. You had the Byzantines; you had the Greeks, and all these civilisations that were here before. When you look at the Ottomans; during the Ottoman years, it was not only the Muslim Turks that were here. You had the Jews, you had the Greeks, you had the Armenians (. . .) you had so many people that were here! All of their cooking is also part of the heritage of this land. (Interview #1 chef and restaurant owner)

To assert ambiguity of origin, the notion of 'Anatolia' is employed as a label that disregards firm demarcation between previous empires or current national borders. One informant notes,

If you call it Turkish cuisine, you exclude many other cuisines. But when calling it Anatolian cuisine you are talking about a region. So it becomes a regional cuisine, rather than a national cuisine. (Interview #11 university food researcher)

By stressing the region's diversity, the Anatolian label enables the construction of a culinary heritage whose history remains inclusive, flexible and open to renegotiation. In this way, the organizational actors manoeuvre multiple historical layers by employing an empty signifier as the movement's label:

When we say Anatolia, we don't just think about Turkey. We think Balkans, Middle East, North Africa (. . .) even Iran and way forward. We think of Spice Road and Silk Road. Because when we say Anatolia, we think about all the influences throughout history. We don't just limit ourselves to the borders of Turkey. (Interview #8 food activist, chef and nonprofit founder)

As the previous statement shows, the informant uses the notion of Anatolia in a symbolic way and not in the sense of an administrative unit. It is portrayed as encapsulating the culinary tradition of the multiple and diverse empires, civilisations and ethnic groups that have occupied the region throughout history. By narrating the Anatolian culinary heritage in this way, the organizational actors invite identification by ensuring that the label escapes a clear definition and thereby remains ambiguous, inclusive, flexible and open to individual interpretation.

To affirm the authenticity of the New Anatolian heritage, the cuisine is narratively anchored in an unspecified ancient past. To do so, the organizational actors use specific historical events and references, such as the ancient trading networks of the Spice Road and Silk Road, when describing the cuisine. Making such references promotes a particular imprint of historical rootedness and positions the movement as a continuation and extension of an ancient past. The movement aims, in this way, to validate its cuisine as ‘authentic’ and of great historical significance (cf. Foster et al., 2017: 1186).

It's very deeply rooted, the whole area. I mean, you've been here before, so you've seen the city and the layers of layers of layers of history. . . of different empires and this and that. (Interview #1 chef and restaurant owner)

Trading routes, whose historical traces date as far back as 2000 BC, have traditionally been regarded as the link between East and West, a reference often employed to depict the dichotomy of Turkish identity and culture:

This part of the world (. . .) I'm talking about the pre-Ottoman era, I'm talking Alexander times as well, when you had the Persians fighting the Greeks here. Even back then, this piece of land that we live on today had this weird clash of cultures. (. . .) Traditionally, there's been a beautiful balance between them. So why not embrace it and see what you can bring out? (Interview #4 chef and restaurant owner)

While refraining from mentioning other recent, historical pasts, the movement narrates itself as a continuation of a rooted past in which diverse ethnicities and cultures once lived peacefully side by side. In this manner, they invite identification from a broad array of stakeholders.

Avoiding notions such as ‘Ottoman’ or ‘Turkish’, which refer to a more recent historical past, allows the movement to distance itself from political disputes of the present and recent past. One chef explains:

Just by using the proper wording brings people to being open-minded about a new movement. And that was. . . it was very purposefully done. . . (. . .) if I would say ‘New Turkish’, it would involve Erdoğan, it would involve religion, it would involve freedom of speech. . . or non-existence of freedom of speech (interview #1 chef and restaurant owner)

The decision to use a more inclusive term can be interpreted as a purposeful reaction against an overall trend towards ‘gastro-nationalism’ (DeSoucey, 2010) and an increasingly nationalistic and authoritarian socio-political environment in Turkey. Another informant correspondingly remarks, “When you call it Anatolian cuisine it is more politically correct, first of all, and more inclusive, in terms of ethnic cuisines and regional cuisines” (interview #11 university food researcher). Thus, the label appears as a purposeful, strategic attempt to depoliticise local culinary heritage by ‘outpasting’ a label like ‘new Turkish’ and constructing an alternative, attractive and inclusive label and historical narrative that invites identification.

Ambiguity of artefacts

Ambiguity of artefacts concerns the materiality of the New Anatolian Kitchen and artefacts as historical elements that enable historicising by authenticating and legitimising the strategic historical narrative, specifically by enacting it in the present. It invites recollection through material memory forms, and through ambiguity it creates flexibility that allows the group of organizational actors to innovate by distancing from rigid culinary codes and established ways of cooking. Taking advantage of the symbolic nature of food, the chefs construct strategic ambiguity by blending traditional recipes and techniques. Doing so makes the New Anatolian dishes historically recognisable yet challenging to locate in a specific culinary tradition, and thus, difficult to dismiss as historically inauthentic. By drawing on and playing with different cooking styles and customs, the chefs use combinations of familiar elements in dishes that simultaneously allow “for agreement on abstractions without limiting specific interpretations” (Eisenberg, 1984: 231).

Ambiguity of artefacts manifests in several ways, for example, in the dishes served at the restaurants whose components were gathered on inspirational trips across the region (see Appendix C). While constructing new dishes by combining recipes, techniques and ingredients, chefs described how they work strategically to circumvent critique from what they perceive to be a conservative local customer base:

Here [in Turkey], you just cannot take this and do it that way. Because this has been done like this for hundreds of years, and who are you to come and change it? It's almost sacrilegious to cook a certain way. (Interview #2 chef and restaurant owner)

To make room for innovation and avoid such criticism, chefs intentionally refrain from tampering with heavily institutionalised Turkish recipes (e.g. köfte, kebab or baklava). As another chef explains,

Rather than touching these traditional Turkish (. . .) established Turkish recipes, we thought it would be nice to bring in lesser-known recipes, and techniques and ingredients. And play with them. Because that would allow us to (. . .) avoid touching a sacred recipe, but at the same time still be very local, because they are local. (Interview #6 restaurant owner)

By drawing on fewer familiar ingredients, recipes and techniques, the chefs strategically work to avoid scepticism and enable innovation. They aim to create a modern synthesis, a 'unified diversity' of local traditions by combining different elements into a new yet recognisable whole:

In our menu we have many plates, many recipes that you can find all around Turkey, but they are cooked differently [in different regions]. (. . .) But it's the same dish with different styles. So what we try to do here is to combine the dish with different styles from Turkey, and create one taste where everyone would feel at home. (Interview #3 chef and restaurant owner)

This way of combining elements from different layers of time, geographies and cultures is highly intentional and aims to evoke memories of previous tastes and dishes. The motive is to create recollection and commitment from local audiences by forging a connection between the New Anatolian Kitchen and the diners' past gastronomic experiences. The challenge is to strike a balance between novelty and familiarity (new but recognisable). Another chef makes a similar remark while presenting and explaining a dish to the author:

It is true to its history, it is seasonally right, it is from this geography and it is (. . .) it doesn't deny its roots. It is delicious and it is simple. It's not complicated, but it is fresh (. . .) and new (. . .) and at the same time, my grandmother used to cook it. (Interview #6 restaurant owner)

This quote illustrates how restaurants create fusions of regional traditions that are combined strategically to bring forth recollection and recognition from diners and, thus, strengthen the perceived authenticity of the novel dishes. This way of synthesising different culinary customs is a way to create an inclusive, culinary heritage that enables identification from a broad base of potential members and stakeholders: “Everybody knows Anatolian [food]. It’s the only thing that they ate in their lifetime (. . .)” (interview #9 food activist and nonprofit founder). Thus, paraphrasing Eisenberg (1984), we may say that by building on such strategic ambiguity regarding artefacts, the group of organizational actors foster agreement on abstractions, in this case the New Anatolian Kitchen, without limiting specific interpretations. By bringing forth recollection and recognition, they also concretise and perform the historical narrative in the present.

Ambiguity of ownership

Ambiguity of ownership concerns inviting participation by reaching out and engaging external stakeholders. We consider ambiguity of ownership to be strategic to the extent that it offers the organizational actors a way to welcome, incorporate and engage the narratives offered by external stakeholders, while still remaining in control of the historical narrative constructed and put forth by the movement. We regard this as an effort to stimulate rather than enforce acceptance and adoption of the narrative.

The organizational actors engage external stakeholders in two main ways. First, they reach out by conducting anthropological excursions in the region and, second, by creating an open-source digital archive. With regard to the historical narrative, ‘ambiguity of ownership’ plays a vital role in organizational historicizing (Hatch & Schultz, 2017), by bringing the historical narrative of the vaguely defined past into the present, by engaging and expanding the number of people and organizations performing the narrative. This is, moreover, a way to support the narrative of New Anatolian Kitchen representing the culinary heritage of the ‘people’, and to distance the narrative from the elitist image of Ottoman cuisine. The organizational actors remain acutely aware of this threat, as New Anatolian Kitchen restaurants largely cater to tourists and wealthy Turkish citizens:

*At the end of the day, how many people are going to be able to eat in these restaurants?
That’s another thing. I’m not sure if I’d like people to say ‘I don’t like this movement’.
(Interview #10 culinary journalist, cookbook author and food consultant)*

The effort to shield the movement from potential allegations of elitism concerns not only the New Anatolian Kitchen but also other contemporary culinary movements such as, for example, New Nordic Kitchen (Byrkjeflot et al., 2013).

To maintain the narrative element of an inclusive movement, a key activity has been regular anthropological excursions to discover, collect and map ingredients, techniques and recipes from villages across the region. All chefs interviewed mentioned regional excursions as a way to find new suppliers, produce and recipes for developing new dishes for New Anatolian Kitchen. By emphasising the broad network of suppliers that helps to build the cuisine, chefs describe the movement as a collective effort and not as belonging to a particular individual or organization, as one informant stated:

‘We need stories. We need to listen to the people in Anatolia. Hear their stories. Go around’ (Interview #1 chef and restaurant owner).

In addition to expanding participation through sourcing networks, chefs also mentioned the culinary schools and the next generation of chefs as ways to expand participation and thereby perform and develop the New Anatolian heritage:

I talk to a lot of students. I talk to a lot of the schools. And what’s good now is, there’s actually a lot of something like that on in the market. I can see, when I say market, I can see, yes, the new guys, when they graduate from culinary school, all they want to work with are the local products. All they want to work with is the Anatolian food. (Interview #1 chef and restaurant owner)

By engaging external stakeholders such as the culinary schools and next generation of chefs, organizational actors disseminate the historical narrative about New Anatolian Kitchen and expand the potential group of members involved in performing it; in this way, they also disperse the ownership and make it less obvious who owns the movement. Attesting to the spread of the historical narrative and the expansion of the number people involved in enacting it, another informant supports this observation:

Five years ago, people didn’t talk about anything like this. Now, the restaurants, if you consider yourself an ambitious contemporary chef, you are not going to open a French restaurant. No way! It’s going to have some Anatolian twist to it. And that’s amazing how things have changed in such a short time. (Interview #10 culinary journalist, cookbook author and food consultant)

Whereas the chefs and restaurateurs mainly draw on sourcing networks and culinary graduates to expand participation in the movement, the Istanbul-based nonprofit organization Gastronomika goes one step further to realise the movement's ambition of co-constructing a new Anatolian cuisine. While the movement thus far has been largely based in Istanbul, Gastronomika also aims to develop its membership base through its online presence. In addition to holding workshops and tastings at their local office, the organization engages external stakeholders by building an online community of supporters. They realised this approach through the construction of the KaraTahta (Blackboard), a co-created, bilingual, digital archive of the Anatolian kitchen, created to decentralise and democratise the movement by inviting people to share their recipes and culinary knowledge. They explain:

We realised that you don't need that sort of physical border to be a part of this whole movement. (. . .) Everyone has something to say about this. And we can't limit this to a 300-square meter place in the middle of Istanbul. (Interview #9 food activist and nonprofit founder)

Through its digital archive, the movement aims to engage audiences in dialogue by enabling them to actively participate and influence the construction of the culinary heritage. One of the members explains:

We have to expand the scope of what we do and create a kind of online community too. Let's say, an emotional community. But they don't have to be physically here to be our supporters. (Interview #8 food activist, chef and nonprofit founder)

By building an open-source archive, co-constructed with the local and regional community, the organization also aims to concretise the New Anatolian heritage and bring the historical narrative to the present through an inclusive, collective and democratic process that invites participation:

In addition to our role as content creator, we are now designing the platform where people can submit. Because there is no such thing, no such organised unified voice to promote Anatolia. What we are building is going to serve this idea. (. . .) We try to take out the physical part so that you'll have more freedom. You can put more info whenever you can and however you want to. (Interview #8 food activist, chef and non-profit founder)

By decentralising the work and enabling digital access points, ownership of New Anatolian heritage becomes ambiguous, as everyone, everywhere is invited to partake in its construction.

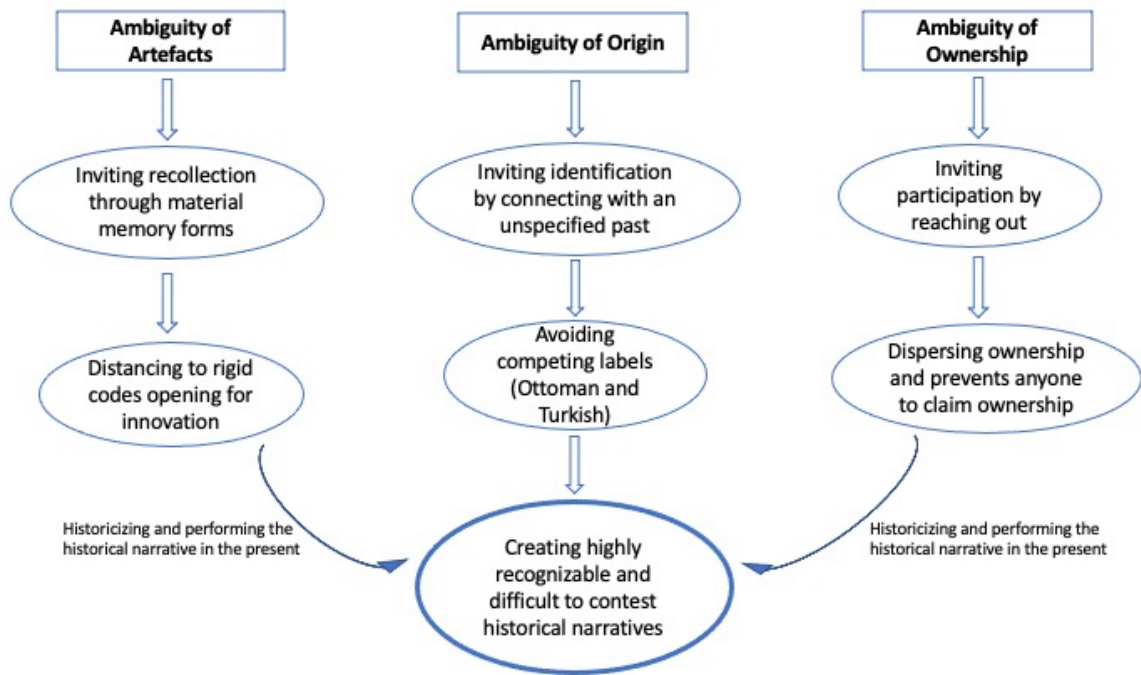
In this way, the ambiguity of ownership signals that no single actor may claim exclusive ownership of the cuisine. ‘The New Anatolian Kitchen has no boundaries; it is a way of perceiving food, it is a philosophy that can and should be interpreted in many ways’ (New Anatolian Kitchen Manifesto, 2012). The quote from the manifesto demonstrates the abstracted motive for and philosophy of the creation of New Anatolian Kitchen and the efforts devoted to the venture, or in Eisenberg’s words, “creating agreement on abstractions without limiting specific interpretations” (Eisenberg, 1984: 231). Ambiguity of ownership is thus strategic to the extent that it offers the organizational actors a way to welcome and engage narratives offered by external stakeholders, while retaining control of the historical narrative. This finding supports those of Davenport and Leitch (2005) and Jarzabkowski et al. (2010), who showed how ambiguous statements may also be employed for external use to control external stakeholders or to enable collective action. Whereas external stakeholders are invited to partake in the formation of the movement (through recruitment at culinary schools or the open-source archive), the framework in which they are invited to participate has been laid out by the organizational actors. For example, by listing some ingredients as historically significant, while others are forgotten, the organizational actors direct the process of constructing culinary heritage. Although inviting participation signals openness, it also allows the organizational actors to build support, gain creative input and avoid potential charges of elitism. The signalling of inclusion and collectiveness seems particularly relevant for the construction and legitimisation of historical narratives that claim to represent large groups in society.

Discussion

First, we briefly describe how we answered our research question; the remaining part of the section outlines the contributions and theoretical implications of our study. We asked, how do organizational actors use strategic ambiguity to construct legitimate historical narratives of a common cultural heritage? In answering the question, we invoke the idea of strategic ambiguity (Eisenberg, 1984) and suggest that this ambiguity of historical narratives has allowed the New Anatolian Kitchen movement to ‘outpace’ other attempts and position itself as ‘anti-elite’ (Ottoman/Palace cooking) and ‘anti-nationalistic’ (Turkish/Erdoğan). In doing so, the organizational actors protect the historical narrative from contestation and assert the movement’s legitimacy and authenticity, thereby helping it grow and gain acceptance. By invoking the past while preserving a sense of historical ambiguity, organizational actors allow themselves more freedom to innovate and modernise, to introduce new culinary codes and to

be more open to new entrants, thereby preventing anyone from claiming exclusive ownership. This process is marked by strategic intent as well as ambiguity, as initially formulated in the manifesto. The duality of strategic intent and ambiguity is reproduced as new organizational actors join and support the movement.

Figure 2. The three forms of strategic ambiguity in relation to historical narratives



Contributions

Our general contribution lies in theorising a link between historical narratives (Foster et al., 2017) and strategic ambiguity (Eisenberg, 1984) and in identifying three forms of strategic ambiguity that help the movement to construct a common culinary heritage. In this way, we extend research on historical narratives and strategic ambiguity by advancing our understanding of organizational uses of the past. We suggest the term ‘strategic historical ambiguity’ to capture how organizational actors deliberately use ambiguity as a tool to craft and legitimise historical narratives of a common cultural heritage. We define the term as ‘the intentional selection of past events and use of historical ambiguity to craft legitimate historical narratives’. We argue that strategic historical ambiguity involves the deliberate use of several forms of ambiguity. We propose the following model to outline and explain the relationship between the three ambiguities and historical narratives (Figure 2).

The three forms of strategic ambiguity enact the historical narrative in different ways. Ambiguity of origin is most directly associated with the crafting of a historical narrative and the creation of an ambiguous past, and helps the organizational actors invent an attractive, common culinary and cultural heritage.

Invoking strong symbolic and mythologised references to the past makes the historical narrative highly recognisable and difficult to question. The two other forms of strategic ambiguity, ambiguity of artefacts and ambiguity of ownership, involve concretising and enacting the historical narrative, bringing it to the present. Both forms of ambiguity enable historicising and provide authenticity and legitimacy to the historical narrative by linking it to the past and enacting it in the present. Ambiguity of artefacts invites recollection through material memory forms and provides flexibility that, for example, allows organizational actors to innovate by distancing themselves from rigid culinary codes and established ways of cooking. Ambiguity of ownership invites participation and engages new entrants. By being inclusive, the ownership is dispersed, making it less feasible for anyone to claim exclusive ownership.

We suggest that the three forms of strategic ambiguity are analytical distinctions yet intertwined in empirical application. We consider ‘ambiguity of origin’ to be a prerequisite and enabler for the other two forms of ambiguity. Anchoring the cuisine in an ambiguous past allows the organizational actors to blend and synthesise different culinary traditions and to make representative claims by inviting external stakeholders to share their voices and narratives. We further note how the construction of ambiguity of artefacts and ambiguity of ownership, in turn, feeds back into ambiguity of origin. Because organizational actors synthesise traditional recipes and allow external stakeholders to participate in the process of narrative construction (e.g. via KaraTahta), the origin and heritage of the New Anatolian Kitchen never crystallises but remains under continuous construction. Still, ambiguity of artefacts and ambiguity of ownership depend on the movement’s ambiguity of origin narrative. In the following section, we elaborate on these findings and further describe our contributions.

History as strategic asset and uses of the past

Historical claims and narratives are not presented against an empty backdrop; they compete with other historical narrative claims of legitimacy and authenticity (Lubinski, 2018). The New

Anatolian Kitchen movement positions itself as ‘anti-elite’ (Ottoman/Palace cooking) and ‘anti-nationalistic’ (Turkish/Erdoğan) and anchors the cuisine in a vaguely defined past. This manoeuvre is enabled by a scarcely documented past. To affirm the authenticity of the New Anatolian heritage, the movement, when describing the cuisine’s heritage, employs historical narratives that anchor the cuisine in an ambiguous past and select specific historical references (e.g. Spice Road and Silk Road). The strong symbolic and mythologised character of such references makes them not only highly recognisable but also difficult to question (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). Our finding resonates with previous studies showing how organizations work to ‘outpace’ others in attempts to assert legitimacy and authenticity through antiquity (Lubinski, 2018; Zerubavel, 2003). We extend this line of research, which implies that the temporality of historical narratives matters, by suggesting how and why events of the past enable organizations to use history strategically. We do this by suggesting that a vaguely defined past can allow greater flexibility when organizational actors construct and employ historical narratives for strategic purposes. We contribute to research on uses of the past by suggesting that to gain legitimacy, organizations may deliberately use strategic historical ambiguity to manoeuvre different historical layers. We further extend recent research that views history as a strategic asset and an arena for power struggles (e.g. Cailluet et al., 2018; Foster et al., 2017; Suddaby et al., 2010) by theorising how ambiguous cues of a past are strategically mobilised to construct legitimate historical narratives. While other studies have noted how context matters when organizations construct and employ historical narratives (e.g. Foster et al., 2011; Mordhorst, 2014; Oertel & Thommes, 2018), we advance this discussion by suggesting specific ways in which organizations deliberately manoeuvre their particular context(s) by mobilising ambiguity as part of their efforts to use history as a strategic asset.

Our findings have two main theoretical implications. First, we extend the research on uses of the past. As field-level historical narratives frequently become a source of public debate and dispute (Cailluet et al., 2018; Delmestri & Greenwood, 2016; Mordhorst, 2014), we suggest that anchoring historical narratives in an unspecified, ancient past reduces the risk of contestation and enables organizations to protect the narratives from being questioned or debunked. Second, we extend research on strategic ambiguity (Eisenberg, 1984) and contribute to recent studies that use this ambiguity to control external stakeholders or to enable collective action (e.g. Davenport & Leitch, 2005; Jarzabkowski et al., 2010; Scandellius & Cohen, 2016). We contribute to this research by suggesting that the opacity and ambiguity of such narratives

may be particularly relevant for groups of loosely coupled organizational actors, as such ambiguity allows greater variation of interpretations across groups. By using ambiguity in this way, organizations address a broad base of audiences that may not share collective memories (Foster et al., 2011) or identify with the same historical narratives. These insights seem relevant for other cases. Most obviously, for other types of social movements, which aim to organise and unify diverse groups of actors; but also relevant for organizations and corporations evoking a mythical past to (re)define ‘who we are’ or to (re) brand their products. Examples of the latter would be Marlboro’s evocation of an unspecified ‘Wild West’ in their tobacco advertisements, and a more recent example, Hendrick’s gin, launched in 1999, but evoking a vaguely defined ‘Victorian-like-era’ in its artefacts (bottle and label design) as well as in their advertisements. Last but not least, in the political sphere, politicians’ and populists’ evocation of a mythical (and often glorious) past (e.g. ‘Make America great again’) in nationalistic projects.

By means of strategic historical ambiguity the results of this study show how organizations can create and use historical narratives that are elusive and flexible enough to resonate with multiple groups yet sufficiently specific to appear plausible and authentic. Our findings resonate to a large degree with March’s (2010) suggestion for crafting a convincing historical narrative: ‘Generating an explanation of history involves transforming the ambiguities and complexities of experience into a form that is elaborate enough to elicit interest, simple enough to be understood, and credible enough to be accepted’ (March, 2010: 45). We concur with this insight and suggest that strategic historical ambiguity works as follows. (1) When the past is scarcely documented strategic historical ambiguity allows for narrative flexibility. (2) When the past is scarcely documented strategic historical ambiguity reduces the risk of contestation and protects the narrative. (3) When groups of actors are loosely coupled strategic historical ambiguity allows for unified diversity.

Concluding Remarks

We examined how a group of organizational actors constructs and employs historical narratives strategically to construct a common culinary heritage. We theorised a link between historical narratives and strategic ambiguity and introduced the notion of strategic historical ambiguity. We theorised how the construction of ambiguous historical narratives helps groups of organizational actors to co-construct heritage. We identified three forms of strategic historical ambiguity: ambiguity of origin, ambiguity of artefacts and ambiguity of ownership. We argued

that these forms of ambiguity, constructed and enacted through historical narratives, material memory forms and inclusion, enabled the nascent culinary movement to anchor itself in the past while developing support in the present by inviting identification, recollection and participation.

Our findings suggest that anchoring historical narratives in an unspecified past may not only shield the narratives from being offset by competing narratives (Lubinski, 2018) but may also serve as an inviting purpose, because narratives of ambiguous origin allow many stakeholders to identify with the proposed history. Ambiguity of origin thus invites identification. Furthermore, we suggest that historical narratives, which are presented not only as written statements but also in ambiguous, material memory forms such as culinary ingredients and dishes, represent a strategic approach to creating and supporting shared historical narratives. Specifically, we show how the ambiguity of artefacts invites recollection of the past, as material manifestations of historical narratives allow multiple interpretations to exist among people who perceive themselves to attend to the same narrative. Finally, we suggest that organizational ambiguity of ownership invites participation. Through inclusion and blurring the lines of narrative ownership, the construction of heritage becomes a process of both top-down driven action and grassroots involvement and participation, making it difficult for anyone to claim exclusive ownership.

In sum, we argue that strategic historical ambiguity allows the creation of shared narratives of the past, which are used to legitimise the construction of heritage. We conclude that strategic historical ambiguity enables organizational actors, such as the New Anatolian Kitchen movement, to construct a culinary and cultural heritage by suspending the formation of clear-cut historical narratives.

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5. Hijacked by hope: Dynamics of mission drift and identity dilution in a nonprofit organization

Abstract

This paper addresses how organizational identity and mission are constructed and reproduced over time through processes of remembering and forgetting. Building on literature that views organizational memory as a strategic resource, this paper showcases the enabling effects of history, memory, and the past for organizational resilience and survival. Although temporal narratives may be employed as rhetorical tools to construct coherency between the past, present, and future, we find they also have the potential of side-tracking and hijacking an organization's direction. Our study shows how an excessive focus on the future can cause mission drift and identity dilution. However, the identity dilution can be resolved through revisiting and remembering the past. The organizational past is not merely a strategic resource for identity construction, it is also a temporal anchor from which the organization may (re)discover its original purpose. The findings are based on a qualitative, in-depth, ethnographic case study of a nonprofit organization whose goal is to establish a national network of local school gardens.

Keywords: *Organizational identity, organizational memory, historical narrative, temporal focus, nonprofit organization*

“It puzzles me sometimes... Why look back at what has been done for more than a hundred years? Why not look forward and say what could be fantastic?”

(Chair and Nonprofit founder)

Introductions

The ways in which the mechanisms of memory shape the construction of organizational identity over time has recently emerged as key area of interest among organizational scholars (e.g., Anteby & Molnár, 2012; Foster, Coraiola, Suddaby, Kroezen, & Chandler, 2017; Schultz & Hernes, 2013). This stream of research has stressed the temporal underpinnings of identity construction in which lived experience is mobilised in the present to project the organization’s future direction (Ezzy, 1998). By drawing attention to the temporal agency of organizations (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998), this paper highlights the plasticity of organizational identity and how identities are subject to ongoing change (Kreiner, Hollensbe, Sheep, Smith, & Kataria, 2015). We build on previous research that views identity construction as an unfolding process of searching in response to events, transitions, and turning points (Maclean, Harvey, Gordon, & Shaw, 2015). Previous results have shown how organizations direct their attention on the past to mobilise present memories towards the future (Schultz & Hernes, 2013). While these findings indicate that temporal focus—the degree to which organizations tend to direct and focus their attention on the past, present, and/or future—matter, the *role* temporal focus plays in identity construction has nevertheless remained largely implicit.

Bringing this issue to the forefront, this study probes into the mnemonics of identity construction by showing how organizations must balance continuous adaptation to changing environmental conditions while simultaneously remaining true to themselves. Previous findings have noted how organizations consciously or unconsciously select or omit particular historical elements from their narratives in order to promote a particular identity and direction towards the future (e.g., Foster, Suddaby, Minkus, & Wiebe, 2011; Hatch & Schultz, 2017; Rowlinson, Casey, Hansen, & Mills, 2014). Organizational memory may, therefore, not only facilitate change but also create a sense of identity continuity (Anteby & Molnár, 2012). Subscribing to this view, we argue that an organization’s ability to leverage and employ such memories depends on its capacity to continually shift temporal focus. Stressing the temporal

dimension of organizational identity, we ask the following question: *How does temporal focus shape processes of organizational identity construction?*

To answer this question, we draw on a qualitative case study of a nonprofit organization. We show how a series of incidents and actions results in organizational memory loss and the development of a one-sided temporal focus on the future. This process is driven by an exaggerated concern over development to realise a “hoped-for-future,” which, in turn, has consequences for organizational identity. We argue that organizational forgetting might lead to the production of loosely coupled identity narratives that hijack and displace the original organizational identity and mission. High employee turnover and pressures from external benefactors, from whom the organization financially depends for continued operation, further fuel this process. These precarious conditions consequently induce an excessive focus on future-oriented projects, and a decreased attention to past and present operations. By being overly concerned with pleasing external stakeholders, the organization generates an identity vacuum whereby a newly constructed organizational narrative becomes a patching tool to construct coherency between new and ongoing projects. Our study, however, also shows that identity narratives may be rebalanced when efforts are devoted to revisiting and remembering the past. Our findings expand and contribute to the social constructivist approach to memory, which currently focuses mainly on intra-organizational processes (Mena, Rintamäki, Fleming, & Spicer, 2016). Previously, discussions on collective forgetting have highlighted a broad number of concerns, both positive and negative, in relation to organizational identity (Easterby-Smith & Lyles, 2011). While we acknowledge that forgetting may encourage identity maintenance and stability (Anteby & Molnár, 2012), we argue that organizational memory loss may also lead to organizational mission drift and identity dilution. The concept of “dilution” originates from Law theory studies on trademarks, which “as originally conceived, referred to the harm that occurs when a famous, distinctive mark loses its singular meaning” (Dogan, 2006: 103). Frank Schechter, who coined the term in 1927 (Bone, 2007), defined dilution as “the gradual whittling away or dispersion of the identity and hold upon the public mind of the mark or name by its use upon non-competing goods” (Schechter, 1927, here from Dogan, 2006: 103).

Temporal identity narratives

The interplay between organizational temporality and identity is a growing field of scholarly interest. This stream of research examines how organizations engage with their past, present, and future as a way of constructing their identity (e.g., Foster et al., 2011; Hatch & Schultz, 2017; Schultz & Hernes, 2013). Despite its character of permanence and endurance (Albert & Whetten, 1985), identity has gradually emerged as a dynamic concept. Because identity narratives describe lived, ongoing time, they are “in-process and unfinished, continuously made and remade as episodes happen” (Ezzy, 1998: 247). As organizations draw on lived experience in the present to project their identity into the future, organizational identity may thus be considered a process of continuous construction and change (Kreiner et al., 2015).

Previous studies have already noted how organizational actors engage in temporal work by mobilising organizational memories to guide the ongoing construction of present and future identities (Maclean, Harvey, Sillince, & Golant, 2018; Schultz & Hernes, 2013). We define organizational memory as a form of collective memory, consisting of mental and structural artifacts embedded and distributed across different levels and structures in and beyond the organization (Walsh & Ungson, 1991). This understanding of collective memory assumes that group memory exists and lives beyond individual recollection. Memories are not seen as a repository of past experience but rather as images that become activated in particular social contexts (Halbwachs, 1992). Organizational memory is therefore closely tied to organizational identity, as groups become constituted in the process of remembering when the past is remade for present collective purposes (Olick & Robbins, 1998).

The act of assigning particular present significance to past events has been conceptualised as “organizational remembering” and is defined as “the process by which actors use both rhetoric and history to socially construct membership with an organization” (Suddaby et al., 2016: 298). Using rhetorical tools and discursive narratives, organizational actors create shared values based on shared memory in order to construct a common identity anchored in a socially constructed common past. In these attempted uses-of-the-past, organizations employ mnemonic traces and narratives as raw material from which identity is subsequently assembled. To do so, actors rely on mnemonic technologies, such as symbols as material memory forms and shared narratives, to frame and inform what is collectively remembered (Lippmann & Aldrich, 2016; Schultz & Hernes, 2013). How organizations identify themselves is thus “intimately and intricately connected with the stories they have embraced regarding the path

they have travelled to the present” (Heisler, 2008: 15) and to where they imagine themselves heading in the future.

Organizational memory work

While in a state of flux, organizational identities can, nevertheless, appear stable (Anteby & Molnár, 2012). Managers may tamper with *organizational remembering* by repeatedly omitting contradictory elements from the preferred organizational narrative, as Anteby and Molnár (2012) portrayed in their study of a French aerospace company. Through the strategic use of historical narratives, organizations might also construct demarcations between the past and the present to promote identity change. Ybema (2010) argued that organizational actors might alter organizational identity by engaging in temporal *discontinuity* talk. In the case of a Dutch national newspaper, organizational actors enabled identity change by constructing sharp contrasts between old and new through organizational narratives and stories. These examples illustrate how the intentional use of narratives and discursive resources plays a major role in identity formation and change. Through repetition, temporal narratives gain salience over time, thereby contributing to the stability of organizational identity and the meanings individuals share regarding organizational past (Dailey & Browning, 2014). In their study of an organizational transition in Procter & Gamble, Maclean et al. (2018) found organizational rhetoric and narrative was used both as an anchor with or touchstone of the past and as a tool for preparing the organization for future change. In this way, narratives are both generative and performative (Maclean, Harvey, Gordon & Shaw, 2015), as the stories (re)told and remembered provide organizations with action scripts for the future (Bluedorn, 2002).

Whereas discussions of organizational memory tend to elicit a focus on remembrance, *organizational forgetting* is a uniformly important aspect of memory. The concept denotes the nonexistence of a shared version of the past, following “the absence of institutionalized memory” (Fine, 2012: 59). While some organizational forgetting occurs as a result of high employee turnover (Easterby-Smith & Lyles, 2011) or unconscious processes of inertia over time (Walsh & Ungson, 1991), collective forgetting may also result from deliberate, active, and instrumental “forgetting work” (Mena, Rintamäki, Fleming & Spicer, 2016). Because forgetting is context dependent, its consequences can be regarded as positive as well as negative (Holan & Phillips, 2004). Studies illustrating the *positive* organizational outcomes of forgetting postulate that forgetting strengthens the organization’s ability to disrupt and innovate, promotes

change and renewal, and reduces loss in morale following failure (Wilkins & Bristow, 1987). Other studies suggest that selective forgetting may also support identity maintenance (Anteby & Molnár, 2012; Ybema, 2010) or enable organizations to distance themselves from a past that is considered illegitimate in the present (Booth, Clark, Delahaye, Procter, & Rowlinson, 2007). Other studies show how forgetting induces mnemonic communities to become more attentive to environmental changes and, thereby, more apt to develop and adjust according to continuously changing surroundings (Blaschke & Schoeneborn, 2006). Shifting attention towards the *negative* consequences of forgetting, these studies typically revolve around issues of organizational knowledge and learning (e.g., Madsen, 2009) (or lack thereof) (e.g., Brunsson, 2009; Holan & Phillips, 2004) and loss or silencing of identity (e.g., Albert & Whetten, 1985; Maclean et al., 2017). Therefore, to prevent memory loss, organizations should strive to uphold “a continuous link to its ‘old timers’ to ensure adequate organization memory acquisition and controlled retrieval processes” (Walsh & Ungson, 1991: 78).

Temporal agency and focus on identity construction

The notion of identities as processual, whereby memories of lived experience are continuously integrated into the identity narrative, assumes that organizations draw on past memories and future imaginaries to construct and envision their identity. This implies a level of agency in the way in which organizations construct and make use of the past and the imagined future in its ongoing identity construction. Emirbayer and Mische (1998) coined the phrase “the chordial triad” to describe the temporal modalities of past, present, and future, which are temporal conceptions that are seen as entangled (Reinecke & Ansari, 2017). While temporal conceptions denote the properties that organizations ascribe to time (i.e., past-present-future), temporal orientations refer to the *value* that is given to time (Kunisch et al., 2017). Temporal orientations are distinct yet related to temporal focus, which refers to the degree to which organizations tend to direct and focus their attention on the past, present, or future (or a combination of these). Organizations holding a past temporal orientation and focus will tend to ascribe higher value and priority to past events (Clark & Collins, 1993), whereas a future orientation and focus emphasize and value what is yet to come (Bluedorn, 2002; Maclean et al., 2018). Correspondingly, organizations with a dominant present focus prioritize the here and now in their actions and risk becoming prey to short-termism (Marginson & McAulay, 2008).

While few studies explicitly discuss how temporal focus shapes organizational identity, some research has discussed how temporal focus influences strategy (Kunisch et al., 2017). Some scholars argue that organizations that possess a past temporal focus tend to be less adaptable and more averse to new experiences. Such organizations are less likely to initiate strategic changes or introduce new products than those characterized by a stronger present or future temporal focus (Nadkarni & Chen, 2014). Other scholars find that a present temporal focus influences organizations to emphasize immediate, adjacent, and short-term goals (Marginson & McAulay, 2008), while a past temporal focus might enhance organizational learning and decision-making (Shipp, Edwards, & Lambert, 2009). We argue that temporal focus is key for organizational identity construction. However, it has been largely neglected in prior research. Whereas previous studies show how organizations mobilise memories and visions to construct their identities (Schultz & Hernes, 2013), *the way in which they shift between temporal foci* in this process has mainly remained implicit (Corley & Gioia, 2004). We bring this mechanism to the forefront by showing how a lopsided temporal focus on the future may lead to identity dilution. We argue that identity dilution results from a failure to continuously integrate lived experience (i.e., organizational memory) into the temporal identity narrative. Finally, we demonstrate how an ongoing shift in temporal focus (between the past, present, and future) enables organizations to restore identity balance.

The study

Context of the research setting

For this study, we conducted an empirical case study of a nonprofit organization whose goal is to establish a national network of culinary school gardens. The school garden is promoted as an “alternative classroom” and has been proven to strengthen the food and social competences, health, and environmental awareness of children (Wistoft, 2013). As such, the organization holds the potential of creating more food-knowledgeable children and sustainable local communities through its educational concept. The organization operates in a context in which nonprofit organizations have played a substantial societal role ever since the “freedom of association” was written into the Danish democratic constitution in 1848 (Henriksen, Strømsnes, & Svedberg, 2018). Following the advance of the welfare state in the aftermath of World War II, which was characterized by tax-financed welfare provisions and a redistribution of progressive tax-based income, Danish nonprofit organizations gradually began cultivating their role as interest organizations (Henriksen & Bundesen, 2004). As the welfare state model

came under pressure in the late 1980s, the government increasingly relied on the nonprofit sector to provide supplementary welfare services. In policies developed in the mid-1990s, it was recommended that nonprofit organizations should alleviate increasing pressure on public welfare by acting “as entrepreneurs to tackle emerging social problems” (Henriksen et al., 2018: 17). Although the nonprofit sector has grown in prominence, public resources to fund its operations have slowly declined. To fill this gap, privately owned industrial foundations have gained a more prominent role in securing continued operation for Danish nonprofit organizations. In 2017, industrial foundations donated more than €2.3 billion (DKK 17,25 billion) to the sector (Kraft & Partners, 2019). This shift has also meant a reorganization of the nonprofit sector that is characterized by project-based organizations and short-term funding schemes.

Data collection and analysis

The findings are based on an in-depth case study conducted during 2016–2019. Data materials include various sources of archival data (organizational documents, web pages, reports etc.) and public media material (news-clippings, etc.). In addition, extensive on-site participant observations (meetings, school garden events, seminars, etc.) have been carried out. The results of this study are largely drawn from observational data (150 hours) collected over the course of three years. During this time span, we organized and conducted a total of eighteen workshops, of approximately four hours each, in collaboration with members of the nonprofit management team. These meetings had a dual function: first, to acquire knowledge about the organization and its background, context and developments; and later, to specifically generate data on how the organization’s members collectively view issues of organizational mission, vision, strategy, identity, culture, and image (Hatch & Schultz, 2002). As we consider identity construction to occur through dialogue, language and narratives, the workshops also represented an opportunity to observe and note how organizational memories and imaginaries were brought into play in a group context (Olick, 1999). The workshops allowed for regular access to the organizations, which permitted us to follow the ongoing development of the organizational identity narrative closely. The workshops further provided opportunities for capturing photos and extensive notetaking.

To supplement our observational material, a total of twenty-five interviews were conducted. Seven interviews were conducted with the main organization (one interview was carried out

with the organizational founder and current chair of the board, and six interviews were conducted with members of the organization's secretariat and management teams). Furthermore, thirteen local school gardens were visited, during which interviews were carried out with local school garden representatives. These interviews were carried out individually or in groups and lasted between one and two hours. During the interviews, we aimed to stimulate the recollection and sharing of "flashbulb memories" (Brown & Kulik, 1977): memories that follow a surprising or consequential event that people perceive as decisive. We also inquired into more stable memory structures grounded in prevailing organizational narratives (Boje, 2008). While querying the memory of our informants, we were sensitive to the cue dependency of such recollections, as the ability to remember is "obviously highly dependent on a number of contextual factors, factors that are themselves always in flux" (Olick, 1999: 340). To limit the effects of cue dependency, questions were asked in an open form and manner to avoid directing the process of recollection to match our preconceived ideas of decisive organizational events. Finally, five interviews were conducted with representatives from five foundations operating in different industries to inform the organizational context of nonprofit organizations. See table 5 below for an overview of data.

Table 5. Overview of data

Type of data collected	Specification	Data use
Observations: ca. 150 h.	Workshops and meetings: 80 h. School garden networking events: 30 h. School garden visits: 43 h.	Provided us with narrative cues, as we were able to observe shifts in identity and mission over time.
Interviews: 20	<p>Organizational management team: 6 interviews conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1–2 h.</p> <p>Organizational founder and chairman of the board: 1 interview conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1-2 h.</p> <p>School garden representatives: 13 interviews conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1-2 h.</p> <p>Foundations: 5 interviews in person: notes taken. Duration 30 min. -1 h. 15 min.</p>	Interview statements were used to identify organizational memories and narratives. These provided insight into how actors made sense of the organization's past, present and future.

Examples of organizational documents	<p>Project applications: 227 pp.</p> <p>Project evaluations: 212 pp.</p> <p>Organizational strategy proposals: 6 p.</p> <p>Organizational statutes and description: 63 p.</p> <p>School garden manuals: 90 pp.</p> <p>Press releases: 16 pp.</p> <p>Email correspondence with organizational members</p> <p>Webpage material w/descriptions of organizational vision, mission, educational concept etc.</p>	<p>Project applications and evaluations provided insight into how temporal focus developed over time. We consider both the number of applications and their content.</p> <p>Organizational statutes, descriptions and strategy proposals provided insight into organizational changing organizational mission and shifts in temporal focus and identity over time.</p> <p>Email correspondence between observations allowed us to probe organizational members on emerging themes in our data.</p> <p>Public material (i.e. press releases and webpage material) provided depictions of organizational mission, vision and self-presentation in the public domain to supplement narratives collected via observations and interviews.</p>
Media material	Press clippings containing interviews and portrayals of the organization from 2003-2019 from mainly national sources.	Providing external audiences' view on the organization and used to provide contextual understanding of historical background and present political and socio-economic context.
Examples of photographic material	Self-captured photos during observations.	Documented physical-material manifestations of the activities during meetings and events.

All interviews were transcribed and sent to the interviewees for quality control and validation. Following validation, each of the study authors separately coded transcripts in NVivo before comparing and discussing their interpretations and codes. All data were compiled into a linear timeline that formed the starting point of a final coding process. We coded for narrative cues that presented expressions of identity, which enabled us to see a shift in temporal focus over time.

Findings

In the following section, we present our findings as a linear sequence of events to account for their contingency (Sewell, 2005). We argue that a gradual shift in temporal focus, whereby the organization increasingly directs its attention to the future, is linked to organizational forgetting and identity dilution. We bring this mechanism to the forefront by outlining a series of events, transitions, and turning points that instigated these shifts. We show how identity dilution results

from a failure to continuously integrate lived experience into the temporal identity narrative; we then demonstrate how an ongoing shift in temporal focus allows for a reinstatement of identity balance.

Getting started: The early years

The nonprofit organization studied was established in 2006 as a spin-off from a commercial, organic meal-kit provider. The newly formed organization began with the explicit aim to strengthen children's knowledge concerning food culture, health, and sustainability by establishing what they framed as the "best classroom in the world" (Internal Organizational Manual, 2011). The nonprofit organization developed an educational concept based on eight theoretical and practical modules with three focus areas: school gardening, nature, and outdoor cooking (Internal Organizational Manual, 2011). Early in their operation, the organization established an ongoing collaboration with their local municipality that helped finance the regular visits of local schools (fourth and fifth graders). In addition, donations from two foundations helped to fund the initial operations. The nonprofit was managed on an ad-hoc, informal basis, run by the founder, a manager, and a few part-time school garden instructors and volunteers (Ejlensen, 2019).

As the concept of school gardens proved successful (Wistoft, 2013), gardening enthusiasts from municipalities across the country soon reached out to the organization to ask for assistance to establish their own local school gardens. To accommodate the growing interest, the organization applied for funding from one of Denmark's largest foundations to initiate a national dissemination of the educational concept in 2013 (Funding Application, 2013). In its effort to attract financial support, the nonprofit eagerly stressed its connection to its well-recognized parent company in their funding application. Through its repeated mentioning of the parent organization (16 times), the nonprofit's identity remained closely narrated and connected to that of its founder. Emphasizing the synergetic relationship between the two organizations, the application describes how the parent company represents an indispensable part of the nonprofit's past:

[The nonprofit] is located on the same grounds as [the parent company], which has made it possible to develop what now constitutes the basic concept of [the NPO]. There are waterproof economic shutters between the two organizations, yet both organizations gain from sharing the same location. (Funding Application, 2013)

After successfully attaining the grant (€1.3 million) they applied for, the nonprofit was ready to embark on the impending project of implementing school gardens across the country. However, after receiving the grant, the school garden manager left to pursue other opportunities, leaving the organization nearly vacant.

The office was actually completely empty for 4–5 months, where I, as the Chairman, was thinking: ‘Wow!’ At that point we’d just received 10 million kroner [€1.3 million] from [the foundation] that were just hanging in the air. And like, what do I do? With whom do I do it? (Chair interview, 2017)

To embark on the task of introducing school gardens across the country, a new set of full-time employees was hired: a manager, a communications developer, and two school garden instructors who were in charge of teaching and developing the educational concept. However, the new employees were faced with the challenge of constructing some basic organizational systems and routines for the nascent organization. The informal basis on which the organization had previously been managed left few mnemonic traces (such as documents and established procedures) to guide the employees in their task and identity narrative.

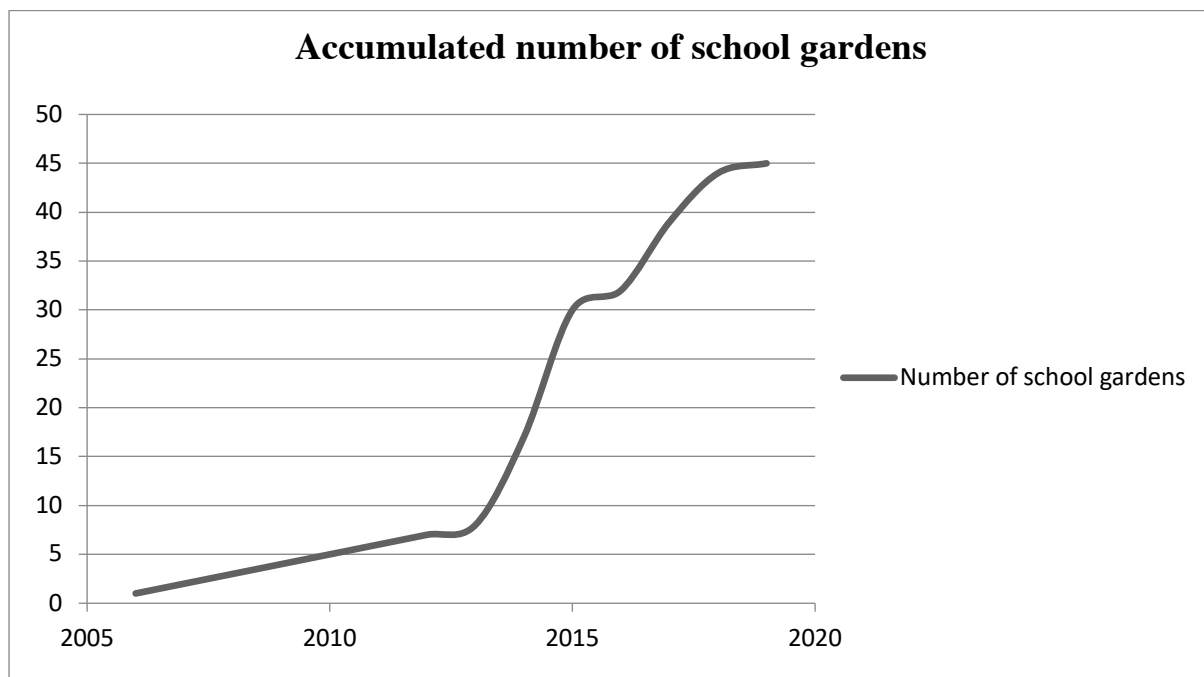
I realised pretty fast that some very basic systems were missing. And even if it wasn’t my specialty or anything, I chose to throw myself at it, as the first thing I did. And tried to build it. (Management team member interview, 2017)

With the exception of the chair of the board, a serial entrepreneur with an inexhaustible number of new ideas, the entire organization turnover meant that there was no one to transmit the organizational memory to the new employees. Therefore, with the grant application as a blueprint, the newly hired employees began constructing a new organizational identity narrative by looking towards the future and making sense of the promises made in the project application.

Development: Growth in scale and scope

The gradual shift in temporal focus was manifested in the organizational expansion that followed the attainment of the grant in 2013. Between 2014 and 2016, the number of school gardens across the country grew from 7 to about 30 (see Figure 3). This growth coincided with the implementation of a national school reform in 2013, which, amongst other things, demanded an increased focus on natural science, physical activity, and longer but more flexible school hours, thereby making school gardens an excellent tool for meeting the new governmental demands (Olsen & Trier, 2013).

Figure 3. Total number of school gardens



In addition to increasing the number of school gardens across the country, the nonprofit organization also pursued a series of new projects. Rather than staying within the boundaries of food education, the organization sought to exploit the widespread societal interest in sustainable agendas and the growing number of green initiatives by expanding the organization's mission:

We need to open up for other relevant areas. There's not enough in the educational field by itself. (Management team member interview, 2017)

Riding a wave of attention, the nonprofit organization gradually found itself in a cycle of writing applications to fund new initiatives, developing new concepts and procedures, while also trying to expand the number of school gardens. The decision to expand the organization's mission resulted its venturing into other areas by trying to adapt the original school garden concept to fit other contexts (e.g., social housing). This development was further fuelled by the nonprofit organization's financial model, which was dependent on external grants and made the organization vulnerable to the demands and expectations of its benefactors. Because funding from foundations is primarily allocated to new initiatives rather than to maintain existing operations, the nonprofit faced a problem: In order to keep afloat, promises of new deliveries had to be made. To maintain legitimacy and a favourable relationship with potential funders, the organization made decisions based on its future hopes, shaping the organization's direction in unintended ways:

I'm very pleased that we've opened up [for new areas], but we probably wouldn't have, if it weren't for... if it wasn't the only way [the foundation] and others would financially support us again. (Chair interview, 2017)

To address the ongoing pressure for securing new funding, the organization continued to generate new ideas about how to adapt the school garden concept to other settings. One such initiative was to develop a children's cookbook with inspiring recipes that would enable children to expand their culinary curiosity, knowledge, and skills at home with their families. In 2015, 170,000 copies were published and distributed for free, thanks to an additional donation from the sponsoring foundation (€0,7 million/DKK 5.1 million). To further support this initiative, the nonprofit established nationwide cooking clubs for children. Another project the organization pursued was an initiative which aimed to improve quality of life in social housing communities through social gardening. In addition, the nonprofit organization committed itself to creating a digital learning platform, an annual food festival, developing five new pilot projects, and establishing an annual cycle of year-round activities (seminars, theme days, etc.). Programs to extend the school garden concept to other age groups (e.g., kindergarteners, teenagers, and retired seniors) and to vulnerable groups (e.g., refugees and people with various disabilities) were also considered as potential new projects. An organizational member explains:

You wouldn't believe all the things we've been over. It's been everything from organic conversion of municipalities. [...] It's crazy! (Management team member interview, 2017)

Hijacked by an imagined future

Having attempted to separate its identity narrative from that of its founder, the nonprofit became increasingly focused on its future potential rather than its past achievements. After harnessing its identity as a nonprofit organization and silencing its past, hardly any reference was made to the parent organization in the project applications submitted after 2015. Instead, the nonprofit's identity became increasingly defined and informed by its ongoing projects and future aspirations, which were encouraged and legitimized by funding foundations who preferred that explicit mentions of the nonprofit's past were kept to a minimum (email correspondence, 2017). Conversations that took place during meetings and workshops further demonstrated how organizational members increasingly considered their main task to be developing new projects and not maintaining previous endeavors. In these discussions,

organizational members seemed to agree that the original mission had become redundant, as it did not embrace the wide array of new organizational activities and ambitions. Although the mission was deemed “*too limited*” and “*lacking focus*” (field notes, 2017), management had difficulty articulating the organization’s current identity claims. When asked about the organization’s different roles, the majority of employees described their roles as primarily related to “*development*” while depicting the organization as “*a developer of ideas*” (field notes, 2017). These notions came to form the basis for the emerging organizational identity, which was guided by new project applications, temporally located in the future, and almost completely detached from the past.

The future temporal focus of the new, emerging identity narrative was further reflected in how and which tasks the nonprofit performed and prioritized. Consequently, numerous working hours and efforts were devoted to searching for and identifying new funding possibilities and subsequently developing project applications to fund potential future initiatives. The continuous search for new project ideas resulted in a culture that likened “new” to “good” at the expense of ongoing tasks:

[People] really fired up and spoke about all this ‘development’ and other ideas one also could pursue. And that... that was... You could say, what happens is that it trickles down into the organization. It’s just as if it’s not as important, what I’m sitting and doing. Neither is there anyone who sets a direction and frames it. And then it’s just really hard to prioritize it. (Management team member interview, 2017)

The increased attention on new projects gradually shifted the nonprofit’s temporal outlook to an imagined future, as tasks related to development gained “*prominence in terms of value and prestige*” (email correspondence) among the employees. While the range of projects expanded and more efforts were vested in developing new projects and funding applications, ongoing operations were gradually neglected. Reinforced by an organizational culture that celebrated innovation and development, mundane tasks and present activities were given less priority. As the organization became increasingly future- driven, the identity narrative that previously informed the nonprofit’s mission and identity drifted into the background:

It puzzles me sometimes... Why look back at what has been done for more than a hundred years? Why not look forward and say what could be fantastic? So, when people ask: ‘Where do you get all these ideas from?’ I say: ‘We look ahead! What is it that we dream about?’ (Chair interview, 2017)

As the organization gradually became defined by its future potential, new projects began to constitute new organizational identity markers. The transfer of the school garden concept to other contexts proved far more troublesome than initially expected, as it was challenging to acquire sufficient knowledge to transfer and adapt the concept to other areas. Although the organization described its culture as characterized by “*high energy*” and “*devoted employees*,” its focus on developing new projects had diverted the organization from its original mission. As the nonprofit’s identity diluted and an identity vacuum emerged, a new identity narrative was needed to create coherence and make sense of all the divergent projects being developed:

(...) a clear common thread through all of our initiatives is needed. Even if you think it might be a bit further away from the core, a clear common thread is needed.
(Management team member interview, 2017)

The new emerging identity narrative was a story about an organization in which “development” was the heart of its identity. This shift in self-perception led to identity dilution, where the organization’s original mission became hijacked by its imagined future.

Addressing identity dilution and mission drift

Over time, a growing awareness emerged among employees that the nonprofit had departed from its original path, which resulted in confusion over the organization’s identity and strategic direction. One employee recalls thinking the following:

There is something wrong here. There wasn’t anyone who dared to address that there was something wrong in the way we were assembled [as an organization], and it was never brought up. (Management team member interview, 2017)

Uncertainty concerning the organization’s purpose and mission made identity questions emerge: Are we still a school garden organization, and if not, what are we? The organization’s identity and memory about “who we are, and where we come from” was at stake.

What I realised was that there were no one who had an overview. There simply wasn’t when I arrived. (Management team member interview, 2017)

The growing identity frustration among nonprofit members culminated in the beginning of summer 2017. Efforts to address the rising dissatisfaction resulted in two layoffs, a managerial transition, and changes in the top management team. A new top manager, who had previously overseen the contact to the local school gardens was internally recruited. The transition meant a change in management style and a strict focus on core tasks. As a result, eleven anticipated projects became stranded in a “*developmental limbo*” (email correspondence).

From the development team being the most important thing in the world, we are now a support function. (Management team member interview, 2017)

Thus, the change entailed a kind of back-to-basics approach in the sense that the nonprofit organization rediscovered itself as a school garden organization, thereby realigning its identity and temporal focus.

I think we are on the right track now. We're really down to core business, which is the school garden part. (Management team member interview, 2017)

As a result of this realignment, the nonprofit organization also became aware of its internal memory assets by acknowledging how its most abiding members were the real common thread and identity carriers in the organization. Through a series of meetings, the organization started to revisit its relatively short past in search of its identity. In examining their past, the nonprofit became aware of a broader history of school gardens that extended farther back in time than they realised. In this way, the nonprofit organization *redefined and extended their history* by acknowledging how they were part of a wider and older school garden movement. The organization expanded its retrospective outlook to encapsulate a more distant history, than merely by referring to its own founding past. However, stretching their temporal horizon not only affected the organization's conceptualisation of its past, it also enabled them to envision their future. The organization expanded its future horizon by moving from with a focus on near future temporal horizons, defined by each project-funding period, to adopting the UN 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda as its mission. This broadening of past–future horizons further assured them of the importance of their original mission and core task: “to strengthen children and youth’s commitment to sustainability, food culture and health” (authors’ translation of web page material).

Table 6 provides an overview of the shifts in temporal focus.

Table 6 – Overview of shifts in temporal focus: events, transitions and turning points

Year	Major events, transitions and turning points	Temporal focus
2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Non-profit founder initiates activities on the company’s ground that later will evolve into the non-profit organization 	<i>Present</i>
2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Non-profit is established. 	<i>Present –future</i>
2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Major batch funding attained. Founding company mentioned 16 times in the application. Depicted as synergistic, close relationship 	<i>Past-present-future orientation</i>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on outside recognition and (local) legitimacy 	
2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complete turnover in the organization. New hiring (without lived experience of the org. past). 	<i>Present-future orientation</i>
2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New project(s) added to the portfolio. 	<i>Future orientation</i>
2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New major project. Funding organization never mentioned (partly based on wishes of the funder, meeting with foundation later, legitimacy of funders). • Organizational psychologist hired to help shape the development of the organization. • A new administrative leader is hired. 	<i>Future orientation</i>
2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workshops initiated. • Expressed wishes to further focus on development. Vision expressed as too narrowly focused on children. Need to find the core of the organization; an idea and concept developer? • Promise of establishing another five pilot projects • New employees unaware of organizational past • Top management dismissed • UN development goals and school garden history becomes part of the identity narrative 	<i>Shift from (short) future</i> <i>to past-present-future</i> <i>to long past-present-future orientation</i>

Discussion

Throughout this paper, we have illustrated how an emerging one-sided, temporal focus on the future, instigated by a series of actions and events, resulted in organizational memory loss and identity dilution. This process was driven by an exaggerated concern with development to realise a hoped-for-future, which, in turn, had consequences for organizational identity. We argue that organizational forgetting might lead to the creation of loosely coupled identity narratives that hijack and displace the organization's original identity and mission. Other factors, such as high employee turnover and pressures from external benefactors who the organization depends on financially to ensure continued operation, further fuel this process. These precarious conditions consequently induce an excessive focus on future-oriented organizational projects and a decreased attention to past (and present) operations. In being overly concerned with pleasing external stakeholders, the organization generates an identity vacuum, whereby a newly constructed organizational narrative becomes a patching tool to

construct coherency between new and ongoing organizational projects. Interpreting our results in relation to extant theory, we note how narratives take on a performative role in identity construction processes (Maclean et al., 2015). We contribute to previous discussions by suggesting that emerging identity narratives that assert a consistent, one- directional temporal focus will tend to amplify and feed off each other, heightening the risk of identity dilution. Although organizations have temporal agency (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998), we show how they, nevertheless, might not *deliberately* exert it. Our findings suggest that organizational memory is not merely a strategic resource for identity construction (Foster et al., 2011) but also a temporal anchor that keeps future ambition in check (Maclean et al., 2018).

From the outset, we have considered remembering and forgetting as two sides of the same coin, on both of which the narratives that inform organizational identity depend, including and excluding elements of the organizational and field level pasts (Foster et al., 2011). Previous research on organizational forgetting has largely focused on *the intentional action and the strategic potential of forgetting*, whereby organizations consciously omit or select elements from the past to enable identity coherency, authenticity, and legitimacy (e.g., Anteby & Molnár, 2012; Foster et al., 2017; Hatch & Schultz, 2017). In these studies, organizational forgetting is largely viewed as a strategic decision, in which top management omit particular elements of the organization's past to construct and promote a particular, desired identity and strategic direction. While we concur with these arguments, our study contributes to a less examined aspect of organizational forgetting by focusing on *unintended action* and consequences of silencing or forgetting the past. Moreover, previous studies show how organizations engage in intentional forgetting work (Mena et al., 2016) and emphasize how organizations manipulate what is remembered (Anteby & Molnár, 2012). Thus, they assume that as some memories are silenced, others are mobilised in their place. However, our case demonstrates how organizational past is silenced and forgotten all together. This is supported by Maclean et al.'s (2017) study of East Germans' identity transition as they transitioned to a reunified Germany and their original identity was hijacked and displaced by the West German identity. Therefore, we extend the research on organizational memory by highlighting how temporal focus constitutes a key mechanism for organizational remembering and identity construction. We theorize a link between temporal focus, organizational memory, and identity by showing how a number of (unintended) events, transitions, and turning points influence and shape the organization. Our contribution is on forgetting, not merely as a strategic choice and the result

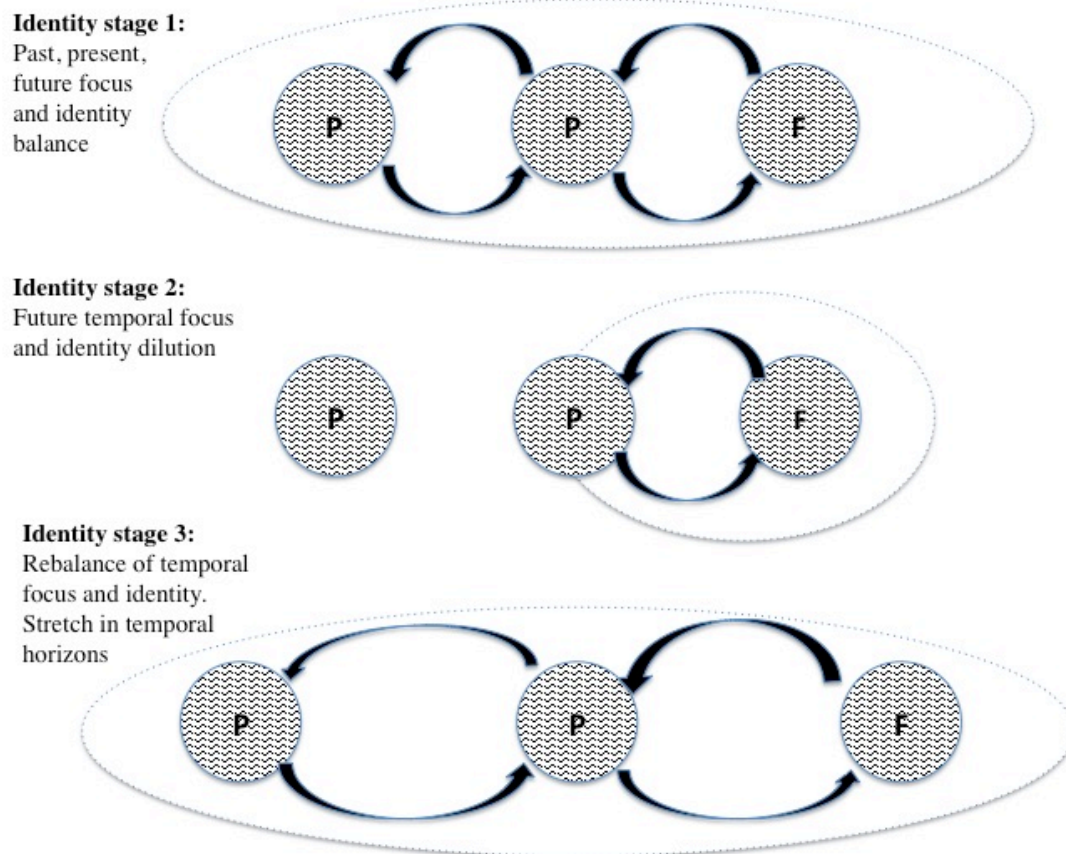
of deliberate action (Mena et al., 2016), but also as the *unintended* effects of a series of actions and decisions made as a result of the organization's financial dependency on external funding, recruitment practices, organizational turnover, organizational growth, cultural inclination, and a strategic orientation concerned with development and innovation.

Our study supports previous findings by Easterby-Smith and Lyles (2011), who argue that *high organizational turnover* may induce organizational forgetting and identity dilution. Our findings suggest that narratives of the past are forgotten due to rapid growth and personnel turnover that is characterized by an almost complete change in organizational staff. Our case illustrates how the nonprofit organization engaged in *identity work* to establish independence from its parent organization in an attempt to define and make sense of their identity and mission. Engaging in this type of work, organization members *make use of mnemonic technologies* (Olick, 1999) as a substitute for the previous identity narrative and memory that connected it to its parent organization. In an effort to establish a new identity by changing the tight historical link between the parent company and the nonprofit organization, the nonprofit shifted its temporal orientation and focus toward the future by installing the funding application — with its emphasis on organizational development — as a new identity marker. Our findings further demonstrate how the successful attainment of new (future) projects results in the organization forgetting its past, thereby leading to *mission drift*.

Moreover, due to the nonprofit structure of the organization, it remains *highly dependent on external funding* and, thus, is highly vulnerable to the demands of its external benefactors (Santos, Pache, & Birkholz, 2015). These precarious relationships consequently induce an excessive focus on future-oriented organizational projects and a decreased attention to past and ongoing operations that results in hyper-adaptation (Hatch & Schultz, 2002). The outcome of this one-sided temporal outlook, which focuses largely on the future, is further reflected in and supported by an organizational culture in which “new” becomes equated with “good.” This temporal outlook causes management to neglect to revisit the basic and important questions of “who we are” (Albert & Whetten, 1985) and “where do we come from?” (Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2000), which in turn spurs a negative backlash against the organization's identity. Thus, our findings suggest that in times of change, identity work is critical for an organization's survival. Our findings also support previous research, showing how the past is used *for the future* (Schultz & Hernes, 2013). As such, the past, present, and future are inseparable entities

that are inherently bound together (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). We illustrate the three stages of identity search and dilution and shifts in temporal focus in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4. Temporal focus and stages of identity search and dilution



We find that the past is not only a strategic identity resource for constructing authenticity and legitimacy (Hatch & Schultz, 2017), but, in line with Maclean et al. (2018), it is also a *temporal anchor* from which the organization may seek its purpose, avoid identity dilution, and prepare for future change.

Concluding remarks

Our study contributes to the literature on temporal narratives as identity building forces, and the study's results provide insights into the power and mechanisms surrounding such narratives. While temporal narratives may be employed as rhetorical tools to construct temporal coherency between different organizational actions, we claim that they also have the potential of "hijacking" organizational direction. This risk, we suggest, particularly holds true for present- and future-oriented organizations, as silencing the past (Maclean et al., 2017) and forgetting its history may distort the organization's intended mission. By being overly

concerned with pleasing external stakeholders, the organization generates hyper-adaptation (Hatch & Schultz, 2002), which leads to identity dilution and an identity vacuum. The newly constructed organizational narrative becomes a patching tool to create coherency across the expanding portfolio of new organizational projects. These new narratives may, nevertheless, gradually hijack and replace the original organizational mission. We suggest that organizations may be less prone to hyper-adaption, identity dilution and mission drift when taking a longer-term view (Maclean et al., 2018) and envisioning *distant pasts and futures*, as the organization becomes less sensitive to short-lived changes in tastes and external demands from the field. However, our study also shows that organizational identity may be restored when revisiting and remembering the past. As such, our study also demonstrates the enabling effects of the past for organizational resilience and survival shown in other studies (e.g., Anteby & Molnár, 2012; Foster et al., 2011; Schultz & Hernes, 2013). We suggest, however, that the organization's past is not merely a strategic resource for identity construction, it is also a *temporal anchor* from which the organization may seek its purpose and prepare for future change. Finally, we suggest that an organization must be able to *balance its temporal focus* and look towards its imagined future *while* also remembering the past.

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6. Trapped in a Vicious Circle: Unfolding the Unintended Consequences of Temporal Work in Project-Based Organizations

Abstract

The paper examines how project-based organizations experience and manage conflicting temporal structures. The study is based on an ethnographic study of a project-based non-profit organization that works towards the aim of establishing a national network of local school gardens. While several studies of temporal structures have been empirically anchored in project settings, few have addressed the particular temporality of project-based organizations. This paper contributes to discussions on temporal structures and tensions in project-based organizations by suggesting the term temporal hybridity. The results of the study demonstrate how failure to balance and maintain temporal hybridity trigger unintended organizational consequences. The study identifies two shifts that tilts the balance between the two primary temporal structures of the organization. The paper demonstrates how an inclination to prioritize short-term matters over long-term concerns may be related to the way in which powerful stakeholders impose and encourage particular temporal structures onto the organization it supports. Finally, the paper unfolds how temporal work instigates unintended organizational consequences.

Keywords: Temporal structures, temporal tensions, temporal work, temporal hybridity, project-based organizations, unintended consequences

Introduction

Few decades ago, project-based organizations were mostly found in fields such as architecture (Kreiner, 2013; Grabher, 2004), construction (Gann & Salter 2000; Kadefors 1995) and film (Stjerne & Svejenova, 2016; DeFillippi and Arthur 1998). However, the shift towards “projectification” (Hodgson, Fred, Bailey, & Hall, 2019; Jensen, Thuesen, & Geraldi, 2016) and a “projectified society” (Lundin & Söderholm, 1998: 13; Ekstedt et al. 1999) has made temporary organizing the default mode, rather than the manner in which extraordinary tasks are dealt with (Hobday, 2000). Despite of this shift, management scholars have paid relatively little attention to temporary and project-based organizations until recently (Braun & Lampel, 2020).

Project-based organizations refer to organizations that rely on “the creation of temporary systems for the performance of project tasks” (Sydow et al., 2004: 1475) and are dependent on the incoming of new projects to subsist. Whereas the finalisation of a project signifies organizational success, the completion of a project might equally threaten the very existence of the organization. This organizational setup requires project-based organizations to enact two opposing, yet fundamental temporal structures that each “guide, orient, and coordinate the ongoing activities of the organization” (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002: 684). Because project-based organizations are contingent on the incoming of new projects in order to survive, being embedded in both these structures makes project-based organizations prone to experience temporal tensions and misfit (Geraldi, Stjerne & Oehmen, 2020). This further entails that the temporal structures that condition and guide activities in project-based organizations inevitably give rise to tensions, defined by Schad, Lewis, Raisch and Smith (2016: 10) as a “persistent contradiction between interdependent elements”.

While numerous studies of temporal structures have been empirically anchored in project settings (e.g. Granqvist & Gustafsson, 2016; Reinecke & Ansari, 2015; Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013), few have addressed how the temporality of project-based organizations might pose particular constraint or potentialities for the organizations in which they are enacted (Geraldi, Stjerne & Oehmen, 2020). Attending to the issue of temporal tensions in project-based organizations, this paper seeks to understand how project-based organizations work to balance the conflicting temporal structures that together define the organization. Drawing on the concept of temporal work, defined as “organizational efforts to influence, sustain or redirect

the temporal structures or assumptions that shape strategic action” (Bansal et al., 2019: 1), the paper asks the following question: *How do project-based organizations balance conflicting temporal structures?*

Research on temporal structures and work has shown how organizations not merely accommodate or adapt to diverging temporal structures (Perez-Nordtvedt et al., 2008), but also engage in temporal work to change the institutional temporal norms to which they are expected to conform (Blagoev & Schreyögg, 2019). Whereas these studies suggest that organizations may exert some agency over the temporal structures in which they are embedded (Reinecke & Ansari, 2015) we still do not know much about the limits of such work (McGivern et al., 2018). Although extant literature tends to overlook the difficulty of changing underlying temporal structures (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002) some studies have noted how organizational actors may straddle opposing temporal structures through temporal brokerage (Reinecke & Ansari, 2015) or temporal ambidexterity (Slawinski & Bansal, 2015). These findings show how organizations work to alleviate tensions originating from different temporal structures and further imply that organizations attending to multiple temporal structures might be more prone to experience temporal tensions (Bansal & DesJardine, 2014).

To study how project-based organizations balance conflicting temporal structures, the paper draws on a qualitative, ethnographic study of a project-based non-profit organization. This organization manages a portfolio of projects aimed at strengthening food culture, health and sustainability in Denmark. These projects are funded by external benefactors, which bestow the organization with financial grants to develop new concept-related projects. In order to sustain the organization, applications for new organizational projects must therefore be secured on an ongoing basis. While successful organizational accounts are important to advance theory, descriptions of the failed or unintended results of organizing might equally bring about new knowledge and learning to advance our understanding of organizational behaviour (Edmondson, 2011). This study shows how failing to balance opposing temporal structures trigger a vicious circle of unintended consequences.

To explore the temporal tensions inherent in project-based organizations, the paper draws on the notion of *organizational hybridity* (Mair, Mayer & Lutz, 2015; Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Jay, 2013), which refers to “organizations that instantiate two conflicting institutional logics

within the organizational core” (Besharov & Smith, 2014: 375). I suggest the notion of temporal hybridity to explain the temporal tensions experienced by project-based organizations. The findings demonstrates how failure to balance and maintain its hybrid temporality trigger unintended organizational consequences. The study identifies two shifts that tilts the balance between the two primary temporal structures of the organization.

The paper shows how failing to balance and maintain the hybrid temporality of the organization triggers a vicious circle. Through efforts to secure long-term survival while attending to short-term project commitments, the organization initiates a number of new projects to secure continued operation of the organization. By doing so, the project-based organization attempts to subside the temporal structure of termination by keeping final project deadlines at bay. Through this form of temporal work, however, the organization becomes trapped in a vicious circle in which the organization is bound to continually refocus its efforts in order to attain new projects and thereby continue its operation. By studying how the balance in hybrid temporality shifts, the paper demonstrates how an inclination to prioritize short-term matters over long-term concerns may be related to the way in which powerful stakeholders impose and encourage particular temporal structures onto the organization it supports. Long-term aspirations are replaced by short-term concerns as the temporal structure of termination takes precedence over organizational long-term goals. The results finally suggest that project-based organizing might be less beneficial to solving complex, long-term challenges due to the inherent focus on innovation and predefined goals in projects.

The study contributes to literature on the temporal structures and tensions by showing how external temporal pressures instigate internal temporal misfit in project-based organizations. To explain this tension the paper suggests the term *temporal hybridity*. Finally, the paper adds to theoretical discussions on temporal work by unfolding the unintended consequences of temporal work.

Temporal structures and tensions

Organizational research on temporal tensions has suggested that organizations may experience several forms of temporal tensions (Slawinski & Bansal, 2015; Reinecke & Ansari, 2015). Such tensions include frictions between clock-time and process-time (Reinecke & Ansari, 2017; George & Jones, 2000), subjective and objective perception of time (Orlikowski & Yates,

2002), different temporal orientations (Souder & Bromiley, 2012), and short-term and long-term concerns (Slawinski & Bansal, 2015; Marginson & McAulay, 2008; Berns, Laibson & Loewenstein, 2007). These temporal tensions become manifested in temporal structures, through which organizations guide and coordinate their ongoing activities (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002).

Previous research on temporal structures and tensions has highlighted the strategic importance of temporal fit (Perez-Nordtvedt et al., 2008). Such alignments are considered important, as enduring states of temporal misfit have been shown to imply inefficiencies, low performance, and the potential organizational demise (Ancona & Chong 1996, Bluedorn 1993, Gersick, 1994). To avoid such pitfalls, organizations engage in temporal work through which organizations align divergent temporal structures across the organization (Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013) or with those of its environment (Perez-Nordtvedt et al., 2008). Through processes of entrainment, organizational actors adjust pace, cycles and rhythms (Ancona & Chong, 1996), harmonize conceptions of past, present and future (Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013), or capitalise on windows of opportunity and timing norms (Granqvist & Gustafsson, 2016).

As temporal structures are legitimated through their enactment, changing or even questioning them may be challenging (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002). Instead, organizations are inclined to align pace, rhythm and cycles to that of its field through processes of entrainment (Ancona & Waller, 2007) whereby organizations perceive and adjust their activities to the temporal structures of the environment (Bluedorn, 1993). Failing to do so may lead to temporal misfit (Perez-Nordtvedt et al., 2008), which has been linked to suboptimal performance and organizational decline (Ancona & Chong, 1996). While diverging from established temporal structures is likely to be penalised, research on temporal work has noted how temporal structures may, nonetheless, be altered by organizations (Bluedorn & Denhardt, 1988). While such changes may simply be the consequences of innovation or disruptive events (Eisenhardt & Brown, 1998), others have shown how organizational actors strategically manage and modify stable temporal norms. In their study of a newly founded university Granqvist and Gustafsson (2016) showed how actors constructed windows of opportunity, synchronicity and perceptions of irreversibility during a process of institutional change. While these findings display successful attempts of temporal work, they also demonstrate how powerful actors are more likely to successfully alter temporal structures.

Furthermore, in a study of Fairtrade, Reinecke and Ansari (2015) showed how a clock-time orientation hampered the organization's ability to tackle social problems, due to the limited capacity of linear structures to address an ambiguous temporal trajectory of development. Their study, moreover, showed how organizational actors bridged these tensions by adopting an ambitemporal approach to manage competing temporal structures. Similarly, Slawinski and Bansal (2015) investigated the intertemporal tensions inherent in climate change issues in a study of five Canadian oil companies. The study showed how firms that could juxtapose temporal tensions by adopting temporal ambidexterity better attended to both short- and long-term time concerns (Slawinski & Bansal, 2015). These findings provide insight into the ways in which organizations may accommodate and combine multiple temporalities to manage conflicting temporal structures, such as those of markets and development or sustainability. Moreover, the results imply that even if temporal tensions are irresolvable, organizations still can work strategically to manage and balance them.

While these studies demonstrate how organizations engage in temporal work to alleviate tensions between different temporal structures, the majority of these studies focus on the temporal tensions that exists between organizations and their surrounding environment. While some have noted how temporal tensions might also exist within the boundaries of the organizations (Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013), these forms of tensions have been depicted as having a more dynamic or transient character. We therefore know less about how temporal tensions are experienced and managed by organizations in which diverging temporal structures constitute the core of organizational temporality, as is the case with project-based organizations (Schad, Lewis, Raisch & Smith, 2016).

Temporal tensions in project-based organizations

Most organizations consider organizational failure and death as daunting prospects that should be avoided at all costs. Driven by the ambition of 'going concern' organizations aspire to maintain temporal horizons emergent, open-ended and flexible, stretching into what could potentially be perpetuity. For projects, however, the notion of termination is assumed to be a mark of accomplishment. The finalisation of a project implies that the deadline has passed, and the stated goals of the project have been achieved (Söderlund, 2013). The temporal boundaries

of a project are set from the beginning and although projects may fail or last for numerous years, the deadline is considered as the definite mark of operation (Packendorff, 1995).

Project-based organizations are positioned between these contrasting temporal structures (Bakker et al., 2016). Project-based organizations refer to organizations that rely on “the creation of temporary systems for the performance of project tasks” (Sydow et al., 2004: 1475) and rely on a steady stream of new projects to subsist. For these types of organizations, the temporal structure of permanence and the temporal structure of aspired closure denote two inherent, yet opposing, temporal structures that together define the temporality of the organization. Whereas the completion of a project signifies organizational success, the finalisation and terminations of a project might equally place the very existence of the organization under pressure. Because project-based organizations are contingent on the incoming of new projects in order to survive, being embedded in both these structures makes project-based organizations prone to experience temporal tensions and misfit (Gerald, Stjerne & Oehmen, 2020). This further entails that the temporal structures that condition and guide activities in project-based organizations inevitably give rise to tensions, defined by Schad, Lewis, Raisch and Smith (2016: 10) as a “persistent contradiction between interdependent elements”.

Extant research on project-based organizing has noted how time constitutes a key dimension of how organizational forms as such are conceived and operated due to the underlying tension between the temporary and the permanent (Bakker et al., 2016). This stream of research has been inclined to view the temporal structure of projects as linear, scarce and valuable, in which “time is used ... in a linear form, to lead the way from a starting-point to termination” (Lundin & Söderholm, 1995: 440). In a similar vein, Ibert (2004) has argued that the main difference between permanent and temporary forms of organization is in their conception of time: “For a firm a *cyclical time conception* is applied, whereas the project follows a *linear time conception*” (2004: 1530). While these temporal structures appear to be in tension, they nonetheless represent the two fundamental temporal structures of the project-based organization. This makes the project-based organization a form of temporal hybrid, as the two guiding structures push for opposing approaches on how to deal with time. The time-delimitation of projects shapes organizational processes and practices by creating a sense of urgency as deadlines are approaching (Gersick, 1994), as failing to deliver a project on time is likely to be penalised and

affect future possibilities of attaining new projects (Stjerne & Svejnova, 2016; Engwall, 2003).

While every organization hold and enact distinct temporal structures (Blagoev & Schreyögg, 2019; Roy, 1959), these are, in turn, embedded in the larger macro-level temporal structures of social institutions. Research has shown how temporal structures, expressed in fiscal years, product development cycles and project timelines, are typically shared across organizations and fields (Kunish et al., 2017; Yakura, 2002). These structures reflect culturally based “shared conceptualisation of time and temporal values” (Bludorn & Waller, 2006: 355) and are based on temporal norms and expectations which mental and material manifestations guide action in organizations (Blount & Janicik, 2001). Because temporal structures are deeply embedded in societal norms and practices, temporal structures constitute powerful templates for organizing.

As project-based organizations typically collaborate and coordinate their activities with other organizations (Swärd, 2016), project-based organizations are subject to the forces of ‘isochronism’, whereby actors must subscribe to common timing norms if they are to accomplish the goals set for the project (Dille & Söderlund, 2013). Organizational scholars have previously noted how “no project is an island” (Engwall, 2003: 789) by showing how temporary organizations are highly embedded in their organizational and environmental context (Kreiner, 1996; Sydow, Lindkvist & DeFillippi, 2004). When dealing with inter-organizational projects whereby “multiple actors work jointly on a shared activity for a limited period of time” (Jones & Lichtenstein, 2008: 232) project-based organization must cope with the tensions of embeddedness in multiple organizational settings and fields (Dille & Söderlund, 2011; Grabher, 2004). While managing different stakeholder groups make up the reality of most organizations, this issue lays at the heart of project-based organizations, which regularly find themselves located at the intersection of multiple fields.

Being positioned at the crossroads of different domains therefore makes project-based non-profits prone to experience temporal complexity (Reinecke & Ansari, 2015) and temporal tensions (Geraldi, Stjerne & Oehmen, 2020). As project-based organizations must deal with this myriad of temporal tensions there is a need to deepen our understanding of how the temporality of project-based organizations relate to and interact with its environment. To explore this issue, the paper draws on the concept of *organizational hybridity* (Mair, Mayer & Lutz, 2015; Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Jay, 2013). This notion refers to organizations that

“operate in a context of institutional plurality and enact elements of multiple, often conflicting institutional logics” (Mair, Mayer & Lutz, 2015, p, 714). Hybrid organizations must contend with competing external demands (Pache & Santos, 2010) and internal identities (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Kraatz & Block, 2008). In seeking to manage divergent norms and expectations, hybrid organizations are prone to experience conflicting demands (D'Aunno, Sutton, & Price, 1991; Glynn, 2000; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Pache & Santos, 2010). Because of this, Jay (2013) notes that hybrid organizations may face unintended consequences, such as internal conflict and confusion (Ashforth et al., 2009) or experience isomorphic pulls toward the status quo of one field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). This paper extends research on organizational hybridity by examining the unintended consequences of managing temporal hybridity.

Empirical context and site

The empirical context of the study is a project-based non-profit organization, initiated to educate children about sustainable food practices through ‘edible education’. This form of education takes place in and around school gardens where children collaborate on cultivating organic vegetables. The school garden is organized as an alternative classroom in which children are taught to grow and cook their own food, while simultaneously gaining knowledge on traditional subjects, such as mathematics, natural sciences and language. Through its educational concept, the organization strives to educate food-knowledgeable children while creating sustainable, local communities through its educational concept.

In 2006, the project-based non-profit organization was founded as a spin-off from a commercial, organic meal-kit delivery firm. Five years prior to its establishment, the initial seeds of the organization were sowed when the company attained a one-off batch of funding to organize a national tour of Danish schools. During this tour, children across the country were educated about food and cooking from the back of a trailer parked in the school yards. Following the initial success of the tour, the company systematically began developing an educational concept to be operated on the farming grounds of the company.

In 2006, the same year as the organization was founded, the local municipality formed a partnership with the organization, allowing local school children to participate in the first official project. In agreement with the local municipality, 4th and 5th graders from the local school district began visiting the organizational premises on a regular basis, where lessons on

gardening, cooking and sustainability were conveyed to the children. In 2009, upon receiving another batch of funding (€400.000), the non-profit began operating as a self-governing organizational entity. While remaining administratively located at premises of the meal-kit company, the new organization now became completely financially independent. This shift meant that in order to assure ongoing development and operations, the non-profit had to secure continued funding from external benefactors.

Since the official founding in 2006, the project-based organization has assisted the establishment of nearly 40 school gardens across the nation. In addition, the organization has embarked on numerous concept-related projects, such as social gardening initiatives in social housing areas, established and distributed a cookbook for children, and creating a gardening festival, amongst other things. To initiate these projects various private foundations have financially supported the organization. Foundations therefore represent key stakeholders in securing the ongoing operations of the organization.

The project-based organization operates in a context in which private and philanthropic foundations play a key role in supporting initiatives aimed at inducing social change. Every year, these foundations grant several billions to research, cultural projects and social initiatives (Hansen, 2017) - an amount that has almost doubled since 2012 (PwC, 2017). The magnitude of such investments provides foundations a key role in supporting social welfare and innovation in Denmark. Recently, Danish foundations have continued to increase their influence in society as they have become more strategic by focusing their work on particular areas of action (Kraft & Partners, 2017). Because of their ability to take financial risks, foundations provide the non-profit sector with fast, venture capital, which support the development of innovative responses to societal challenges (Anheier & Daly, 2006). To be considered for funding, project proposal must show how they contribute to developing new solutions and knowledge. Proposals who succeed at this, typically gain project funding for the duration of 3-4 years.

Data collection and analysis

The dataset informing the analysis consists of participant observation (150 h.), interviews (25) and a wide range of organizational archival material (650 pp.) and was collected over a four-year period (2016-2019) (see Table 7 below for an overview).

Table 7. Overview of data

Types of data collected	Specification
Observations: ca. 150 h.	Meetings and workshops: 80 h. School garden networking events: 30 h. School garden visits: 43 h.
Interviews: 25	Organizational management team: 6 interviews conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1–2 h. Organizational founder and chairman of the board: 1 interview conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1–2 h. School garden representatives: 13 interviews conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1–2 h. Foundations: 5 interviews in person: notes taken. Duration 30 min.–1 h. 15 min.
Examples of organizational documents	Project applications: 227 pp. Project evaluations: 212 pp. Organizational strategy proposals: 6 pp. Organizational statutes and description: 63 pp. School garden manuals: 90 pp. Press releases: 16 pp. Email correspondence with organizational members Web page material w/descriptions of organizational vision, mission, educational concept, etc.
Media material	Press clippings containing interviews and portrayals of the organization from 2003–2019 from mainly national sources.
Examples of photographic material	Self-captured photos during observations.

The fieldwork was initiated in spring 2016 and involved extensive participant observation (Jorgensen, 1989; Aktinson & Hammersley, 1998). The majority of observational hours were spent on participating in organizational meetings and workshops. These meetings and workshops were partly organized by the researcher and were intended to provide input to organizational strategy and development. While some of these were attended by the entire organization (12 people), the majority of workshops only included the management team (3–4 people). These meetings provided insight into the plans, hopes, and dreams of the organization, as well as an understanding of how the organization tackled pressing issues such as approaching deadlines. Between 2016–2019, a total of 18 meetings and workshops were held. While each workshop had a theme that guided the discussions (e.g. strategy, vision, identity),

these meetings also provided the opportunity to follow organizational progress and concerns over time (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). For example, a workshop held in March 2017 centred around a PEST analysis of the organization. During this meeting the organizational management discussed what they perceived to be the political, economic, socio-cultural and technological opportunities and threats in their organizational environment. At this point in time the organization had just initiated a large new project and was clearly optimistic about its future opportunities. In fact, the number of issues perceived to be opportunities counted 13 (i.e., political interest, foundations, sustainability concerns), whereas perceived threats only counted three (i.e., public sector, competition, individual engagement). These meetings and workshops made it possible to track ongoing organizational developments and follow how temporal structures gained salience or waned over time.

The research process involved sharing emerging findings through written documents and discussions held on a regular basis. Direct involvement with the organization created a sense of trust, enabling open discussions of concerns and challenges, which further contributed to generating useful data about organizational sensemaking processes (Schein, 2007). Regular visits and email correspondence made it possible to discuss early findings with the management team, which, in turn, triggered new reflections on how to interpret data and results. In addition to participant observation and ongoing informal discussions, seven semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of the management team and organizational board (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). While this research approach ensured sustained access to the organization, the interactive approach unavoidably introduced biases, as the sharing of preliminary results affected how organizational members interpreted their situation. To limit the biases of the interactive methodology triangulating with additional data sources was important (Lüscher & Lewis, 2008).

In addition to frequent visits to the organizational premises, several trips (n=15) were made to the various local school garden sites where different projects had been initiated. These visits provided opportunities to get familiarized with the how the educational concept had been implemented and translated to different local contexts and settings. The various school garden settings showed great diversity in how the educational concept had been interpreted and executed. For example, whereas one school garden was located on the grounds of an agricultural educational institution, another had been established on the premises of a private

manor. Other school gardens were located on the grounds of primary schools, in public parks and in private gardens. During these visits, interviews were conducted with the local initiators and instructors. In addition, five interviews were conducted with employees of various private or philanthropic foundations. Interviewing grant-providing institutions enabled a better understanding of how foundations perceive their work and the influence they exert on project-based non-profit organizations. Two of these foundations were or had previously been directly involved in financially supporting the project-based organization of the study. All 25 interviews were recorded and transcribed and had an average duration of 1h. 10 minutes.

To account for the organizational events and development occurring prior to 2016, a wide range of archival material was collected. In addition to newsletters, press releases and media reports this material included project applications, vision statements and strategy formulations. The latter forms of materials served as tangible representations of time that made different temporal structures discernible (Yakura, 2001). Observing discussions during meetings and workshops showed how project applications and strategy formulations were used to negotiate how organizational members perceived and structured time. Other documents, such as mail correspondence and minutes from board meetings provided additional insight into how perceptions of temporal structures emerged and changed over time (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Through ongoing discussions with organizational members, it furthermore became possible to trace how plans and visions change and develop over time and how documents both enabled and inhibited such action (Langley, 1999).

Because the start of the fieldwork (autumn 2016) coincided with a large project donation being granted to the organization, the temporal challenges were not apparent from the outset. In fact, the wide portfolio of projects appeared as a testament of organizational success and innovative capacity. However, further along into the project period, various forms of temporal frictions began to emerge. This provoked questions of the role of temporal structures in guiding and orienting the ebb and flow of organizational strategy and development. To systematically explore this initial hunch (Lincoln, 2007) all data was transported into the qualitative data analysis software NVivo and coded subsequently using time and temporality as a sensitizing lens. The initial set of descriptive codes was subsequently grouped into second order themes. These themes included labels such ‘sense of urgency’, ‘future optimism, and ‘project accountability’ (see table 8). Following this process, two dominant temporal structures

emerged from the data. These structures were labelled as the ‘temporal structure of endurance’ and the ‘temporal structure of termination’. While the temporal structure of endurance assumes long-term organizational action and continuity, the temporal structure of termination assumes short-term action and closure. The table below presents an overview of the coding tree.

Table 8. Coding tree

First order codes	Second order themes	Aggregate dimensions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The sky is the limit</i> • <i>The time is ripe to enter a new phase</i> • <i>It's rolling now</i> • <i>In five years, we'll be a firmly institutionalised organization</i> • <i>We've received 1.3 million. Now it's going to happen.</i> 	<i>Future optimism</i>	Long-term: Temporal structure of endurance
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>We need to make ourselves indispensable</i> • <i>We need to secure our future</i> • <i>Our most important focus is to secure long-term financing, so the organizational foundation is solid</i> 	<i>Securing long-term survival</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>One has to work at many surfaces at the same time</i> • <i>Can't just work from grant to grant.</i> • <i>You need to have several [projects] going.</i> 	<i>Branching out</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Solely dependent on endowments.</i> • <i>Will I still be here in the near future?</i> 	<i>Future uncertainty</i>	Short-term: temporal structure of termination
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Every penny spent needs to be considered.</i> • <i>Projects are our sole focus</i> • <i>We've promised the foundation</i> • <i>The foundation has demanded it</i> 	<i>Project accountability</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>We need to have some money</i> • <i>Can't just say more of the same</i> • <i>Someone has to go!</i> 	<i>Sense of urgency</i>	

To unravel the meaning and relationship between the aggregate dimensions the coded material was subsequently combined into a chronological timeline. This timeline included events,

observational memos and reflections as well as informants' understanding of what constituted organizational development and challenges. The chronological order of the timeline revealed how the codes were temporally and processually interlinked by showing how the organization moved between the two dominant temporal structures of endurance and termination. Inspired by the notion of temporal shifts (Staudenmayer, Tyre & Perlow, 2002), I examined how the balance between the two dominant structures changed over time and identified two shifts. These analytical steps revealed how the hybrid temporality of the project-based organization shifted over time. These shifts entailed that the balance between the temporal structures of endurance and termination became skewed as the organization attempted to meet external demands. Finally, revisiting literature on temporal tensions and hybridity helped to make sense of the emerging findings. The following section unfolds how the temporal shifts occurred as an unintended consequence of temporal work whereby the organization became trapped in a vicious circle largely dictated by the temporal structure of termination.

Findings

The first few years of operation, following the establishment in 2006, the temporality of project-based organization posed few organizational challenges. During this period of time, the balance between short-term project concerns and long-term organizational ambitions co-existed harmoniously. Whereas public spending on social initiatives had declined over the last decade (Henriksen & Bundesen, 2004), donations from private and philanthropic foundations had grown markedly and thus constituted an opening for innovative social initiatives to attract funding. Along with a shift in focus in which many foundations emphasized sustainability, health and social issues as key priorities and focus areas, the organization perceived future funding opportunities as promising. Because of this, the dependence on foundations for project funding was largely regarded as an organizational opportunity for long-term impact (field notes, 2016).

This optimism was not unfounded. To further strengthen the educational value of the school garden concept, the project-based organization attained a new batch of funding in 2009 (€ 400.000). From this amount, the organization continued to develop and standardize its concept by outlining eight educational modules focusing on three key areas: school gardens, nature and outdoor cooking. A part of the grant allocation was, moreover, assigned to engage a team of researchers from Denmark's pedagogical university to document, evaluate and disseminate the

effects of participating in the educational program. Following the study's results, in which the school garden was held to be highly beneficial for both social and educational purposes (Wistoft, 2013), interested parties from across the country began reaching out to ask the organization for assistance to establish their own local initiatives.

As the new educational concept proved educationally beneficial and displayed potential for scalability, a considerable amount of attention from politicians, journalists and researchers was directed towards the organization. Aware of the growing national interest in food, sustainability and school gardens, the organization sought to capitalise on public support by applying for yet another project grant in 2012. In the application the organization revealed its long-term ambitions and justified its need for continued support by stating:

“We have shown that we have the platform, available knowledge and the experience to succeed with the rollout of the project. We simply lack the resources for a national rollout so that we can include many more (...) We now feel that the time is ripe to enter a new phase and roll out the concept at national level.” (Project funding application, 2012).

The following year, the organization was granted €1.3 million to initiate a national dissemination of the educational concept. The timing of the new three-year project superseded the previous project seamlessly, allowing for the temporal structures of endurance and the temporal structure of termination a continued coexistence neatly side by side. The new attainment enabled an explosive growth in the national number of school gardens, increasing from three to nearly thirty in barely four years. The atmosphere was filled with confidence and hopefulness for the future: *“We think it's rolling now”* (internal document, 2013). This optimism was reflected in the organization's temporal hybridity and entailed a balance in attending to both long-term and short-term organizational concerns. For example, the organizational ability of securing new funding towards the end of each project strengthened its belief in that the organization was here for the long run, as stated by one of the organizational members: *“The sky's the limit!”* (field note, 2016).

Towards hybridity imbalance

Despite of growing organizational recognition and success, a shift in the balance of temporal structures was lurking towards the end of 2015. As the educational concept became more established and standardized, carving out more innovative aspects of the school garden concept

turn out to be increasingly difficult. To legitimize and secure continued project funding, external benefactors demanded new types of innovative solutions. The founder of the organization explains:

“[The foundations] can’t just say more of the same, right?” (Nonprofit founder and chairman interview, 2017).

Whereas preceding projects focused on developing content and assisting the diffusion of new school gardens, new allocations of funding required distinct and innovative deliveries, rather than the continued improvement of previously stated goals. These demands challenged the hybrid temporality of the organization, as the neat overlap and coherence between preceding projects was no longer a viable option. This meant that in order to maintain the organization and avoid termination, new promises and goals had to be made towards the end of the project period.

In 2016, the approaching termination of the funding period created a growing awareness that more money would be needed to sustain the ongoing operations of the organization. This awareness instigated a shift in the organizational temporal structure, which previously balanced the short and long-term demands of being a project-based organization. The shift entailed that the temporal structure of endurance slowly gave way for the temporal structure of termination. This meant that the organization became increasingly defined by a sense of urgency towards the approaching project deadline, while long-term ambitions faded in the background:

“As an organization that is dependent on funding one has to work at many surfaces at the same time. You can’t just work from grant to grant. Then you are laying the rail tracks and driving the train simultaneously. It can’t be done. You need to have several going.” (Management team member interview, 2017).

As the temporal structure of termination began to dominate, the organization started to search for funding that would secure its continued operation. Instead of considering how to manage and secure operations for the long run through other means than temporary projects, the short-term supposition inherent in the temporal structure of termination began to steer strategic action. In trying to reduce the temporal pressure that derived from working with singular, sequentially structured projects, the organization sought to sustain itself by adding new, parallel-running projects to the organizational project portfolio. In this way, the organization attempted to create a temporal buffer by pushing the pending deadlines and termination further into the future.

Strapped for ideas on how to yet again innovate and develop the school garden concept, the organization began branching out to other domains by trying to adapt the original concept to fit other contexts and target groups. This adaption involved attaining new projects that involved writing and distributing a cookbook for children (2015-2018) and creating gardening initiatives in social housing communities (2015-2018). Through expanding the portfolio of ongoing projects, the organization aimed to tackle the challenges related to basing its entire operations on sequentially structured grants by initiating several temporally overlapping projects. By expanding the portfolio of projects, the organization aimed to reduce its dependence on a single running project. In a funding application granted in 2016 (€ 2 million) some of the targets that were to be delivered over a three-year period included five new pilot projects. On top of this, the organization committed itself to create a digital platform with a variety of material needed for school garden start-ups ('a basic tool kit'). Moreover, the organization aimed to establish an 'Annual Cycle' of year-round activities in the form of seminars, theme days, and an annual food festival to develop networks and share knowledge among the different parties involved in the various ventures.

"We've promised our funders that we'll do all kinds of stuff. Opening forty school gardens that is, again, pretty absurd. At that time, we had promised to open twenty, I think, when [the new leader] started. And we had those 15 million and a research project. A lot crazier in terms of digitalisation, and a lot crazier in terms of all kinds of weird things, right?" (Nonprofit founder and chairman interview, 2017.)

By initiating a growing number of projects, the organization were able postpone the final deadline that would jeopardize organizational survival. However, the expanding assembly of projects initiated to prolong the life of the organization instigated several unintended consequences. Working with clearly demarked project periods made it difficult to preserve a long-term horizon, as each new project period would require distinct goals and focus areas of short-term nature.

The growing dominance of the temporal structure of termination also had consequences for organizational employment practices. As the portfolio of projects became larger, the organization increased its staff to cope with the extensive growth in deliverables. From having started out with merely one manager and a couple of part-time school garden instructors and volunteers in 2006, the growth in projects had (in 2017) led to a growth in personnel that nearly

counted 20 people. The majority were employed on an open-ended, full-time contract. The increases in staff numbers did, however, not only contribute to strengthen organizational impact, but also heightened the pressure on the organization's ability of maintaining itself. As projects were approaching the end of its lifespan, this pressure caused internal stress for organizational members.

"If a project is about to end and there are a few employees allocated to that project; what are they supposed to then do? Are they going to remain in the organization? There's a continuous questioning of 'Will I still be here in the near future?' or 'Will I have my contract renewed?' And that's a really tough framework." (Management team member interview, 2017).

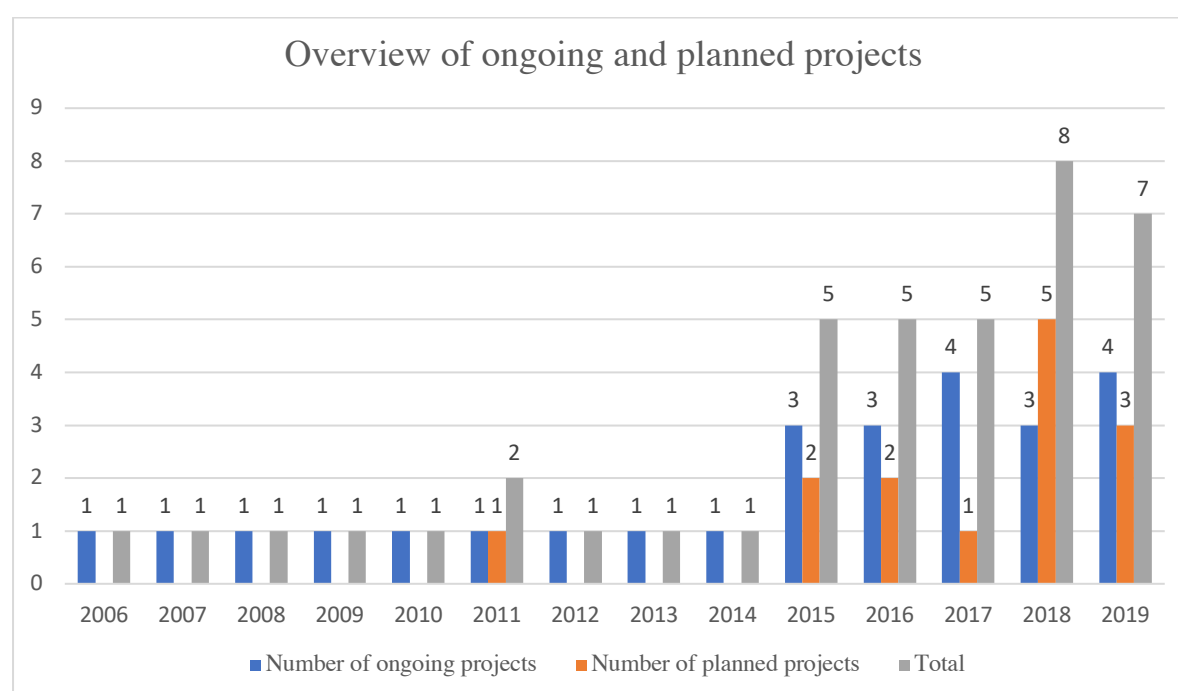
As attaining new projects became increasingly important, the temporal structure of termination had taken hold of the organization. The open-ended, mission driven approach that had characterized the organization in its early years was gradually replaced by a new temporal structure, which was guided by deliveries and deadlines: *"Projects are our sole focus every day, year around."* (email correspondence, 2017). Rather than seeking to be guided by its initial commitment to edible education through establishing school gardens, securing organizational survival gained priority and prominence. The increasing number of projects further meant that attending to already finished projects ultimately became less of a priority.

"We've initiated 37 gardens across the country and simply need to look ourselves in the mirror and say: 'Are we sufficiently there for the 37? Do we get enough out the 25 million – the two former donations – to help them further?' And then the answer is simply no." (Management team member interview, 2017)

While recognizing its failure to support the constituents of previous projects, the hands of the organization were largely tied. Because project funding was earmarked to support the achievement of new goals, resources could therefore not easily be redirected to maintain the subsistence of previous projects. Moreover, the growing commitments towards new targets increased their primacy. As a consequence, the school gardens, which had originally been the prime focus of the organization, transformed into a pledge of the past.

The chart below illustrates the growing number of ongoing and planned projects. Planned projects refer to projects that have not yet received funding or which are still in a phase of development. Some of these projects have not been realised due to lack of funding.

Chart 1. Chronological overview of ongoing and planned projects



Trapped in a vicious circle of hybridity imbalance

By mid-2018, the organization began to recognize how the increasing number of projects and deadlines had come to overshadow long-term concerns. Despite of the realisation, the substantial investments made by the prime benefactor had increased its say in guiding the strategic direction of the organization. Recognizing the negative consequences of increasing the number of deadlines to meet, while acknowledging its precarious financial situation, the organization aspired to move away from purely relying on donations, which made up almost 90% of its revenue. By increasing sales through activities such as consulting and advisory services, the organization sought to offer its experience and knowledge to interested parties, and thereby be less dependent on regularly securing new projects. This envisioned change, however, was met with reluctance during a meeting where this strategy was presented (field notes, 2018). Because this direction had not been included in the existing project application, divergence and distractions from previously agreed upon goals was not accepted. Instead, the organization was reminded that it was bound to deliver on its promised project goals before such strategic changes could be considered or discussed. Following the meeting one organizational member noted:

“All major decisions must be taken on the basis of a discussion with them”

(Management team member interview, 2017).

To maintain a favourable relationship with the foundations, decisions concerning organizational development were made on the basis of the desires and demands of external benefactors, which actively shaped the trajectory of the organization. Strategic and organizational decisions were therefore made on the basis of benefactors' demands and pressures. During the project periods, the stated goals and promises created temporary organizational rigidity, whereby the organization became fixated on meeting project goals, while paying less attention to previous undertakings and long-term goals, such as the support of the school gardens.

By 2018, the organization began to acknowledge how the dominant focus on projects had brought about several unintended consequences. Since 2015, the organization had initiated a number of new projects to secure continued operation of the organization. To limit the risk of relying on sequential, short-term projects, the organization had moreover decided to widen its focus to new target groups and areas, which included three projects concerning leisure activities for vulnerable children and youths, climate change and music (fieldnotes, 2018). Through efforts to decrease the dependence sequential projects the organization had, inadvertently, become more focused on the short-term deliveries of its projects. By doing so, the organization became trapped in a vicious circle in which the organization was bound to increasingly attain new endowments to continue its operation. The demands of newness inherent in the project demands moreover capped long-term horizons short and distracted organizational efforts towards its long-term goal of providing edible education to children.

“Over the past three years, so much energy has been burned... From what we could have been able to achieve with [the organization], it has simply almost been standing still. It's still the same old” (Management team member interview, 2017).

Another employee marks correspondingly:

“We've wasted a lot of time and haven't left our marks, to say it as it is.” (Management team member interview, 2017).

What initially appeared as a strategic promise of growth and success had instead resulted in an organizational gridlock whereby the temporal structure of termination steered organizational strategy and action. In attempting to overcome the challenges of future uncertainty, the organization became trapped in a vicious circle where each new project, not only meant a divergence from its original goal of initiating and operating school gardens, but also a growing

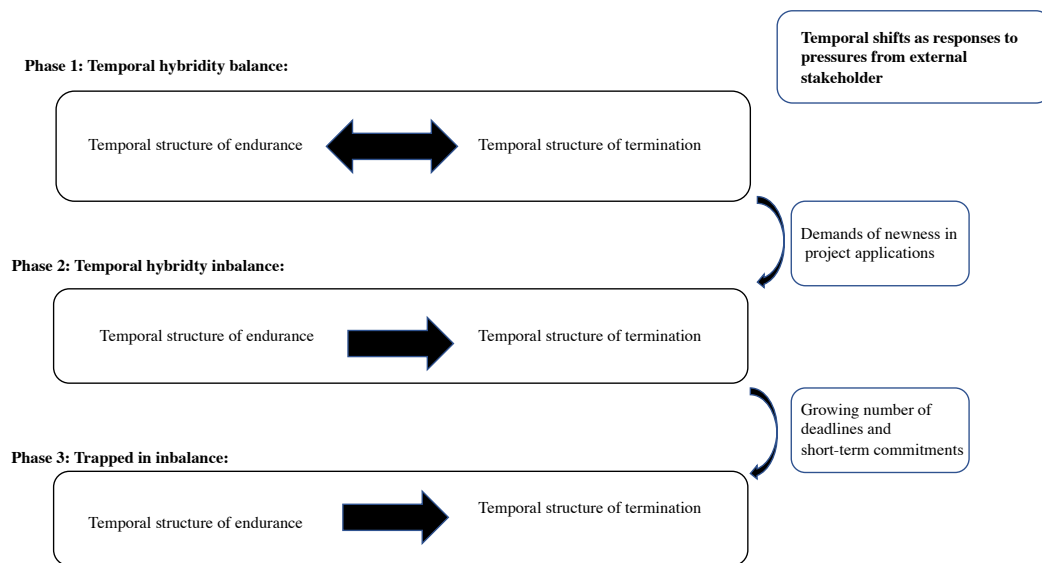
reliance on short-term projects. By trying to please funders the organization had allowed the temporal structure of termination to take precedence over the temporal structure of endurance, creating a situation of temporal lock-in, as previously noted by Blagoev and Schroeygg (2019).

Discussion and concluding remarks

The paper asked, *how do project-based organizations experience and manage conflicting temporal structures?* To answer this question, the paper draws on the notion of organizational hybridity (Mair, Mayer & Lutz, 2015; Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Jay, 2013) and suggests that project-based organizations are marked by a hybrid temporal structure. This form of hybridity entails that project-based organization are drawn between two opposing yet fundamental temporal structures, namely the structure of endurance and the structure of termination. While the temporal structure of endurance assumes and seeks organizational continuity and endurance, the temporal structure of termination conceives the closure of projects as its final goal. For project-based organizations these structures are closely entangled, as the ongoing termination and securing of new projects enable the organization to persist.

Examining the development of a project-based non-profit organization over an extended period of time, the paper shows how failing to balance both temporal structures have several unintended consequences for the organization. Through efforts to secure long-term survival while attending to short-term project commitments, the organization initiates a number of new projects to secure continued operation of the organization. By doing so, the project-based organization attempts to subside the temporal structure of termination by keeping final project deadlines at bay. Through this form of temporal work, however, the organization becomes trapped in a vicious circle in which the organization is bound to continually refocus its efforts in order to attain new projects and thereby continue its operation (see figure 5 below). By studying how the balance in hybrid temporality shifts over time, the paper demonstrates how an inclination to prioritize short-term matters over long-term concerns may be related to the way in which powerful stakeholders impose and encourage particular temporal structures onto the organization it supports. Long-term aspirations are replaced by short-term concerns as the temporal structure of termination takes precedence over organizational long-term goals. The paper thus shows how temporal tensions intensify as the organization strives to conform to external temporal demands.

Figure 5. Temporal shifts leading to hybridity imbalance



Contributions and implications

The findings of the study have mainly two theoretical implications and contributions. The first contribution relates to temporal structures and tensions in project-based organizations, whereas the second contribution extends discussions of temporal work. The following sections outline these implications and contributions.

Temporal tensions in project-based organizations

First, the findings contribute to discussions on the temporal structures and tensions of project-based organizations by suggesting the term temporal hybridity. Whereas several studies of temporal structures have been empirically anchored in project settings (e.g. Granqvist & Gustafsson, 2016; Reinecke & Ansari, 2015; Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013), few have addressed the particular temporality of project-based organizations. The present paper contributes to this discussion by showing how project-based organizations experience temporal tensions due to an inherent friction in the way in which time is structured. The findings thus suggest that project-based organizations must work to balance the conflicting temporal structures that together define the organization.

Previous studies have shown how project managers straddle different temporal structures to manage the temporal tensions in project-based organization (Geraldi, Stjerne & Oehmen, 2020). This study contributes to this discussion by highlighting the role that external

stakeholders may play in impeding this capacity. The paper extends knowledge on how the temporality of project-based organizations is shaped through interaction with its environment by showing how the balance between the constituent temporal structures of project-based organizations shifts due to pressures and expectations from external stakeholders. While previous studies of project-based organizations have described how tensions arise from competing stakeholder expectations (Sydow & Braun, 2018; Dille & Söderlund, 2011), few contributions to this date, have addressed the challenges arising from conflicting enactments of temporal structures and horizons. This paper extends this discussion by showing how project-based organizations experience temporal tensions related to their hybrid temporality.

Moreover, the paper demonstrates how external stakeholders contribute to disrupting the precarious balance between the two dominant temporal structures of the project-based organization. As such, the paper contributes to discussions on temporal tensions by showing how pressures of external entrainment instigate internal temporal misfit (Ancona & Chong, 1996). Whereas previous studies on temporal tensions and misfit have voiced the need for organizations to entrain with their environment (Perez-Nordtvedt et al., 2008), this study illustrates how organizations defined by a hybrid temporality may struggle to meet external expectations while keeping internal temporal balance. While research on hybrid organizations have noted how hybrid organizations may experience internal conflict and confusion (Ashforth et al., 2009), the study demonstrates how organizational hybridity may not only include organizations positioned at the crossroads of fields (Jay, 2013; D'Aunno, Sutton, & Price, 1991; Glynn, 2000; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Pache & Santos, 2010) but also organizations that are guided by conflicting temporal structures.

The unintended consequences of temporal work

A second contribution of the paper concerns the unintended consequences of temporal work. While research on temporal work largely argues that organizations may benefit from engaging in temporal work (Granqvist & Gustafsson, 2016; Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013), some have demonstrated how temporal work might also bring about unintended and negative organizational consequences (Blagoev & Schreyögg, 2019). In their a study of extreme work hours in an elite consulting firm, Blagoev and Schreyögg (2019) revealed how engaging temporal work created a situation of temporal lock-in, whereby the organization become trapped in the temporal structures they helped to construct. In line with their findings, the

results of this study show how efforts to strategically adjust the temporal structures that guide the organization lead to unintended consequences. By trying to secure long-term survival while attending to short-term project commitments, the nonprofit organization initiates a number of new projects to secure continued operation of the organization. However, through this form of temporal work, the organization becomes trapped in a vicious circle in which the organization is bound to continually refocus its efforts in order to attain new projects and thereby continue its operation. In line with Blaoev and Schreyögg's (2019) study, the findings show how organizations can become locked into the temporal structures they promote due to positive (external) feedback. This study contributes to this discussion by showing how this conflict may be rooted in temporal hybridity, which must be balanced to avoid temporal misfit. While previous studies have shown how organization work to balance opposing temporal structures through temporal brokerage (Reinecke & Ansari, 2015) or temporal ambidexterity (Slawinski & Bansal, 2015), the findings of this study illustrate how efforts to do just so may instigate unintended consequences.

By studying how the balance in hybrid temporality shift, the paper demonstrates how an inclination to prioritize short-term matters over long-term concerns may be related to the way in which powerful stakeholders impose and encourage particular temporal structures onto the organization it supports. Long-term aspirations are replaced by short-term concerns as the temporal structure of termination takes precedence over organizational long-term goals. Whereas previous studies have noted how organizations tend to prioritize short-term matters over long-term concerns (Marginson & McAulay, 2008), this study shows how this inclination may be related to the way in which external stakeholders, such as funding organizations, impose particular temporal structures onto the organization it supports (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002; Bakker et al., 2016). These structures, expressed in funding applications and project contracts, steer and coordinate the focus of ongoing activities in such way that the hybrid temporality of the project-based organization shifts towards prioritizing the temporal structure of termination. As temporal structures are legitimated and reinforced through their use, questioning and challenging this shift becomes increasingly difficult over time (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002).

Practical implications and future research

Braun and Lampel (2020) have recently argued that the shift towards ‘projectification’ (Hodgson, Fred, Bailey, & Hall, 2019) reflect, not only the advantages of project-based organizations, but also the limitations of permanent organizations. These advantages are attributed to how projects increase flexibility and allow organizations to implement innovative activities and solutions with fewer resource commitments. While these attributes may indeed be beneficial in many organizational fields (Jensen, Thuesen, & Geraldi, 2016), the results of this study indicate that the shift towards ‘projectification’ warrants some critical reflection. Due to the hybrid temporality of project-based organizations I suggest that these are prone to experience temporal tensions. I further propose that project-based organizations in which the project goal extends well beyond the project timeline might be more disposed to experience the tensions of temporal hybridity.

The results of this paper align with previous research that has shown how the temporality of development and social change is expected to follow a different temporal pattern than a linear one (Reinecke & Ansari, 2015; MacKay & Chia, 2013). The findings thus echo previous discussions of how a linear structuring of time does not sufficiently account for the complexities of dealing with development and social change, as these efforts typically follow an uncertain trajectory with long spanning temporal horizons (Gao & Bansal, 2013; Reinecke & Ansari, 2015). This uncertainty suggests how using linear temporal structuring tools to plan and navigate social change may be highly problematic (Holland & Ruedin, 2012). Project-based organizations might therefore struggle to tackle more complex social and environmental problems when aiming to do so through temporary projects. The results of this study thus suggest that project-based organizations might be less equipped to solving complex, long-term challenges due to the inherent focus on innovation and predefined goals in projects (Sydow et al., 2004).

Another empirical setting in which organizational actors might be susceptible to experience the tensions of temporal hybridity might be academia. Within this field the project format has become the standard and self-evident way to organize research work (Vermeulen, 2010). Within this setting, external project funding is an increasingly important economic driver behind research projects and research centres (Ylijoki, 2014). While research projects and centres will strive to deliver innovative results at the end each project and funding allocation, they are typically embedded in more long-term research ambitions. I suggest that future

research should look further into how organizations and organizational actors experience and balance temporal tensions in these types of settings.

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7. Discussion and concluding remarks

This chapter revisits the research question posed in the dissertation's initial chapter. To answer this question, I first summarize the key arguments and findings of each chapter, discuss the findings, and then offer a conclusion.

As the introduction of the thesis states, the guiding research question of this study has been to understand *how organizations and organizational actors construct and manage temporal structures in a setting of culinary change*. My motivation has been to understand the ways in which time and temporality may constitute both a resource and a constraint when organizations and organizational actors in the culinary field promote new ways of sustainable food production and consumption.

The three papers included in the dissertation demonstrate, in various ways, how organizational actors engage temporal work in different and complementary ways and settings. Tables X and Y below provide an overview of my findings and contributions, respectively.

In Chapter 2, 'Working with Time and Temporality', I reviewed and consolidated much of the literature on temporal work which is relevant for this study and has formed the theoretical basis for the research. The chapter demonstrated how scholars have defined and studied organizational time, specifically temporal work, as strategic efforts made by individual, collective, or organizational actors to influence, sustain, or redirect temporal structures or assumptions (Bansal et al. 2019). Emphasizing temporal work as organizational efforts made to manage or modify socially constructed temporal structures and narratives, I argued for the significance of temporal work in organizational uses of the past, processes of organizational remembering, organizational identity construction, and as a way to cope with temporal tensions. Finally, I suggested theoretical avenues that need further development, particularly regarding the roles of 1) *strategic ambiguity in the construction of historical narratives*, 2) *temporal focus in processes of organizational remembrance and identity construction*, and 3) *the unintended consequences that might arise when organizations engage in temporal work to manage temporal tensions*.

In Chapter 4, which addresses issue 1 noted above, the paper titled ‘Inventing Culinary Heritage Through Strategic Historical Ambiguity’ demonstrates how organizational actors in a Turkish culinary movement used strategic ambiguity to construct legitimate historical narratives about a common cultural heritage. In this study, I asked *How do organizational actors use strategic ambiguity to construct and legitimate historical narratives about a common cultural heritage?* I identified three forms of ambiguity—origin, artefacts, and ownership—which organizational actors employed to concretize and perform a vaguely defined past in the present, thereby allowing the construction of legitimate historical narratives. Using the findings, I theorized a link between historical narratives and strategic ambiguity by introducing the notion of ‘strategic historical ambiguity’, defined as ‘the intentional selection of past events and use of historical ambiguity to craft legitimate historical narratives’.

In Chapter 5, which addresses issue 2 noted above, the paper ‘Hijacked by Hope: Dynamics of Mission Drift and Identity Dilution in a Nonprofit Organization’ portrays how a one-sided temporal focus on the future may result in organizational memory loss and identity dilution. Addressing the question, *How does temporal focus shape processes of organizational identity construction?*, the study shows that organizational memory is not merely a strategic resource for identity construction but is also a temporal anchor that keeps future ambition in check, even if that ambition is continually remembered and revisited. Moreover, the paper demonstrates how organizational forgetting may lead to loosely coupled identity narratives that hijack and displace the organizational identity and mission. With these results, the paper contributes to a less examined aspect of organizational memory by focusing on the unintended actions and consequences of silencing or forgetting the past. I also argue that temporal focus signifies a key mechanism for organizational remembering and identity construction and that temporal identity narratives can hijack organizational direction.

In Chapter 6, which addresses issue 3 noted above, the paper ‘Trapped in a Vicious Circle: Unfolding the Unintended Consequences of Temporal Work’ examines *how project-based organizations experience and manage conflicting temporal structures*. The results of the study demonstrate how failure to balance and maintain temporal hybridity trigger unintended organizational consequences. The study identifies two shifts that tilts the balance between the two primary temporal structures of the organization. The findings show how temporal tensions intensify as the organization attempts to manage them, thereby highlighting the unintended

consequences of temporal work, specifically in a project-based nonprofit organization. This paper contributes to discussions on temporal structures and tensions in project-based organizations by suggesting the term temporal hybridity. The chapter further shows how temporal work may lead to unintended consequences, thereby contributing to research on temporal work.

The table below provides an overview of the three papers.

Table 9. Overview of papers and findings

	Chapter 4: Paper 1 (empirical)	Chapter 5: Paper 2 (empirical)	Chapter 6: Paper 3 (empirical)
Title	Inventing Culinary Heritage Through Strategic Historical Ambiguity	Hijacked by Hope: Dynamics of Mission Drift and Identity Dilution in a Nonprofit Organization	Trapped in a Vicious Circle: Unfolding the Unintended Consequences of Temporal Work
Keywords	Culinary movement, culinary heritage, historical narratives, strategic ambiguity, strategic historical ambiguity, uses of the pasts	Organizational identity, organizational memory, historical narrative, temporal focus, nonprofit organization	Temporal structures, temporal tensions, temporal work, temporal hybridity, project-based organizations, unintended consequences
Research question	How do organizational actors use strategic ambiguity to construct and legitimate historical narratives about a common cultural heritage?	How does temporal focus shape processes of organizational identity construction?	How do project-based organizations balance conflicting temporal structures?
Research context	Studies how history is constructed and used as a strategic asset by a culinary movement consisting of loosely coupled organizational actors in Istanbul, Turkey.	Follows the development and change of the organizational identity and mission of a nonprofit organization over a four-year period.	Studies how a project-based nonprofit organization manages temporal tensions over a four-year period.
Theoretical background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical narratives (e.g., Foster, Coraiola, Suddaby, Kroezen, & Chandler, 2017; Lubinski, 2018; Hatch & Schultz, 2017) • Strategic ambiguity (e.g., Eisenberg, 1984; Scandellius & Cohen, 2016) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organizational memory (work) (Anteby & Molnar, 2012; Foster et al., 2017; Olick & Robbins, 1998) • Temporal identity narratives (Ezzy, 1998; Schultz & Hernes, 2013) • Temporal focus (Kunisch, Bartunek, Mueller, & Huy, 2017; Nadkarni & Chen, 2014; Bluedorn, 2002) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temporal structures (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002; Bluedorn & Waller, 2006) • Temporal tensions (e.g., Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013; Reinecke & Ansari, 2015; Slawinski & Bansal, 2015; • Temporal work (Granqvist & Gustafsson, 2016; Blagoev & Schreygg, 2019) • Project-based organizations (Lundin & Söderholm, 1995; Bakker et al., 2016; Geraldi et al., 2020)

Data types	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnographic field study • Interviews • Archival data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnographic field study • Interviews • Archival data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnographic field study • Interviews • Archival data
Data analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cyclical process of coding interview transcripts, field notes, and documents. Three steps (Gioia et al., 2012). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First round of codes combined into a chronological timeline • Coding for narrative cues that presented expressions of identity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coding of data using time and temporality as a sensitizing lens • Identifying temporal shifts (Staudenmayer et al., 2002)
Main findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identifies three forms (origin, artefacts, and ownership) of ambiguity that enable the construction of cultural heritage. • Shows how these forms of ambiguity enable actors to concretize and perform a vaguely defined past in the present. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Illustrates how a one-sided temporal focus on the future may result in organizational memory loss and identity dilution. • Finds that organizational memory is not merely a strategic resource for identity construction but also a temporal anchor that keeps future ambition in check. • Shows how organizational forgetting may lead to loosely coupled identity narratives that hijack and displace the original organizational identity and mission. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shows how failure to balance and maintain temporal hybridity trigger unintended organizational consequences. • Identifies two shifts that tilts the balance between the two primary temporal structures of the organization. • Demonstrates how temporal imbalance may be related to the way in which powerful stakeholders impose and encourage particular temporal structures onto the organization it supports.

As the table above suggests, I have organized the thesis so that questions remaining unanswered in earlier chapters are subsequently explored in the subsequent chapter. Overall, the findings across the three chapters demonstrate that organizations and organizational actors engaging in temporal work hold different ambitions and intentions. Moreover, the findings reveal that while some forms of temporal work can be considered largely proactive (Chapter 4), other approaches to temporal work showcase stronger organizational responsiveness (Chapter 6). For example, Chapter 4 shows how a group of organizational actors engage temporal work to construct and legitimize a new cuisine, whereas Chapter 6 demonstrates how a project-based nonprofit organization turned to temporal work to cope with external temporal pressures. In this way, the findings cover a wide range of both motives and approaches to organizational temporal work, which I discuss more fully below. The broad scope of temporal work covered in this dissertation indicates not only the significance of temporal phenomena in organizational life but also the many ways in which organizational temporality may be conceptualised and studied.

Table 10 below summarizes the theoretical and empirical contributions of the papers, which forms the basis of the subsequent discussion of the dissertation’s overall contributions.

Table 10. Theoretical and empirical contributions

	Theoretical contributions	Empirical contributions
Chapter 4: Paper 1	<p><i>Uses of the past</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contributes by theorizing links between historical narratives and strategic ambiguity by showing how ambiguity may be deliberately used to craft legitimate historical narratives of common cultural heritage. Introduces the term ‘strategic historical ambiguity’. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Suggests how strategic historical ambiguity may be used as a strategic resource for uniting/organizing loosely coupled groups of actors (e.g., social movements).
Chapter 5: Paper 2	<p><i>Organizational forgetting</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contributes to theorizing a less examined aspect of organizational memory by focusing on unintended actions and consequences of silencing or forgetting the past. Adds to studies of temporal identity narratives by theorizing temporal focus as a key mechanism for organizational remembering and identity construction. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Suggests that an excessive focus on the future can lead to mission drift and identity dilution. Organizations that rely heavily on external benefactors, such as nonprofit organizations, are found to be prone to this.
Chapter 6: Paper 3	<p><i>Project-based organizations</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adds to studies on temporal tensions in project-based organizations by showing how conflicting enactments of temporal structures and horizons are a key challenge in project-based organizations. Suggests the term ‘temporal hybridity’ as a way to define and understand the temporality of project-based organizations. <p><i>Temporal work</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adds to the research on temporal work by showing how such work may lead to unintended consequences. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Highlights the temporal challenges of project-based organizing for nonprofit organizations. Suggests that collaborating organizations should be aware of conflicting temporal structures.

Having summarized the foregoing chapters, I now propose an answer to the main research question, based on the three papers outlined in Chapters 4–6. The overarching research question guiding this study is, ***How do organizations and organizational actors construct and manage temporal structures in a setting of culinary change?***

To answer this question, I have studied two empirical settings in which actors construct and manage various forms of temporal structures, such as historical narratives, organizational

memories, and temporal tensions to initiate and achieve sustainable culinary change. Viewing temporal structures as inherently social (Sorokin & Merton, 1937), the three empirical studies capture the ways in which time and temporality may constitute both a resource and a constraint when organizations and organizational actors in the culinary field promote new ways of sustainable food production and consumption.

The findings of the three studies (Chapters 4–6) show how organizations and organizational actors construct and manage temporal structures in a setting of culinary change by engaging in various forms of temporal work. In the following sections, I elaborate on the different forms of temporal work and discuss common features and learnings from the studies' results.

The balancing act of temporal work

Considering the findings of the three empirical studies (Chapters 4–6), I argue that temporal work constitutes a balancing act in which multiple temporal concerns must be managed to support basic organizational functions. This act relies on ongoing engagement with internal and external temporal structures and tensions, which introduce organizational demands but also opportunities for organizational action. A common theme across the studies is how temporal work involves multiple interests and stakeholders which hold different degrees of power, a finding that aligns with previous research on temporal work (Granqvist & Gustafsson, 2016; Blagoev & Schreyögg, 2019). Temporal work is, hence, a way for organizational actors to manage and manoeuvre such conflicts and interests. The three empirical studies demonstrate how attempts to manage such interests may yield different levels of intended or unintended consequences, which, in turn, reveal some of the potential prospects or negative outcomes that might emerge when organizations and organizational actors engage temporal work. Drawing on the three empirical studies in Chapters 4–6, I offer propositions and cautions on how to engage in temporal work, which I summarize as three distinct balancing acts: *1) the balancing act of working the past, 2) the balancing act of temporal focus, and 3) the balancing act of temporal hybridity.*

The first balancing act involves working the past. This mode of balancing draws on the findings of Chapter 4, 'Inventing Culinary Heritage', and represents benefits that organizational actors can harness when they engage temporal work. In this chapter, I found that discursive temporal work in the form of strategically ambiguous historical narratives allowed loosely coupled

organizational actors to construct a sense of common cultural heritage. This balancing act requires organizational actors to consciously select and manoeuvre among different layers of the past to avoid contestation or questioning of the historical narrative's authenticity. Adding to previous research showing how field-level historical narratives frequently become a source of public debate and dispute (Cailluet et al., 2018; Delmestri & Greenwood, 2016; Mordhorst, 2014), I suggest that anchoring historical narratives in an unspecified, ancient past reduces the risk of contestation and further enables organizations to protect the proposed narratives from being questioned or discredited. This temporal work thus aims to legitimize and authenticate the narrative by using historical strategic ambiguity.

Within this type of action, the balancing act indicates that numerous interests and interpretations of the past may be accommodated and included, as the making of historical narratives entails co-construction (Cailluet et al., 2018). Through these findings, I contribute to research on uses of the past (Lubinski, 2018; Oertel & Thommes, 2018) and on historical narratives (Foster et al., 2017) by suggesting that the narratives' opacity and ambiguity may be particularly relevant for groups of loosely coupled organizational actors, as this ambiguity allows more varied interpretations across groups. By using ambiguity in this way, organizations can address a broad base of audiences that otherwise may not share collective memories (Foster et al., 2011) or identify with the same historical narratives. Historical strategic ambiguity thus constitutes a balancing act that actors can use to construct legitimate historical narratives about a common cultural heritage. For this reason, my findings also extend the research on strategic ambiguity (Eisenberg, 1984) and contribute to recent studies demonstrating the use of this ambiguity to control external stakeholders or to enable collective action (e.g., Davenport & Leitch, 2005; Jarzabkowski et al., 2010; Scandellius & Cohen, 2016; Cappellaro, Compagni & Vaara, 2021).

A second contribution of this dissertation relates to the balancing act of temporal focus. Whereas Chapter 4, 'Inventing Culinary Heritage', demonstrates the strategic benefits of working and engaging the past, Chapter 5, 'Hijacked by Hope', highlights the potential identity risks that may arise when organizations develop a lopsided temporal focus. Considering the paper's findings, which showed how a nonprofit organization became hijacked by the promise of future development while forgetting its past, I suggest that organizations need to maintain balance in their temporal orientations and focus on the past, present, and future. I further argue

that failing to uphold this balance may lead organizations to neglect the basic and important questions of ‘who we are’ (Albert & Whetten, 1985) and ‘where we come from’ (Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2000). This may, in turn, spur a negative backlash against the organization’s identity, as decreased attention to past and ongoing operations may result in hyper-adaptation (Hatch & Schultz, 2002).

The findings I outline in Chapter 5 align with previous studies that consider organizational remembering and forgetting to be two sides of the same coin in processes of identity construction (Anteby & Molnár, 2012). However, I also contribute to this research by highlighting the unintended consequences of organizational forgetting. By showing how identity narratives take on a performative role in identity construction processes (Maclean et al., 2015), Chapter 5 contributes to previous discussions of identity construction by suggesting that emerging identity narratives, which assert a consistent, one-directional temporal focus, tend to amplify and feed off of each other, heightening the risk of identity dilution. Although organizations have temporal agency (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998), my findings show how organizations may nevertheless not *deliberately* exert it. In this way, my findings suggest that organizational memory is not merely a strategic resource for identity construction (Foster et al., 2011) but also a temporal anchor that keeps future ambition in check, as Maclean et al. (2018) previously argued. This contribution extends previous research, which has mainly focused on the intentional action and strategic potential of forgetting, whereby organizations consciously omit or select elements from the past to enable identity coherency, authenticity, and legitimacy (e.g., Anteby & Molnár, 2012; Foster et al., 2017; Hatch & Schultz, 2017). Furthermore, I argue that the past is not merely a strategic identity resource for constructing authenticity and legitimacy (Hatch & Schultz, 2017), but it is also a temporal anchor from which the organization may seek its purpose, avoid identity dilution, and prepare for future change. Recognizing the past is therefore a crucial part of the balancing act of temporal focus. I suggest that being hijacked by hope might be a broader symptom of how organizations operating in Western, capitalist societies are driven by the hope and anticipation of a better future (Beckert, 2016; Berg Johansen & De Cock, 2018). This finding suggests that a linear and objective view of time, which steadily moves organizations toward an aspiration of progress and perfection, still largely dominates organizational relationships with regard to time.

The third contribution of this dissertation relates to the balancing act of temporal hybridity. Taking a different temporal angle, Chapter 6, ‘Trapped in a Vicious Circle’, shows how a

project-based organization struggled with the opposing temporal structures of temporal hybridity. This hybridity was marked by the defining yet opposing temporal objectives of organizational death and organizational longevity (Söderlund, 2013). Whereas previous research on temporary organizations has considered time as mainly linear (Ibert, 2004; Lundin & Söderholm, 1995), the chapter calls this view into question and thus contributes to discussions of project-based organizations (Bakker, 2010) by showing how actors may adjust the temporal horizons of project-based organizations to sustain the temporary organization's continued operation. In this chapter, I demonstrate how a project-based nonprofit organization attempted to strategically manage the challenge of temporal hybridity, which sparked several unintended consequences for the organization and its members.

The results show how efforts to adapt to powerful external temporal structures intensified the initial conundrum of temporal hybridity. Considering these findings, I suggested that the organization must engage a continuous balancing act of attending to multiple temporal structures in order to thrive, rather than merely adapting to external demands. This balancing act entails balancing not only short- and long-term concerns (Slawinski & Bansal, 2015; Marginson & McAulay, 2008) but also internal and external temporal demands (Reinecke & Ansari, 2015). While organizational scholars of temporal tensions and horizons have previously recognized these challenges (Bansal & DesJardine, 2014), I find that the unintentional consequences of trying to manage such tensions have remained understudied. The paper therefore contributes to discussions of temporal tensions (Slawinski & Bansal, 2015) and entrainment (Blagoev & Schreyögg, 2019) by demonstrating the adverse effects of temporal work. Moreover, the paper contributes to discussions of organizational hybridity (e.g., Battalina & Dorado, 2010) by introducing the term 'temporal hybridity'.

Returning to the initial research question, *How do organizations and organizational actors construct and manage temporal structures in a setting of culinary change?*, I now provide a concluding answer based on the discussion of my results. I argue that organizations and organizational actors aiming to initiate culinary change construct and manage temporal structures by engaging in temporal work. Following Orlikowski and Yates (2002), I have considered temporal structures as social structures that guide, orient, and coordinate ongoing activities, which become temporarily stabilised through their enactment. By studying two empirical settings depicting efforts to initiate culinary change, I found that organizations and

organizational actors engaged in temporal work to construct and manage various forms of temporal structures, such as historical narratives (Foster et al., 2017), identity narratives (Ezzy, 2003), and temporal hybridity (Bakker et al., 2016). Across the papers, the findings show that temporal work aimed at constructing and managing temporal structures denotes a balancing act in which organizations must learn to embrace and juggle multiple—and often conflicting—temporal demands and pressures. This means that efforts to construct and manage temporal structures go hand in hand. As such, temporal tensions are not something to be resolved but, rather, an inherent part of organizational life that actors must cope with continually. The thesis contributes to discussions of temporal structures by showing how organizations and organizational actors in a culinary setting both succeed and struggle to maintain this balance when engaging temporal work.

Implications of the findings and opportunities for future research

Before discussing the implications of the findings, I note that the three papers of the thesis discuss distinct forms of temporal structures and temporal work. While this, of course, presents limitations to generalising the findings, I discuss how my findings might apply to other settings than those I have studied. The three papers showcase organizational settings in which actors aim to promote sustainable food initiatives by initiating culinary movements in Turkey and Denmark. Despite the distinct characteristics of these settings, I nonetheless propose, following Flyvbjerg (2006), several organizational lessons from these studies.

First, I suggest that the balancing act of working the past through historical ambiguity may benefit organizations facing public scrutiny. In a recent study of the Sicilian mafia, Cappellaro, Compagni and Vaara (2021) showed how actors employed different types of ambiguity for reasons of organizational protection and maintainance. This study showed that engaging strategic ambiguity is an effective way to avoid public scrutiny. Whereas the mafia represents an extreme example, public scrutiny is something that not only clandestine organizations wish to avoid. Organizations habitually fall prey to public disfavour, either when former misdeeds come to light (Booth et al., 2007) or simply because present values and morals diverge from those guiding previous actions (Torpey, 2003). As my results show how strategic ambiguity allows organizational actors to actively work the past, I suggest that employing strategic historical ambiguity might allow organizations whose past is subject to critical examination to

manoeuvre such scrutiny. I argue that future research on strategic ambiguity and uses of the past could benefit from studying more-traditional organizational contexts.

Furthermore, the data collection of the first field study covers a relatively short period, and this study's results predominantly capture the organizational actors' intentions behind constructing strategic historical ambiguity. Future research could therefore benefit from examining the more processual and long-term dynamics of engaging in such work, in line with Cappellaro et al. (2021).

Moreover, I suggest that strategic historical ambiguity might be useful for a wide range of organizations, perhaps specifically for those drawing on societal and institutional historical narratives and memories to construct their identities. This is a common trait of social movements, which typically aim to change features of institutions and society. I thus argue that strategic historical ambiguity might be particularly relevant to organizational constellations involving diverse actors, as this ambiguity allows organizational actors to manoeuvre and accommodate different interpretations of the past. Moreover, whereas the dissertation has not explicitly addressed the social movement literature (e.g., Polletta & Jasper, 2001; Snow, Soule, & Kriesi, 2004), the two empirical settings of my studies reflect several characteristics similar to those of social movements. This is not to say that the findings are limited to organizational arrangements with characteristics similar to those of social movements. Yet, I argue that the results are particularly relevant for organizational forms of emerging collective action that are yet to be institutionalised.

Second, I suggest that my findings might have broader consequences for organizations expected to balance opposing logics, such as hybrid organizations (Glynn, 2000; Zilber, 2002). In a study of two microfinance organizations, Battilana and Dorado (2010) demonstrated that hybrid organizations needed to balance two different identity logics of development and banking. I suggest that future studies of hybrid organizations should also consider how distinct temporal structures shape such organizations. This would include, but not be limited to, studies of organizations with mixed value systems and action logics such as social enterprises, nonprofit organizations, and state-owned businesses.

I further propose that issues of temporal hybridity concern not only project-based nonprofit organizations but also largely project-driven fields, such as academia (Ylijoki, 2014) and the so-called gig economy (Bogenhold, Klinglmair & Kandutsch, 2017). Future studies should therefore focus on temporal hybridity within different project-based professions. For example, scholars might consider how academics deal with the short- and long-term demands of various professional stakeholders in order to secure their own professional future.

On a final note, I find it interesting to note the proliferation of food initiatives that (claim to) draw on traditions when aiming to initiate culinary changes. Reflecting on this observation, I find it tempting to speculate on why so many food organizations find the past so appealing when promoting new initiatives and products (Hatch & Schultz, 2017; Byrkjeflot et al., 2013; Petruzzelli & Savino, 2014; Foster et al., 2011). While there is no simple answer to this question, I suggest that drawing on the past allows organizations to construct perceptions of continuity and stability, in a world that is increasingly characterized by a sense of acceleration (Rosa, 2013) and liquidity (Bauman, 2000). The three papers of this study display various ways in which organizations attempt to cope with these societal conditions. While the first paper depicts the strategic appeal of drawing on traditions, the two subsequent papers display how contemporary aspirations and demands of development and innovation can lead organizational efforts off track. This empirical study of two food organizations shows how organizational issues related to time and temporality exceed far beyond the biomateriality (Moser et al., 2021) of food. While this, of course, to a certain extent dictates how food organizing unfold, this dissertation demonstrates the ways in which temporal structures, in their various shapes and forms, provide both strategic opportunities and challenges for food organizations.

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Appendices


Appendix A: Co-author declarations

Co-author statement

Title of paper	Inventing Culinary Heritage through Strategic Historical Ambiguity
Journal and date (if published)	Organization Studies, 2021

1. Formulation/identification of the scientific problem to be investigated and its operationalization into an appropriate set of research questions to be answered through empirical research and/or conceptual development
Description of contribution: The identification and formulation of research problem and research question were made in collaboration between the authors.
2. Planning of the research, including selection of methods and method development
Description of contribution: The planning of the research process was prepared by Sophie Marie Cappelen.
3. Involvement in data collection and data analysis
Description of contribution: Data collection was completed by Sophie Marie Cappelen. Data analysis was made in collaboration between the authors.
4. Presentation, interpretation and discussion of the analysis in the form of an article or manuscript
Description of contribution: The presentation, interpretation and discussion of the analysis was carried out in collaboration between the authors.

1. Co-author (PhD student)	
I hereby declare that the above information is correct	
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: flex-end;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> 16.04.2021 Date </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  Signature </div> </div>	

2. Co-author	
I hereby declare that the above information is correct	
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: flex-end;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> 16.04.2021 Date </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  Signature </div> </div>	


3. Co-author	
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4. Co-author	
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<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: flex-end;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> Date </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> Signature </div> </div>	


Co-author statement


Title of paper	Hijacked by Hope: Dynamics of Mission Drift and Identity Dilution in a Nonprofit Organization
Journal and date (if published)	RAE-Revista de Administração de Empresas [Journal of Business Management], 2021

1. Formulation/identification of the scientific problem to be investigated and its operationalization into an appropriate set of research questions to be answered through empirical research and/or conceptual development
<p>Description of contribution:</p> <p>The identification and formulation of research problem and research question were made in collaboration between the authors.</p>
2. Planning of the research, including selection of methods and method development
<p>Description of contribution:</p> <p>The planning of the research process was prepared in collaboration between the authors.</p>
3. Involvement in data collection and data analysis
<p>Description of contribution:</p> <p>The involvement in data collection and data analysis was carried out in collaboration between the authors.</p>
4. Presentation, interpretation and discussion of the analysis in the form of an article or manuscript
<p>Description of contribution:</p> <p>The presentation, interpretation and discussion of the analysis was carried out in collaboration between the authors.</p>

1. Co-author (PhD student)	
I hereby declare that the above information is correct	
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: flex-end; padding-top: 20px;"> <div style="width: 30%;">16.04.2021</div> <div style="width: 60%; text-align: center;">  </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; padding-top: 5px;"> Date Signature </div>	

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Appendix B: Examples of interview guides

Interview guide – Empirical setting 1 (Turkish culinary movement)

Briefing

- Introduction of myself
- Introduction to project; explain goals, intentions and outline of the research project.
- Ask for permission to record.
- Any questions before we start?

Opening

- Tell me about your background in the culinary industry (Grand-tour question).
- How did the development of the New Anatolian Kitchen get started? What happened?
- Who were involved?
- What was your role in the process?

New Anatolian Kitchen

- How do you see the new wave of Anatolian cooking?
- Do you agree with me defining it as a movement?
- Who are the initiators/driving forces? Who is part of it?
Leader centric vs. multiple actors
Supporting institutions?
- Why is it necessary to rebrand New Anatolian cuisine?
- Why is this happening now? *Is it out of necessity or opportunity?*
- How and to what extent is traditions changed/updated/modernized? *According to what taste/standard/preference is this then done?*
- How are both local and global audiences addressed? Is there any distinction between the preferences of the groups?
- How is the movement of New Anatolian Kitchen different from previous culinary movements in Turkey?
- Why is it getting more international attention?
- What role does the movement play? In a local as well as a larger context?
Is it aimed at tourism? National pride?
- Have you been on any trips around Anatolia (in search of products and knowledge)? What has been the main purpose in making these trips?

Label

- Is there consensus around what it is and should be?
- Do you subscribe the label “New Anatolian Cuisine/Kitchen?”
- *Discuss the concept of Anatolia; how is the term distinguished from Turkish Cuisine and Ottoman Cuisine? Difference and similarities*

- How do you define Anatolian cuisine? Where are the borders?
- What is considered local? Where does that boundary go?
- Has the perception of Anatolian changed?
- Is it perceived different locally and globally?
- Is it, in any way, problematic to talk about an (New) Anatolian cuisine?

Collaboration:

- What is the level of collaboration between field-members? Globally and locally
- How does various institutional actors work together? *Close network? Cooperation? Chefs, culinary institutions, food writers, rating systems, government*
- How do you communicate with other field-members?
- Do you work with other organizations?
- Do you participate at culinary events? Which? Why?

Culinary industry in Turkey

- Is there a distinction between the Istanbul/Turkish culinary fields?
- Who defines the industry? Who are the leading actors?
- Has there been a recent change/increased interest? What has caused this?

Other:

- Have there been critical voices towards the movement? Who are they? How do you counter these?
- What needs to happen for the movement to fully establish itself?
- How do you see this in relation to other culinary movements such as New Nordic Cuisine, where reinvention of tradition is central?
- How is the “Anatolian movement” different from similar culinary, regional movements (such as New Nordic or Peru) happening in the world?

Wrap-up:

- What are your plans for the future?
- Who should I talk to?

Debriefing:

- Thank you for participating in the interview!

Interview guide – Empirical setting 2 (Danish school garden organization)

(Interview guide used during interviews organizational management)

Opening

- Tell me about your background and your way into the organization? (Grand-tour question).
- What was your expectations when starting in the organization? Looking back, how did they align with what you have experienced since?
- How do you remember your first day? What did you notice?

The history of the organization

- If you were to tell the history of [the organization] – how would it sound?
- What do you consider to be important happenings and challenges of consequence for the organization?
- Who or what has made a mark on the organization?
- *Pay attention to how they construct the narrative: content, turning point, causalities, consequences*

Vision, culture and image

- How do you perceive the vision of the organization? Has it changed? If so, what was the reason for this? And what has been the consequence?
- Who influences the vision?
- Is it implicit or explicit?
- What will it be in 5/10 years?
- How would you describe the culture in the organization? Has it changed since you started working here? (move towards professionalisation?)
- Why are so many of the organization's employees concerned with development? Who is driving this focus?
- Who are your key stakeholders? How would you like them to view the organization? How do you think they view it?

Identity

- What type of organization is this? Has there been any changes?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of this organization?
- How are you different from other farm-to-table initiatives?

Future hopes, memories of the past and current (temporal) challenges

- What are your hopes for the future? Plans for the future?
- What organizational accomplishments are you proud of?
- What disappointments have there been? Any surprises?
- What time horizons to you operate with? Who decides these? How flexible are they?
- What are your biggest challenges in regard to time?

Debriefing:

- Thank you for participating in the interview!

Appendix C: Photographs from the field

Empirical setting 1 (Turkish culinary movement)



Empirical setting 2: Danish school garden organization



The New Anatolian Kitchen

"I believe the time has come to rethink the Anatolian kitchen. A new perspective is needed to allow the rich food cultures from the past to survive and evolve. The New Anatolian Kitchen has no boundaries; it is a way of perceiving food, it is a philosophy that can and should be interpreted in many ways."

Mehmet Gürs

The New Anatolian Kitchen Manifest

- Dare to look at the traditional habits, products and techniques with a new and fresh perspective.
- Make use of the great variety of products that exist in the area, reflect the microclimates and seasons in the cooking.
- Preserve the traditionally "Natural Kitchen" of Anatolia while being forward thinking. Be aware of the deeply rooted cuisine and the multitude of cultural layers.
- Adapt the harmonious past blend of "l'occident & l'orient" to the present.
- Embrace the cultural differences that make the area special and express the "Rich & Vibrant" character of the region in your cooking.
- Truly embrace the saying: "No Farmer, No Food, No Future". Support the producers that do a good and honest job. Make use of the products that have been produced respecting the land, sea, mountains and animals. Behold the future and use the science. Strive to create traditionally great flavors while considering the contemporary diet.
- Keep void of National, Religious or Ethnic barriers.

The identity of a region, the life and personality of its people is reflected through the food and beverages consumed. By properly identifying a food culture and the kitchen, we may identify the area and its people.

The research and respect of traditions has always been an essential part of the New Anatolian Kitchen. However, each and every one of these traditions should be open for discussion. "Respect the elders and listen to them, yet do not be crushed by them and do not be afraid to turn age old ideas upside down. Mental barriers are very common in rooted cultures, do not be afraid to break them down. To be able to create new ideas and evolve old ones this is necessary. Within this framework, our first step was to search for and try new fields of use for traditional products.

Diversity of ingredients and revitalization of endangered and almost extinct rich resources is an essential part and as important as the methods used. The use of wild plants, flowers and mushrooms was a part of everyday life in the past. How about today? How many species of edible wild plants, flowers, vegetables and animals have survived to this

day; in the sea, in the air, on land? How many of them are known and how are they used?

In addition to the concept of taste, the balance of nature and the proper survival of small farmers and the villagers producing natural products are equally indispensable. Without them, there is no kitchen. How many of us big city people are still in touch with the villagers? How many of us can still feel the roots of what we eat? Do we know where our food comes from? Today, more than ever, making an effort to maintain and improve the “neighborhood market” is essential. Demanding GMO free products and soil, supporting incentives for direct sales from producers, are in the hands of us, the consumers. We must not waive the power to demand. “Handsfree food production”, very often considered a sign of development in developing societies, is not an indicator of development. On the contrary, it represents a dangerous world, established on commercial interests, which has become plasticized by the giant wheels of mass consumption.

Today in civilized countries, the tendency to return to the nature and natural products is prominent. Weakening of traditional agriculture will not only cause a socioeconomic disaster, it will also will cause the loss of the age old identities. In our case that would be the loss of identity of the Ancient Anatolian people who have birthed the cradle of the first civilizations on Earth, dating centuries back.

We need to be aware of the diversity, offered by this magnificently potent nature and its cultural riches. Kitchens are doomed to become monotonous when they move away from exploiting diversity. We need to consciously use diverse and ethical products. Only then, so referred “product diversity” may finally leave the books and find life again on our tables.

Anatolia has a unique geographical and cultural position; from the fresh and lively Aegean to the productive and intense Black Sea, to the fierce and exciting South East... It contains very cold and long winters, high mountains, rivers, and is surrounded by seas of different temperatures and salinity. There are many different geographical conditions, spread over a relatively small area. These differences create an immense diversity of products, which is unknown to many. “Geographical Indication” must be introduced in order preserve the uniqueness and proper treatment of these products.

The Anatolian kitchen is not restricted to the Turkish or the Ottoman kitchen. All products of different ethnic origins and religions of Anatolia, the birthplace of cultures during a very long span of time before and after the Ottoman Empire, constitute the kitchen of this region. Wine, born in this region, is an indispensable part of the New Anatolian kitchen.

Along with preserving and resurrecting the past cultures and rich natural resources, looking forward, creating a harmonious new approach between past and future is our true passion. The Ability to look forward and to utilize science, to renew and develop ourselves without forgetting who we are and where we come from, is in fact the great challenge. The New Anatolian Kitchen is not isolated from the outer world! It is open to global developments and it is constantly changing. It is a new concept. Just like wine, it needs time, it must breathe. What we do today, we may have to do differently tomorrow. That's Ok!

Mehmet Gürs

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<i>Essays on Turnover, Entrepreneurship and Location Choice in the Danish Maritime Industry</i></p> <p>6. Niels Joseph Jerne Lennon
<i>Accounting Qualities in Practice</i>
<i>Rhizomatic stories of representational faithfulness, decision making and control</i></p> <p>7. Shannon O'Donnell
<i>Making Ensemble Possible</i>
<i>How special groups organize for collaborative creativity in conditions of spatial variability and distance</i></p> |
|---|--|

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Access Decisions in a Partly-Digital World
Comparing Digital Piracy and Legal Modes for Film and Music
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An Organizational Ethnography
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The role of business intelligence in organizational decision-making
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The construction of social and environmental reporting
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The organizational design of offshoring
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EU Law on Food Naming
The prohibition against misleading names in an internal market context
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GIV EN GED!
Kan giver-idealtyper forklare støtte til vælgørenhed og understøtte relationsopbygning?
15. Ruben Schachtenhaufen
Fonetisk reduktion i dansk
16. Peter Koerver Schmidt
Dansk CFC-beskatning
I et internationalt og komparativt perspektiv
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Strategi i den offentlige sektor
En kortlægning af styringsmæssig kontekst, strategisk tilgang, samt anvendte redskaber og teknologier for udvalgte danske statslige styrelser
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Omtydningen af melankolien og manien som bipolære stemningslidelser i dansk sammenhæng under hensyn til dannelsen af det moderne følelseslivs relative autonomi.
En problematiserings- og erfarings-analytisk undersøgelse
23. Lichen Alex Yu
Fabricating an S&OP Process
Circulating References and Matters of Concern
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The Expression of a Need
Understanding search
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Assembling Markets for Wind Power
An Inquiry into the Making of Market Devices
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Repurposing digital traces to organize social attention
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BREWING ORGANIZATIONAL RESPONSES TO INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS
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En ledelsesfilosofisk afhandling om selvledelsens paradoksale dynamik og eksistentielle engagement

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>29. Morten Rossing
<i>Local Adaption and Meaning Creation in Performance Appraisal</i></p> <p>30. Søren Obed Madsen
<i>Lederen som oversætter
Et oversættelsesteoretisk perspektiv på strategisk arbejde</i></p> <p>31. Thomas Høgenhaven
<i>Open Government Communities
Does Design Affect Participation?</i></p> <p>32. Kirstine Zinck Pedersen
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A Pragmatic Stance on Patient Safety</i></p> <p>33. Anne Petersen
<i>Hverdagslogikker i psykiatrisk arbejde
En institutionsetnografisk undersøgelse af hverdagen i psykiatriske organisationer</i></p> <p>34. Didde Maria Humle
<i>Fortællinger om arbejde</i></p> <p>35. Mark Holst-Mikkelsen
<i>Strategieksekverering i praksis – barrierer og muligheder!</i></p> <p>36. Malek Maalouf
<i>Sustaining lean
Strategies for dealing with organizational paradoxes</i></p> <p>37. Nicolaj Tofte Brenneche
<i>Systemic Innovation In The Making
The Social Productivity of Cartographic Crisis and Transitions in the Case of SEEIT</i></p> <p>38. Morten Gylling
<i>The Structure of Discourse
A Corpus-Based Cross-Linguistic Study</i></p> <p>39. Binzhang YANG
<i>Urban Green Spaces for Quality Life - Case Study: the landscape architecture for people in Copenhagen</i></p> | <p>40. Michael Friis Pedersen
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The Implications for Whole Farm Risk Management</i></p> <p>41. Even Fallan
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A cross-cultural study of the relation between users' cognitive style, context of use, and information architecture of local websites</i></p> <p>43. Karin Beukel
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Essays on the Micro-Foundations of Firms' Search for Innovation</i></p> <p>2014</p> <p>1. Solon Moreira
<i>Four Essays on Technology Licensing and Firm Innovation</i></p> <p>2. Karin Strzeletz Ivertsen
<i>Partnership Drift in Innovation Processes
A study of the Think City electric car development</i></p> <p>3. Kathrine Hoffmann Pii
<i>Responsibility Flows in Patient-centred Prevention</i></p> <p>4. Jane Bjørn Vedel
<i>Managing Strategic Research
An empirical analysis of science-industry collaboration in a pharmaceutical company</i></p> <p>5. Martin Gylling
<i>Processuel strategi i organisationer
Monografi om dobbeltheden i tænkning af strategi, dels som vidensfelt i organisationsteori, dels som kunstnerisk tilgang til at skabe i erhvervsmæssig innovation</i></p> |
|--|---|

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Corporate Social Responsibility in the Water Sector: How Material Practices and their Symbolic and Physical Meanings Form a Colonising Logic
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- | | |
|---|---|
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<i>Flertydig og emergerende ledelse i folkeskolen</i>
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<i>Hvilke offentlige ledere er der brug for når velfærdstænkningen flytter sig – er Diplomuddannelsens lederprofil svaret?</i></p> <p>32. Ellen Mølgaard Korsager
<i>Self-conception and image of context in the growth of the firm</i>
<i>– A Penrosian History of Fiberline Composites</i></p> <p>33. Else Skjold
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<i>With police in making space for creativity</i></p> <p>40. Karen Ingerslev
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|---|---|

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Uncovering the Generative Mechanisms
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– Technological-Integration
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of Public Managers' Struggles
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and the Entrepreneur*
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lederskab af store byudviklingsprojekter*
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Regime? A critical assessment of Fair
Trade through the examination of the
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in Quality work*
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Business Model Innovation in the
Global Context
Entrepreneurship-Enabled Dynamic
Capability of Medium-Sized
Multinational Enterprises*
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*Enactment of the Organizational Cost
Structure in Value Chain Configuration
A Contribution to Strategic Cost
Management*

2016

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Enterprise Social Media at Work
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Positioning and Framing in Nascent Institutional Change*
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Inertia, Knowledge Sources and Diversity in Collaborative Problem-solving*
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En kvalifikation af ledelsesmuligheder for at forebygge sygefravær ved psykiske problemer.*
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Exploring fashion industry business models and the circular economy*
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ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS OF DOMESTIC INVESTMENT IN AN OIL-BASED ECONOMY: THE CASE OF IRAN (1965-2010)
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*The Constantly Contingent Sense of Belonging of the 1.5 Generation
Undocumented Youth
An Everyday Perspective*

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Essays on Discounting Behavior and Gambling Behavior
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Et retsøkonomisk bidrag til 200 års
juridisk konflikt om ejendomsretten*
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*Danish Stød and Automatic Speech
Recognition*
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Finance for the Arts*
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*An empirical cross-linguistic study of
directives: A semiotic approach to the
sentence forms chosen by British,
Danish and Russian speakers in native
and ELF contexts*
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Understanding Interest Rate Volatility
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*Practice at the Boundaries of Business
Ethics & Corporate Social Responsibility*
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organisationer
En undersøgelse af læringsprocesser
mellem projekt og organisation på
Aarhus Teater*
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internal controls and materiality*
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Tie Content in Professional Networks
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*De store gaver
- Filantropiens gensidighedsrelationer i
teori og praksis*
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Frontline Employees in Strategic Issue
Management*
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Essays on Market Design
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The Internationalisation of Service Firms
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shoring context: How, why and by
whom*
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Markets for Power System Flexibility*
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Micro-Foundations, Organizational
Conditions, and Performance
Implications*
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Intellectual Capital in Business
Performance: The Financial Effects of
Knowledge Management vs. Disclosure*
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Role of Managerial Meta-Knowledge
in the Management of Distributed
Knowledge*
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Words by Chinese and Japanese
Speakers of English as a Lingua Franca
An Empirical Study*
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entrepreneurship in a bureaucracy*
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*Making Time While Being in Time
A study of the temporality of
organizational processes*
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Southeast Asia in global perspective
(1880s–1970s)*

- | | | |
|--|--------------------|--|
| <p>45. Jeanette Willert
<i>Managers' use of multiple Management Control Systems: The role and interplay of management control systems and company performance</i></p> <p>46. Mads Vestergaard Jensen
<i>Financial Frictions: Implications for Early Option Exercise and Realized Volatility</i></p> <p>47. Mikael Reimer Jensen
<i>Interbank Markets and Frictions</i></p> <p>48. Benjamin Faigen
<i>Essays on Employee Ownership</i></p> <p>49. Adela Michea
<i>Enacting Business Models An Ethnographic Study of an Emerging Business Model Innovation within the Frame of a Manufacturing Company.</i></p> <p>50. Iben Sandal Stjerne
<i>Transcending organization in temporary systems Aesthetics' organizing work and employment in Creative Industries</i></p> <p>51. Simon Krogh
<i>Anticipating Organizational Change</i></p> <p>52. Sarah Netter
<i>Exploring the Sharing Economy</i></p> <p>53. Lene Tolstrup Christensen
<i>State-owned enterprises as institutional market actors in the marketization of public service provision: A comparative case study of Danish and Swedish passenger rail 1990–2015</i></p> <p>54. Kyoung(Kay) Sun Park
<i>Three Essays on Financial Economics</i></p> | <p>2017</p> | <p>1. Mari Bjerck
<i>Apparel at work. Work uniforms and women in male-dominated manual occupations.</i></p> <p>2. Christoph H. Flöthmann
<i>Who Manages Our Supply Chains? Backgrounds, Competencies and Contributions of Human Resources in Supply Chain Management</i></p> <p>3. Aleksandra Anna Rzeźnik
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<i>Stabilizing Sustainability in the Textile and Fashion Industry</i></p> <p>6. Kira Hoffmann
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<i>Correlation in Energy Markets</i></p> <p>9. Anjum Fayyaz
<i>Donor Interventions and SME Networking in Industrial Clusters in Punjab Province, Pakistan</i></p> <p>10. Magnus Paulsen Hansen
<i>Trying the unemployed. Justification and critique, emancipation and coercion towards the 'active society'. A study of contemporary reforms in France and Denmark</i></p> <p>11. Sameer Azizi
<i>Corporate Social Responsibility in Afghanistan – a critical case study of the mobile telecommunications industry</i></p> |
|--|--------------------|--|

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The internationalization of small and medium-sized enterprises: A qualitative study
13. Thomas Presskorn-Thygesen
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Controversies in IFRS in the Aftermath of the 2008 Financial Crisis*
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Regulering i skyggen af Farumsagen*
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- | | | | |
|-----|---|-------------|---|
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<i>Customer Engagement Behavior in the context of Continuous Service Relationships</i> |
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<i>Interpreting Bonds and Boundaries of Obligation. A genealogy of the emergence and development of Protestant voluntary social work in Denmark as shown through the cases of the Copenhagen Home Mission and the Blue Cross (1850 – 1950)</i> | | 4. Jesper Christensen
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<i>Essays on Stock Issuance</i> | | 5. Poula Marie Helth
<i>Learning in practice</i> |
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