Homelessness Through Different Lenses: Negotiating Multiple Meaning Systems in a Canadian Tri-sector Social Partnership

By

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Peter B. Gustavson School of Business

Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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Research has shown that socially-focused partnerships that cross sectors (referred to as social partnerships within) are necessary in order to effectively address pressing societal issues such as poverty. Yet, in these complex organizational contexts, there is often variability within and between involved organizations as it relates to basic assumptions around work and the meanings given to practices at macro, meso and micro levels of analysis. Put differently, there are often a plurality of meaning systems at play in such multi-faceted organizational arrangements. Accordingly, the purpose of this dissertation was to understand to what extent multiple meaning systems exist in social partnerships focused on addressing multi-faceted societal challenges and, whether and how such differences in meaning systems are strategically negotiated over time. At a deeper theoretical level, this research was focused on illuminating the processes by which meaning systems are negotiated when organizational boundaries are blurred and when a plurality of meaning systems are at play, with a central focus on players that act as boundary spanners within these complex organizational contexts.

To understand the complexities at play in social partnerships emanating from multiple meaning systems, I conducted a multi-site ethnographic study, involving in-depth interviews and participant observation, of the Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness Society (Coalition) located in Victoria, British Columbia. In doing so, I utilized the principal literature streams that address multiple meaning systems at work: the culture literature in organization studies and the institutional logics perspective. As

well, I incorporated other literatures based upon the emergent findings, namely organizational identity.

Through this work I make a number of contributions within the area of sustainability, particularly the social partnership literature, as well as organizational theory. Empirically, I develop a process model that elucidates how players negotiate multiple meanings of organizational identity over time in a social partnership setting characterized by permeable boundaries and shared authority, at the group level of analysis. This is significant as we know little about how identity plays out in such multi-faceted organizational settings with continual blurred boundaries even as research has indicated that such arrangements are likely to surface identity issues among players (Maguire & Hardy, 2005). I also elucidate how individual players bridge across multiple meaning systems in a social partnership over time, answering the call for more research concerning the role of individuals and their interactions with organizations in the collaboration process over time (Manning & Roessler, 2014). To my knowledge, this work is one of the first of its kind to empirically explore tri-sector socially focused collaborations – involving players from the public, private and nonprofit sectors – that are more integrative and interconnected in nature (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a) and that employs a process based perspective to understand how such collaborations unfold over time. In addition, I theoretically develop the link between institutional logics and organizational culture that emerged empirically via this study to guide future integrative work to holistically account for the multiplicity of meaning systems at work within and between such multi-faceted arrangements.

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Acknowledgements

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In writing these acknowledgements, I am reminded of how incredibly blessed I have been as it relates to the professional and personal support I received throughout this journey. It also reminds me that this dissertation is truly a socially constructed one that was formed and shaped by my professional and personal encounters with others as my own sensemaking evolved over time.

Thank you all!! My cup overflows.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Bill and Sue Easter, who always supported me and my dreams, even when they seemed foreign, and who taught me the value of hard work and perseverance; the worth of laughter and appreciating the journey; and the importance of my faith and a personal relationship with God – all of which have been instrumental in allowing me to complete this significant professional (and personal) milestone.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Research Purpose Overview

Research has shown that socially focused partnerships that cross sectors (which I refer to as social partnerships throughout[1]) are necessary in order to effectively address pressing societal issues such as poverty. Yet, in these complex organizational contexts, there is often variability within and between involved organizations as it relates to basic assumptions around work and the meanings given to practices at macro, meso and micro levels of analysis. Put differently, there are often a plurality of meaning systems at play in such multi-faceted organizational arrangements. Accordingly, the purpose of this dissertation was to understand to what extent multiple meaning systems exist in social partnerships focused on addressing multi-faceted societal challenges and, whether and how such differences in meaning systems are strategically negotiated over time. The principal literatures that address multiple meaning systems at work are the culture literature in organization studies and the institutional logics perspective; for this reason, I used these literatures as a starting point in this exploratory study, while recognizing that other literatures could come into play to shed light on this phenomenon under investigation in this emergent study. Indeed, other literature bases did come into play and were incorporated as this inductive study progressed, particularly the organizational identity literature. As it relates to cultural and institutional logics work specifically, to date, there is a lacuna of research exploring the intersections and interactions of multiple cultures and institutional logics at work within social partnerships. As such, this research

[1] While a variety of terminology is used in the literature in regards to cross sector partnerships focused upon tackling societal challenges including, for example, social partnerships (Waddock, 1991), social alliances (Berger, Cunningham & Drumwright, 2004), intersectoral partnerships (Waddell & Brown, 1997), and issues management alliances (Austrom & Lad, 1989, the term social partnerships is used throughout in this dissertation for consistency sake.

was focused on illuminating the processes by which meaning systems are negotiated when organizational boundaries are blurred and when a plurality of meaning systems are at play.

The Negotiated Culture Perspective

In carrying out this research, I incorporated the negotiated culture perspective in organization studies (e.g., Brannen, 1994; Brannen & Salk, 2000; Caprar, 2011; Salk & Shenkar, 2001), built from the negotiated order perspective (Strauss, 1978) in sociology. Hence, I used the term "negotiation" intentionally as one of the possible means of "getting things accomplished" when players must deal with one another in order to get things done (2). One of the underlying assumptions of this study is that organizational arrangements are continually in flux via the ongoing interactions of the involved participants rather than static in nature. Further, in taking up this work, I took the position that all social orders are negotiated orders (Brannen & Salk, 2000; Strauss, 1978), a notion that has not yet been integrated into the social partnership literature.

Research Context & Methodological Overview

To understand the complexities related to meaning systems at play in social partnerships, I conducted a multi-site ethnographic study, involving in-depth interviews and participant observation, of the Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness Society (Coalition) located in Victoria, British Columbia. The Coalition, founded in 2008, is a partnership involving all levels of government, service providers, business members, the faith community, post-secondary institutions and private citizens focused upon effectively ending homelessness in the Greater Victoria area by 2018. The Coalition functions via a staff team of five individuals including an Executive Director alongside a

leadership council, a management committee, five working groups and a social inclusion advisory committee composed of beneficiaries, those experiencing homelessness themselves. In total, the Coalition brings together diverse players from over forty organizations and associations - involving public, private and nonprofit sectors, making this a tri-sector social partnership that is both managerially complex as well as integrated.

Justification of Interdisciplinary Theoretical Approach

In order to investigate this phenomenon in a holistic sense, beyond the social partnership literature, I incorporated relevant literature from sustainable community development, social innovation, community-based enterprise, strategic alliances, public administration and public-nonprofit literatures. Further, in addition to taking up the negotiated culture lens, theoretically speaking, the principal literatures I brought together as a starting point in this investigation were organizational culture and institutional logics while incorporating other literatures, as relevant, as this emergent study unfolded, particularly organizational identity. As well, I incorporated literature focused on individual bridging capabilities as it relates to effectively navigating across complex organizational contexts, namely multiculturalism.

It is duly noted that institutional and cultural theories have traditionally been studied, developed and applied to phenomena as separate and independent scholarly disciplines. However, in alignment with recent discussions exploring possible convergences (Aten & Howard, 2012; Aten, Howard & Grenville, 2012; Hatch & Zilber, 2012; Hinings, 2012; Schultz & Hinings, 2012; Zilber, 2012), I argue throughout this dissertation that there are many advantages to exploring the interactions and intersections of institutional and organizational culture theories when the phenomenon under

investigation warrants this interdisciplinary approach; this is the case in this dissertation focused on the negotiation of multiple meaning systems within and between organizations, institutionally as well as culturally.

Personal Motivation

Personally, I was motivated to pursue this research based upon my own experiences witnessing collaboration between seemingly diverse individuals and organizations across sectors in an attempt to solve complex societal challenges. Growing up in active faith based communities, I witnessed firsthand individuals from churches working alongside nonprofits, businesses and local residents to address significant societal issues such as poverty, locally as well as globally. As an adult, I continue to encounter situations where seemingly disparate groups are brought together to address challenges facing society, personally through my continued involvement in faith based communities as well as professionally. Specifically related to the professional sphere, the year I spent working closely with a Vietnamese training and employment centre for people with disabilities, which partnered with a variety of nonprofit, governmental and business players, further showed me the importance of individuals and organizations working across different sectors, cultures and institutions (Conway Dato-on & Easter, 2013; Easter & Conway, 2012; 2015). Collectively, these experiences resonate strongly with me as I believe they truly illustrate both the power of as well as the many challenges involved with bringing together diverse individuals and groups to address pressing issues faced by society. These experiences also cemented my desire to better understand how social partnerships can be nurtured successfully in order to make significant strides towards addressing the world's most urgent societal challenges. As such, while my

primary motivation for this study was descriptive in nature – to better understand how social partnerships collaborate over time – it also inherently has normative undertones as well (see Margolis & Walsh, 2003 for a discussion of a pragmatic research approach to sustainability involving both descriptive and normative aspects).

Significance of Study

The world today is fraught with complex pressing problems such as environmental degradation and poverty. In spite of the efforts of individual actors and organizations in respective public, private and nonprofit sectors working to tackle significant socioeconomic challenges, the growing magnitude and multi-faceted nature of these global issues is often beyond the capabilities of separate organizations and sectors to deal with them effectively (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a, b), including the government. In other words, cross sector collaboration is often *needed* in order to successfully tackle the world's multi-faceted significant societal challenges. Research has documented that social partnerships – defined as the coming together of organizations from different sectors to deal with social challenges (Crane & Seitanidi, 2014) - have the potential to address significant issues such as poverty alleviation (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a, b; Googins & Rochlin, 2000; Selsky & Parker, 2005). Indeed, a growing pool of research highlights that collaboration across sectors is necessary to successfully tackle multi-faceted societal challenges in sustainable ways (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a, b; Dahan, Doh, Oetzel & Yaziji, 2010; Murphy & Arenas, 2010; Montgomery, Dacin & Dacin, 2012; Muthuri, Moon & Idemudia, 2012; Nwankwo, et al., 2007; Phills, Deiglmeier & Miller, 2008; Rivera, Rufin & Kolk, 2012; Selsky & Parker, 2005; Vurro, Dacin & Perrini, 2012). Put another way, these types of partnerships have the potential to provide

greater societal benefit, beyond simply organizational or individual benefit to those involved. Consider, for example, the long-term partnership between City Year, a US-based nonprofit, and Timberland, a retail apparel company (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012), or large corporations working with local communities in economically poor communities in regards to poverty alleviation (Muthuri, Moon & Idemudia, 2012).

Specifically related to tri-sector, or tripartite, collaborations, involving players from private, public and nonprofit sectors, research has suggested that these partnership forms are most effective for addressing today's complex societal challenges as they have the potential to overcome the limitations of each individual sector (e.g., Kolk, van Tulder & Kostwinder, 2008; Kolk, 2014). Examples of tri-sector social partnerships in practice include Montreal's collective sustainable development strategy and GreaterVancouver's cites^{PLUS}, both of which are focused upon local sustainable development and include partners from local government, businesses and nonprofits (Clarke, 2014). Yet, while the significance of social partnerships for addressing today's pressing problems, particularly tri-sector collaborations, is increasingly being recognized by researchers and practitioners alike, we still understand little about the processes by which social partnerships develop and grow over time, as existing research to date has focused largely upon outcomes (Branzei & Le Ber, 2014). This is significant as elucidating processes by which partnerships develop and unfold over time could be utilized to better address the world's multi-faceted societal issues.

Background and Scope of Study

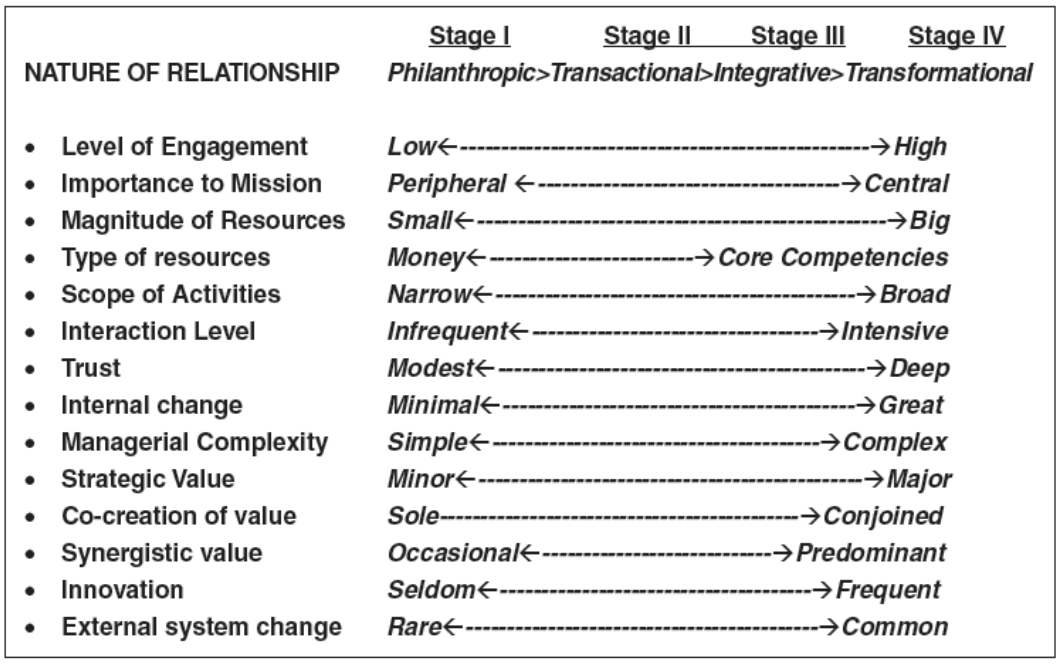
The extant social partnership literature has primarily focused on business-nonprofit partnerships; in other words, dyadic cross sector relationships. By comparison,

this dissertation focused on an underdeveloped area in the literature, partnerships that are tri-sector, or tripartite, in nature (e.g., Kolk, 2014), involving players from the public, nonprofit and private sectors. More specifically, this dissertation focused on tri-sector partnerships that are community-based, meaning ones that are, by and large, owned, managed and governed by members of a geographically based community (Nwankwo, Phillips and Tracey, 2007; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). Thus, I utilized the extant social partnership literature as a base while incorporating relevant literature from sustainable community development, social innovation, community-based enterprise and strategic alliances. Further, since the Coalition is a partnership comprised largely of individuals and organizations residing in the public and nonprofit sectors, I also weaved public administration and public-nonprofit literatures throughout, as relevant.

Austin and Seitanidi (2012a, b) make the strong case that partnerships that are more integrative, mutually beneficial and focused upon the co-creation of value have a greater potential to generate societal benefit in comparison to those where collaborations involve a lower level of engagement and are philanthropic or transactional in nature. Take business-community-based collaborations that are transactional or philanthropic in nature, as an example. These types of collaborations are often criticized as being paternalistic, insensitive to the context, business centric as well as for not being focused on development or societal impact (Banerjee, 2003; Idemudia, 2009; Muthuri et al., 2012; Newell, 2005; Walsh, Kress & Beyerchen, 2005). Figure 1 below details the collaboration continuum as outlined in Austin and Seitanidi (2012a; adapted from Austin 2000a, b), which highlights the nature of the relationship, from philanthropic and

transactional collaborations to those that are more integrative and transformational in nature.

Figure 1.1: The Collaboration Continuum (Austin & Seitandi 2012a)



	Stage I	Stage II	Stage III	Stage IV
NATURE OF RELATIONSHIP	*Philanthropic>Transactional>Integrative>Transformational*			
• Level of Engagement	*Low←----------→High*			
• Importance to Mission	*Peripheral ←----------→Central*			
• Magnitude of Resources	*Small←----------→Big*			
• Type of resources	*Money←----------→Core Competencies*			
• Scope of Activities	*Narrow←----------→Broad*			
• Interaction Level	*Infrequent←----------→Intensive*			
• Trust	*Modest←----------→Deep*			
• Internal change	*Minimal←----------→Great*			
• Managerial Complexity	*Simple←----------→Complex*			
• Strategic Value	*Minor←----------→Major*			
• Co-creation of value	*Sole----------→Conjoined*			
• Synergistic value	*Occasional←----------→Predominant*			
• Innovation	*Seldom←----------→Frequent*			
• External system change	*Rare←----------→Common*			

Figure 1. The collaboration continuum
Source: Derived from Austin, J. E. (2000b). *The Collaboration Challenge: How Nonprofits and Businesses Succeed Through Strategic Alliances*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass; Austin, J. E. (2000a). Strategic Alliances Between Nonprofits and Businesses. *Nonprofit & Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 29*(1), 69-97.

Even though research has begun to recognize the significance of integrative and transformational partnerships, particularly as it relates to potential societal impact, we still understand very little about how these types of interconnected partnerships play out in practice (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a, b), or the processes by which such collaborations form, change and grow over time, as the existing literature tends to focus primarily on outcomes (Branzei & Le Ber, 2014).

Key Theoretical Lenses Focusing on Meaning Systems

For the benefits that social partnerships can offer, there are many significant challenges and barriers to effective collaboration. Partnerships that cross sectoral boundaries bring together organizations that are often quite diverse. They typically have contrasting meaning systems in regards to the assumptions, values and beliefs of each respective organizational player (e.g., Murphy et al., 2012), and the actors that reside within them. In fact, research has illustrated that partners are often disparate in terms of organizational structures (Berger et al., 2004; Dahan et al., 2010), value systems (Dahan et al., 2010; Hardy et al., 2006; Le Ber & Branzei, 2010) and organizational goals (Anheier & Ben-Ner, 2003; Murphy et al., 2012). Organizational structures, value systems and goals point to the meanings and associated practices within a given partner organization, an organization's culture, or how things are done within an organization (Brannen, 1994; Van Maanen, 1988). Following Van Maanen (2011), I take the position that culture is dynamic, meaning that it is produced, sustained and modified by the ongoing interaction of individuals. As well, in alignment with Van Maanen (2011), I argue that culture does not imply homogeneity, but rather that culture even within a given organization can be heterogeneous, often including the presence of multiple subcultures and multicultural actors (Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Fitzsimmons, 2013).

In addition to multiple cultures at play within and between organizations, partners collaborating across sectors are typically quite diverse in terms of the belief systems and associated practices, or institutional logics, that guide a given institutional order (Le Ber & Branzei, 2010b; Rivera-Santos & Rufin, 2011; Rivera, Rufin & Kolk, 2012; Selsky & Parker, 2005; Vurro et al., 2010). By institutional logics, I mean the macro-level belief

systems that shape thoughts and influence decision-making processes in organizational fields (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Ocasio, 1997; McPherson & Sauder, 2013). In other words, logics define both the content and meaning of institutional spaces in which organizations and individuals are embedded (Hinings, 2012; Reay & Hinings, 2009). And, in many cases, organizations are embedded within multiple social locations or institutional orders (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012), or operate in the presence of multiple institutional logics.

These multiple meaning systems at play within social partnerships at multiple levels of analysis have the potential to make collaboration an incredibly daunting task, especially for those that are more interconnected in nature. Even though organizational culture research has tended to look at meaning systems within organizations and institutional theory has typically examined meaning systems between organizations (Aten, Howard-Grenville & Ventresca, 2012), I take the position throughout this dissertation that a more holistic approach is warranted in order to effectively illuminate the negotiation of multiple meaning systems across multiple levels when social partnerships come together to tackle a significant social issue. This theoretical approach is in alignment with recent calls to explore promising research avenues related to how meaning systems at the field level are affected by organizational cultures and vice versa (De Bakker, Den, King & Weber, 2013; Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin & Suddaby, 2008; Hatch, 2012; Suddaby, Elsbach, Greenwood, Meyer & Zilber, 2010; Zilber, 2012), particularly as it relates to a process based perspective (Schultz & Hinings, 2012). Thus, this dissertation sought to bring to light the *processes* by which these plural meaning systems are negotiated when organizations across sectors come together to tackle a

shared social issue in an interconnected manner by using organizational culture, institutional logics and multiculturalism literatures as starting key theoretical lenses in this emergent investigation. Indeed, in this exploratory study, I found these theoretical lenses to be relevant and at the forefront of understanding how the Coalition negotiated multiple meaning systems over time.

Central Research Questions

At an empirical level, this dissertation focused on where and how interconnected social partnerships negotiate meaning over time at multiple levels, with a particular focus on tri-sector collaborations that are community based. In other words, my key empirical focus was understanding where and how social partnerships strategically negotiate their working relationships over time. At a deeper theoretical level, I examined how meaning systems are negotiated when organizational boundaries are blurred and when there is a presence of multiple meaning systems at multiple levels of analysis, with a central focus on players that act as boundary spanners within these complex organizational contexts.

Organization of the Dissertation

My dissertation work is organized as follows. In this opening chapter I provide an introduction to my key research emphasis in this dissertation, including the parameters of the research and its significance, my own personal motivation for undertaking this study and the focal meaning-related literature streams I used in analyzing this phenomenon. In Chapter 2, I situate this study within the three key research streams I utilized as focal lenses as I began this investigation: the social partnership literature in which case I took an interdisciplinary approach and drew upon related literature streams such as social innovation, community-based enterprise and strategic alliances in order to provide a more

holistic perspective; the culture literature in organization studies; and the institutional logics perspective. I conclude by providing a discussion of the overlaps and distinctions between organizational culture and institutional logics and the need for a synthetic approach in order to more fully capture the meaning systems at work in social partnership settings. Chapter 3 provides an overview of my methodological approach with a central focus on ethnographic methods and the grounded theory approach. I also offer an overview of the research setting, the Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness (Coalition), and I detail the data gathering and analytic procedures undertaken.

Chapters 4-7 present the results of this dissertation study. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the three focal findings that are outlined in detail in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. In Chapter 5, I elucidate how the Coalition players negotiated multiple meanings of organizational identity at the group level of analysis in a social partnership setting characterized by blurred boundaries and shared authority. In doing so, I develop a process model of 'identity-as-negotiation'. In Chapter 6, I explore how Coalition players traversed across multiple systems of meaning at the individual level of analysis. As a part of this empirical exploration, I detail the skill sets and characteristics that facilitate individual-level boundary spanning activities in a social partnership setting. In providing a narrative account of my key empirical findings, I have attempted to strike a balance between showing and telling (Pratt, 2008) and have thus included a multitude of direct quotes from participants, my participant observation notes and archival documentation within the discussion of my findings. Moreover, in alignment with the constant comparative process (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) as well as my desire to be as transparent as possible about how my sensemaking evolved over time, I include relevant literature,

which was not previously considered and/or was not considered in detail during the development of my literature review chapter, directly within each empirical findings chapter to better situate these discoveries.

In Chapter 7, I further analyze the theoretical link between organizational culture (with a particular focus on the negotiated culture lens in international management) and the institutional logics perspective that emerged empirically (as outlined in Chapters 5 and 6). In doing so, I tease apart the distinctions and synergistic overlaps between the two perspectives and provide examples from my own dissertation study as to how they can be utilized concurrently in research to more fully capture meaning systems at work in multi-faceted organizational arrangements, particularly social partnership settings. Finally, in Chapter 8, I consider the implications of my findings for social partnership, organizational identity, boundary spanning and meaning-related literatures (i.e., organizational culture and institutional logics) as well as future research avenues within each area. As well, I reflect upon my personal takeaways from this dissertation journey, particularly in considering my own role as an ethnographer and, thus, the focal research instrument in this study (see Moore, 2011).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

I viewed three areas of research as being particularly relevant to the study of social partnerships and the negotiation of multiple meaning systems over time in this emergent research study. The first area is the cross sector partnership literature specifically focused on those that seek to tackle significant societal challenges (referred to throughout as social partnerships for consistency sake). The second is the organizational culture literature in management (in both the organizational behavior as well as the international management literature), with an incorporation of the literature on bi-/multi-culturalism[2], focused on individual bridging capabilities as it relates to effectively navigating across complex cultural meaning systems specifically in organizational contexts for my dissertation. This includes taking up the literature on the negotiated culture perspective and elaborating upon this theoretical viewpoint in order to guide the methodological foundation of my dissertation. The third predominant area of literature included is institutional logics. I present a review of each of the three major literature areas below followed by a discussion of the convergences and divergences of organizational culture and institutional logics literatures and the need to take an interdisciplinary theoretical approach in order to provide a holistic understanding of the phenomenon under investigation.

It is important to note upfront, though, that I viewed organizational culture, multiculturalism and institutional logics as beginning theoretical lenses in this exploratory study and, consistent with the grounded theory approach and the constant

[2] The literature on biculturals and multiculturals refers to individuals who identify with more than one culture. While most of the research to date has focused on biculturals, or individuals who identify with two cultures, theoretically speaking, the research could apply to people who identify with more than two cultures. For the sake of consistency, I will utilize multicultural throughout this dissertation.

comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), throughout this work I was open to other lenses that may better apply, dependent upon the emergent data. While I did, indeed, find that all three abovementioned literature streams were relevant in understanding the phenomenon under investigation, I also discovered that other streams were useful as well, namely organizational identity. In order to more clearly show how my sensemaking emerged over time throughout this study, I detail other relevant literature in addition to these three streams, including a much fuller discussion of the organizational identity literature, within the applicable findings chapters.

Social Partnership Literature

Introduction to Social Partnership Literature

Social cross sector partnerships (social partnerships) – the coming together of organizations from different sectors to deal with social challenges (Crane & Seitanidi, 2014) - have surfaced as a viable organizing mechanism to tackle a myriad of today's complex socioeconomic issues. Increasingly, in today's multi-faceted operating environment, organizations from the private, public and nonprofit sectors are realizing the significance of collaborating across sectors in order to address societal challenges. Large-scale social issues lend themselves to collaborative problem solving as they are incredibly daunting for singular organizations and require a multi-faceted set of skills and resources (Selsky & Parker, 2005; Trist, 1983; Westley & Vrendenburg, 1991). Social partnerships focus on addressing a range of challenges - from international development (Manning & Roessler, 2014), global poverty (Murphy, Perrot & Rivera-Santos, 2012; Rivera-Santos, Rufin & Kolk, 2012; VanSandt & Sud, 2012), local sustainable development (Clarke, 2014; Loza, 2004; Muthuri, Moon & Idemudia, 2012; Valente,

2012), health (Hardy, Lawrence & Phillips, 2006; Lawrence, Hardy & Phillips, 2002; Le Ber & Branzei, 2010a, b) and education (Koschmann, 2013) to climate change (Ansari, Wijen & Gray, 2013; Jay, 2013; Tjornbo & Westley, 2012) and resource conservation (Bitzer & Glasbergen, 2010; Nwankwo, Phillips and Tracey, 2007). The growing attention to social partnerships in practice has led many to classify today's organizational reality as a "partnership society" (Googins & Rochlin, 2002), a "partnership paradigm" (Glasbergen, 2007) and even a "trend with no alternative" (Richter, 2004, in Crane & Seitanidi, 2014:1).

The strong escalation toward organizations engaging in social partnerships, largely within the past three decades (Crane & Seitanidi, 2014; Selsky & Parker, 2005), can be attributed to a number of key factors. These factors can be classified into two primary categories: significant changes in the global operating environment and organizations' quest to generate value. First, there have been a number of notable changes in the global operating environment over the past three decades, including the rise of global capitalism, the decreased role of government and the weakened status of the public sector (Googins & Rochlin, 2002). Concurrently, more is being expected of organizations operating in the private sector (e.g., Waddock, 2008), stemming from their augmented and more powerful role in everyday society. Indeed, corporations are increasingly viewed as having a significant impact on the success of society (Adler, 2008) and fundamentally affecting the everyday life and governance of societies (Courpasson, Arellano-Gault, Brown & Lounsbury, 2008). This is not surprising considering the facts: 51 of the world's one hundred largest economic entities are MNCs and more than 40 percent of world trade now takes place within MNCs (Piasecki, 2007).

As such, the weakening of the public and nonprofit sectors alongside the rise of the private sector has led to the growing belief that government, business and nonprofit actors should work together to address societal challenges.

Alongside the significant changes in the global operating environment resulting in external pressures for cross sector collaboration, organizations themselves are realizing the value of placing greater emphasis on social partnerships. In this vein, Austin and colleagues (2010, Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a, b) contend that creating value is the focal purpose of partnering across sectors. These partnerships can provide a number of internal benefits for involved organizations (Murphy et al., 2014) including, for example, opportunities for learning (Googins & Rochlin, 2000), increased access to key resources (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a; Brown & Kalegaonkar, 2002), increased legitimacy (Googins & Rochlin, 2000; Muthuri et al., 2012) and strengthening of social capital (Millar, Choi & Chen, 2004). As well, externally, social partnerships can offer significant societal benefit, particularly at higher levels of the collaboration (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a, b.). Thus, the external situational changes favoring a social partnership model coupled with internal motivators for organizations to engage in cross sector collaboration to increase value, at meso and macro levels, have intensified the attention that organizations give to such arrangements.

In response to the increased number of social partnerships in practice, a burgeoning research community has surfaced. Recent review articles examining the state of the field (Austin & Seitanidi 2012a, b; Branzei & Le Ber, 2014; Laasonen, Fougere & Kourula, 2012; Selsky & Parker, 2005) call attention to the budding presence of academic literature focused specifically on social partnerships. Branzei and Le Ber

(2014) note, for example, that, whereas in the past approximately one to two published articles surfaced in this area, since 2010 more than twenty-five per year have been published. It is important to point out that much of the extant literature to date has focused upon descriptive versus analytical studies and tends to be centred on single case studies (Branzei & Le Ber, 2014). That being said, however, the overarching message communicated by the emerging research is coherent and convincing, focused on the notion that collaboration across sectors is often necessary to successfully tackle multi-faceted societal challenges in sustainable ways (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a, b; Dahan, Doh, Oetzel & Yaziji, 2010; Murphy & Arena, 2010; Montgomery, Dacin & Dacin, 2012; Muthuri, Moon & Idemudia, 2012; Nwankwo, et al., 2007; Phills, Deiglmeier & Miller, 2008; Rivera, Rufin & Kolk, 2012; Selsky & Parker, 2005; Vurro, Dacin & Perrini, 2012). While a variety of terminology is used in the literature in regards to cross sector partnerships focused upon tackling societal challenges including, for example, social partnerships (Waddock, 1991), social alliances (Berger, Cunningham & Drumwright, 2004), intersectoral partnerships (Waddell & Brown, 1997), and issues management alliances (Austrom & Lad, 1989, the term social partnerships is used throughout in this dissertation for consistency sake.

Structural Types of Social Partnerships

Since having first primarily surfaced in the form of public-private partnerships (PPPs), as a result of the US private sector's interactions with local economic development projects in the 1980s (Wettenhall, 2003), the academic field of social partnerships has become more expansive in terms of sector coverage and involves a myriad of different organizing structures between the public, private and/or nonprofit

sectors. Structurally, these partnerships tend to take one of four primary forms: private-nonprofit, private-public, public-nonprofit and tri-sector (Selsky & Parker, 2005, 2010; van Tulder & Pfisterer, 2014), as outlined below.

Private-nonprofit. Partnerships between businesses and nonprofits that focus on social issues, particularly the under-provision of pertinent private goods and services. These types of alliances tend to emphasize economic development and environmental issues, but also address health, hunger, financial empowerment and education (Selsky & Parker, 2005; van Tulder & Pfisterer, 2014).

Private-public. Partnerships between companies and governments that seek to address inadequate provision or underinvestment in public goods (van Tulder & Pfisterer, 2014). Rather than focusing directing on social issues, they tend to concentrate on public services and infrastructure development such as water and electricity as well as facilities and communications, which have important implications for societal issues (Selsky & Parker, 2005; van Tulder & Pfisterer, 2014).

Public-nonprofit. Partnerships between governments and nonprofits that focus upon generating effective public policies along with a sufficient provision of common goods. Common social issues within this arena include public health education (van Tulder & Pfisterer, 2014) as well as job development and welfare (Selsky & Parker, 2005).

Tri-sector. Partnerships between players from the public, private and nonprofit sectors that typically arise due to fissures in general governance structures. These types of partnerships come closest to tackling large-scale, macro-economic challenges associated with sustainable development (van Tulder & Pfisterer, 2014). In economically rich

countries, tri-sector, or tripartite, partnerships have emerged to address poverty-related societal issues such as social security and living wages as well as community and economic development, environmental concerns and health (Selsky & Parker, 2005; van Tulder & Pfisterer, 2014).

While the social partnership literature within organization studies has primarily focused upon dyadic partnerships between business and nonprofit players (e.g., Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a, b), management scholars have begun to realize the value of bridging across disciplines (Branzei & Le Ber, 2014; Crane & Seitanidi, 2014; van Tulder & Pfisterer, 2014), in order to examine partnerships involving all three sectors and to provide a more complete understanding of this phenomenon. This latter perspective is the one I took up in this dissertation. As such, while I used the existing social partnership literature as a base, I also incorporated relevant literature from sustainable community development, social innovation, community-based enterprise, strategic alliances, public administration and public-nonprofit partnerships in order to offer a more holistic picture of the phenomenon under investigation.

With some exceptions (e.g., Clarke, 2014; Jay, 2013; Kania & Kramer, 2013), there is a paucity of research that specifically focuses on social partnerships involving players from public, private and nonprofit sectors (Van Tulder & Pfisterer, 2014). This is significant as research has suggested that tri-sector partnerships, which combine the skills and expertise of actors in all three sectors, is the most effective for addressing societal challenges as they have the potential to overcome the individual limitations of each respective player (Austin, 2000a, Kolk et al., 2008; Warner & Sullivan, 2004; in Kolk,

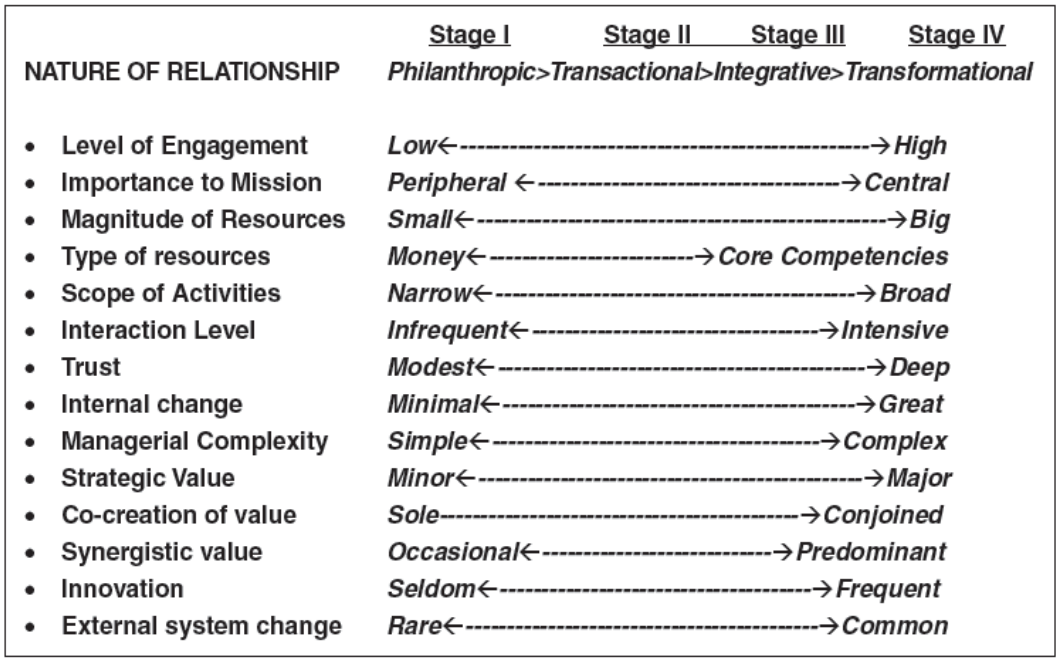
2014: 15). Therefore, in this dissertation, I focus on tri-sector social partnerships involving organizations and individuals from the public, private and nonprofit sectors.

Collaboration Levels Between Partners

Not only do social partnerships take different structural forms, but they also feature various types of interface between the involved partners, at different levels of collaboration. By collaboration, I mean the interorganizational relationships that are cooperative in nature[3] and do not rely upon the market or hierarchical structural controls in order to cooperate (Heide, 1994; Lawrence, Hardy & Phillips, 2002; Milne, Iyer, & Gooding-Williams, 1996; Phillips, Lawrence & Hardy, 2000; Powell, 1990; in Hardy, Lawrence & Grant, 2005: 58). Austin and Seitanidi's (2012a, b) recent and comprehensive review of the field notes that there are four primary collaboration stages: philanthropic, transactional, integrative and transformational, ranging from a lower level of engagement in the case of the former two stages and a much higher level of engagement in the case of the latter two stages. The potential to generate both organizational as well as societal benefit increases for partnerships at higher levels of collaboration in comparison to those that are characterized as being philanthropic and transactional in nature. These stages are briefly explored below as well as detailed in Figure 2.1.

[3] While it is fully recognized that not all interfaces between private, pubic and nonprofit players are of a cooperative nature, as the literature has also focused on partnerships rooted in conflict (e.g., Banerjee, 2011; De Baaker et al., 2013; Murphy & Arenas, 2010; Zietsma & Winn, 2008), my focus in this dissertation is on those of a more collaborative nature, albeit some conflicts may indeed emerge within as discussed within the challenges section below.

Figure 2.1: The Collaboration Continuum (Austin & Seitandi 2012a)



	Stage I	Stage II	Stage III	Stage IV
NATURE OF RELATIONSHIP	*Philanthropic>Transactional>Integrative>Transformational*			
• Level of Engagement	*Low←----------→High*			
• Importance to Mission	*Peripheral ←----------→Central*			
• Magnitude of Resources	*Small←----------→Big*			
• Type of resources	*Money←----------→Core Competencies*			
• Scope of Activities	*Narrow←----------→Broad*			
• Interaction Level	*Infrequent←----------→Intensive*			
• Trust	*Modest←----------→Deep*			
• Internal change	*Minimal←----------→Great*			
• Managerial Complexity	*Simple←----------→Complex*			
• Strategic Value	*Minor←----------→Major*			
• Co-creation of value	*Sole----------→Conjoined*			
• Synergistic value	*Occasional←----------→Predominant*			
• Innovation	*Seldom←----------→Frequent*			
• External system change	*Rare←----------→Common*			

Figure 1. The collaboration continuum
Source: Derived from Austin, J. E. (2000b). *The Collaboration Challenge: How Nonprofits and Businesses Succeed Through Strategic Alliances*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass; Austin, J. E. (2000a). Strategic Alliances Between Nonprofits and Businesses. *Nonprofit & Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 29*(1), 69-97.

Philanthropic. These collaborations tend to be unilateral in nature, such as a corporation providing financial backing to a nonprofit organization. They largely involve individual value creation as opposed to partners working to co-create value. In other words, each partner provides separate resources or inputs. In the case of private-nonprofit collaborations, the corporation provides funding, while the nonprofit delivers a service. The level of engagement and interaction between the players is typically quite limited and the functions provided are primarily performed independently. While some societal benefit may be offered, the primary focus is on organizational benefit (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a, b).

Transactional. In this stage of collaboration, the flow of resources shifts to bilateral. There is reciprocal value creation, resulting from an explicit exchange of

resources (Googins & Rochlin, 2000). For example, partnerships between private and nonprofit sector organizations could include events and other sponsorships, employee volunteer programs, assigned responsibilities and programmed activities, to name a few (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a). The focus on nonmonetary transactions helps to produce a deeper relationship among partners, thus resulting in higher interaction value between organizations in comparison to the former stage. Transaction collaborations tend to result in more direct benefits to the involved organizations, although, similar to collaborations characterized as being philanthropic, the realization of societal impact is less certain (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a). Similarly, Selsky & Parker (2010) note that transactional collaborations emerge from a "resource dependency platform" focused primarily on self interest and secondarily on societal good. Indeed, some scholars have asserted that these types of partnerships are primarily commercially focused rather than societally focused (Galskiewicz & Sinclair Colman, 2006; Porter & Kramer, 2006; in Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a).

Integrative. At this stage of collaboration, not only is the flow of resource exchange bilateral, but there is much more congruence between partners' missions, values and strategies. The relationship between involved partners is much deeper, there is a greater level of trust and the focus is on the co-creation of value. Integrative collaborations are much more managerially complex and require a utilization of more valuable resources and much more time, resulting in a much deeper commitment on behalf of the partners. While the collaboration is seen as focal to the strategic success of each involved player, the greater emphasis is placed upon generating societal benefit (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a).

Transformational. In the most advanced collaboration stage, there is a very high level of engagement and shared understanding between partners. Operationally, interdependence and collaborative action is the primary focus, which could even result in the creation of a new organization with a hybrid identity. There is a shared learning in regards to the focal social challenges and the associated partners' roles in addressing those challenges (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a). Selsky and Parker (2010) refer to this type of collaboration as a "social issues platform". Not only do partners agree on the relevant issue pertinent to all involved players (Waddock, 1989), but also on the aim of transforming society in regards to a particular societal challenge and the lives of those most affected. As well, the direct beneficiaries take a more active role in the process (Le Ber & Branzei, 2010a). More and more, as societal challenges being targeted become more multi-faceted and urgent, these types of collaborations are expected to emerge (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a), involving multisector collaborations, in order to act as system change vehicles (Svendsen & Laberge, 2006; Waddell, 2011; in Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a).

Taken together and building upon Hardy et al.'s (2005) definition of effective collaboration as "collaboration that (1) leverages the differences among participants to produce innovative, synergistic solutions and (2) balances divergent stakeholder concerns" (Hardy et al., 2005: 58), those characterized as being integrative and transformational can be considered to be more effective. While Austin and Seitanidi (2012a, b) note that partnerships can progress sequentially through the collaboration stages, this is not necessarily always the case. Partnerships could also begin at different levels of collaboration.

To date, research has tended to focus on the collaboration stages comprising a lower level of engagement, namely philanthropic and transactional partnerships. The research is lacking, however, as it concerns collaborations illustrative of the integrative and transformational stages, with some exceptions (e.g., Austin, 2000b; Le Ber & Branzei, 2010b; Rondinelli & London, 2003). Particularly related to the transformational stage, Austin and Seitanidi (2012a, b) note that these types of collaborations are primarily theoretical in the literature as of now. As well, specifically as it relates to processes of collaboration, with a few exceptions (Jay, 2012; Koshmann, Kuhn & Pfaffer, 2012; Le Ber & Branzei, 2010a,b; Seitanidi & Crane, 2009), overall, there is a lack of research investigating how social partnerships emerge, evolve and change over time. In other words, there is a lacuna of process-based research (Van de Ven, 2007) in this area, particularly as it relates to the enabling factors that result in higher levels of collaboration (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a) and partnerships that are tri-sector in nature.

Community-Based Social Partnerships

In addition to the structures and levels of collaboration between partners, social partnerships can also be characterized in terms of their level of global versus local connectedness. It is fully recognized that the world today is interconnected and that solving complex societal challenges inherently involves local and global forces working together in concert (e.g., Sen, 1999). Yet, in alignment with scholars emphasizing a community based approach (e.g., Gibson-Graham, 2006; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Shrivastava & Kennelly, 2013), I argue that multi-faceted societal issues should be organized and managed at the lowest level possible in order to give credence to multiple ways of being, create solutions that are contextually significant and limit community

dependencies on outside sources. By community-based, I mean ones that are, by and large, owned, managed and governed by members of a geographically based community (Nwankwo, Phillips and Tracey, 2007; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006).

When applying a community-based approach specifically to social partnerships, some inherent tendencies within existing approaches can be seen. For example, the bottom of the pyramid model (e.g. London & Hart, 2004; Prahalad, 2004; Prahalad & Hammond, 2007) connecting corporations to local communities to address global poverty is widely touted as the most significant poverty alleviation model for multinationals (MNCs) working in poor nations (Banu & Polsu, 2011). Yet, from a community based stance, this cross sector model has many problematic tendencies, including the notion that it is business-centric and does not particularly take the perspectives of the communities of place themselves into account to demonstrate whether and how they can directly benefit (Walsh, Kress & Beyerchen, 2005). In other words, MNCs are often seen as privileging business aims over community needs, resulting in collaborations that are not mutually beneficial and, in some cases, can be detrimental to communities of place, which ultimately is harmful to MNCs in terms of their socially responsible reputations (Muthuri et al., 2012). Indeed, one of the overarching challenges with many extant social partnership approaches, particularly involving large corporations and local communities is that they are top down, which often leaves the local communities without a sense of ownership or empowerment to be engaged and/or creates problematic dependencies on the part of local communities that are not sustainable (O'Hare, 2010; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006).

Clarke (2014) discusses the importance of social partnerships at the local level in order to address significant societal issues. She notes: "local 'territories are far more than physical spaces: they are communities, systems of relations, and they represent the most suitable level for managing the economy, social cohesion and relations between society and the environment as a whole'" (ICLEI, 2012: 4; in Clarke, 2014: 81). Clarke details a number of social partnerships focused on addressing social challenges at the local level, with a primary focus on four such partnerships in the Canadian context, namely Whistler2020, Montreal's collective sustainable development strategy, Hamilton'sVision 2020 and GreaterVancouver's cities^{PLUS}. These could be viewed as being community based in that they are organized and managed at the local level and focus upon strategies that are contextually appropriate. It is important to note, though, that while community based social partnerships give credence to the lowest governance level possible, they do often involve external actors in the process. The Sustainable Cities Program, a program of UN-Habitat and the United Nations Environment Program, is one such example, as this social partnership involves global agencies working to build capacity for urban environment planning in cities.

Challenges of Alignment in Social Partnerships

Research has shown that alignment or organizational fit between partners is a crucial factor related to alliance effectiveness (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a; Ireland et al., 2002; Kale et al. 2002; Murphy et al., 2014). By organizational fit, I mean the compatibility between organizations involved in a given partnership, taking into account their unique values, beliefs, missions, strategies, processes and administration systems (van Tulder & Pfisterer, 2014: 105; Murphy et al., 2014). This is significant as the degree

of fit in social partnerships allows for the creation of synergistic value. The more closely aligned the partners, the greater the potential for value creation (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a; Murphy et al., 2014; van Tulder & Pfisterer, 2014). At the same time, though, Murphy and colleagues' (Murphy et al., 2014) empirical study utilizing survey methods to investigate how partners in business-nonprofit alliances view value creation in the context of Spain suggests that organizations from different sectors may be able to successfully collaborate even in the face of differing values. As such, future research is needed which investigates the circumstances under which alignment of values is or is not of significant importance (Murphy et al., 2014), including at what levels and stages of collaboration value alignment makes a significant impact on the effectiveness of a given alliance.

Achieving alignment in social partnerships can be quite challenging. Social partnerships bring together organizations that are often very diverse and tend to have much less in common with one another in comparison to organizations within their own sector (e.g., Murphy et al., 2012). Indeed, research has illuminated that partners are often dissimilar in terms of value systems (Dahan et al., 2010; Di Domenico et al., 2009; Hardy et al., 2006; Le Ber & Branzei, 2010b), organizational goals (Anheier & Ben-Ner, 2003; Murphy et al., 2012) and organizational structures and processes (Berger et al., 2004; Dahan et al., 2020; Rondinelli & London, 2004). In other words, the basic assumptions around work and the meanings given to procedures and practices within a given partner organization, its organization's culture (Brannen, 1994; Van Maanen, 1988) – are often quite disparate. Not only is there heterogeneity between partners' organizational cultures, but also within a given organization, culture can be quite diverse, often including the

presence of multiple subcultures and multicultural actors (Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Fitzsimmons, 2013).

What's more, in addition to multiple cultures at work within and between partners, organizations collaborating across sectors are typically quite diverse in terms of the meaning systems and associated practices, or institutional logics, that guide a given institutional order (Le Ber & Branzei, 2010b; Rivera-Santos & Rufin, 2011; Rivera, Rufin & Kolk, 2012; Selsky & Parker, 2005). Institutional logics help define both the content and meaning of institutional spaces in which organizations and individuals are embedded (Hinings, 2012; Reay & Hinings, 2009). And, in many cases, organizations operate in the presence of multiple logics (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012). Particularly for social partnerships, where players are embedded in different sectors or institutional fields, there is likely to be a plurality of institutional logics at play (Jay, 2013; Le Ber & Branzei, 2010b; Murphy et al., 2012; Vurro et al., 2010). Social partnerships addressing issues that comprise multiple fields must address tensions among partners' logics that arise within and across fields (Gray & Purdy, 2014). Thus, achieving organizational fit is not only challenging as it relates to the diversity of organizational cultures, but this significant task is compounded further by the pluralistic institutional environments in which social partnerships are situated.

Yet, while the importance of achieving organizational fit has been recognized (e.g., Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a), there is a lack of research to date that explicitly explores how a multiplicity of meaning systems are negotiated over time within social partnerships, with some exceptions (Le Ber & Branzei, 2010b; Jay, 2013). Specifically related to the intersections and interactions of multiple organizational cultures and

institutional logics at work within social partnerships, to my knowledge, the extant literature is silent in this regard. Many studies that focus on elements of organizational culture in social partnerships tend to examine a particular aspect, such as value frames (Hardy et al., 2006; Le Ber & Branzei, 2010b), rather than focusing on organizational culture as a whole. Related to institutional logics in particular, there is only one study to date, of a theoretical nature (Vurro et al., 2010), that focuses explicitly on this concept in the context of social partnerships. This is a significant gap as Vurro and Dacin (2014) note the importance of considering the institutional context when examining the dynamics of cross sector collaboration. As well, most extant studies have focused on examining social partnership processes and interactions from the standpoint of one particular player, such as Le Ber and Branzei's (2010c) work focusing on the beneficiary perspective, rather than incorporating different actor viewpoints within one study in order to provide a more complete account of cross sector interactions and intersections.

Role of Boundary Spanners

Research has shown that boundary spanners are crucial to the success of strategic alliances in helping partners to bridge across complex organizational realties. They are crucial in fostering trust between organizations (Aldrich & Herker, 1977), functioning as network managers (Ireland et al., 2002; Williams, 2002) and interpreting complex and ambiguous information among partners (Williams, 2002). Boundary spanners, in the context of interorganizational collaborations, can be defined as individuals that promote partner interface across organizational, geographic and sectoral boundaries (Manning & Roessler, 2014; Murphy, 2012), involving both internal and external agents (Stadtler & Probst, 2012). In this dissertation, I focus on players within the social partnership.

As it relates to social partnerships in particular, in the face of organizational and institutional complexity, boundary spanners can make sense of ambiguous situations (Selsky & Parker, 2010), frame collaborative opportunities (Kaplan, 2008; Rivera-Santos & Rufin, 2011) and build up social capital among partners (Le Ber & Branzei, 2010a; Stadtler & Probst, 2012). Manning and Roessler's (2014) explorative case analysis illuminates that social partnerships initiated by internal representatives often chart fresh agendas and embody a greater opportunity for addressing societal challenges in innovative ways. Indeed, the authors argue that boundary spanners are critical in the partnership formation process, echoing scholars noting the importance of individuals' roles in the formation stage (e.g., Waddock, 2010; Kolk et al., 2010).

Yet, in spite of the emerging research focusing on boundary spanners, scholars note a number of considerable gaps. Manning and Roessler (2014) call for future research that focuses on the actual process of bridging across organizations, employs longitudinal methods and considers a more holistic account of interactions, versus focusing on particular subgroups within social partnerships. In a similar vein, Kolk (2014) calls for more studies that take up examining the role of individuals and their interactions within organizations in the collaboration process over time, particularly those of an empirical nature.

Literature on Culture in Organization Studies

Introduction to the Literature

In today's complex operating environment, involving organizations navigating across diverse contextual spaces (e.g. socio-economic, sectoral and geographic), the importance of culture has never been more paramount. In such multi-faceted

arrangements where organizational boundaries are often blurred, organizations must learn to effectively navigate across varied multiple cultures at play (e.g., national, occupational, organizational, individual) at multiple levels (e.g., macro, meso, micro) (Brannen, 2009, 2015). These organizational realities require a greater recognition and emphasis on the heterogeneity of culture at work, both inside and outside organizations, in order to better understand how these entities deal with such complexities, which are becoming more and more commonplace.

While some organizational scholars have long recognized the importance of a multi-layered approach to culture in organizations where diversity is often present (e.g., Brannen, 1994; Martin, 1992; Sackmann, Phillips, Kleinberg & Boyacigiller, 1997; Smircich, 1983) and where culture changes over time (e.g., Brannen, 1994; Hatch, 1993; Meyerson & Martin, 1987), the predominant research standpoint in early organizational studies focused primarily on cultural consistency and stability (Weber & Dacin, 2011). Yet, increasingly, cultural scholars are recognizing and calling for more research focused on the complexity and dynamism of culture (Alvesson et al., 2004; Caprar, Devinney, Kirkman & Caligiuri, 2015; Brannen, 2009, 2014a; Chao & Moon, 2005; Erez & Gati, 2004; Gerhart & Fang, 2005; Jackson & Aycan, 2006; Leung, Buchan, Erez & Gibson, 2005; Sackmann & Philips, 2004; Schaffer & Riordan, 2003; Taras, Rowney & Steel, 2009), in order to better understand how organizations effectively operate in such environments. Indeed, the culture literature has the potential to offer much more distinct models which capture the richness and complexity of today's organizational realities (Brannen, 2014a).

Paradigmatic Views of Culture

In discussing the significance of culture, it is important to consider basic assumptions and purposes, ontologically and epistemologically, which will ultimately guide how culture research is conducted. In this vein, Smircich (1983) argues that the significance of culture can *only* be considered against the backdrop of such foundational assumptions and purposes (emphasis mine). Similarly, Meyerson and Martin (1987) contend that conceptualizing culture depends on how one perceives it. These statements relate directly to the concept of one's paradigm. Paradigms can be defined as the basic theoretical assumptions, which underwrite the frame of reference and theorizing as well as operating modes of social theorists who operate within them. These perspectives are important as understanding one's paradigm helps one to understand the ways in which an individual creates, modifies and interprets the world in which he/she finds him/herself (Burrell & Morgan, 1979) as well as how one's view of the world will influence the way he/she will conduct research (Van de Ven, 2007).

While the literature is grounded in the symbolic interaction and social construction perspectives developed by Mead (1934) and Berger and Luckmann (1966), organizational culture research has evolved into a number of different viewpoints since it surfaced in organization studies in the early 1980s (Denison, 1996; Martin, Frost & O'Neill, 2004). In my view, the various conceptions of culture boil down to two primary worldviews of culture, the functionalist and interpretive paradigms (Burrell & Morgan, 1979), which are described and applied to organizational culture research below. First, the functionalist, or positivist, paradigm is based upon the assumption that society has a concrete, real existence and is composed of relatively concrete empirical artifacts and

relationships. This paradigm focuses on understanding the role of human beings in society and assumes that the social world can be identified, studied and measured through approaches derived from the natural sciences (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, 1980). This paradigm is directly related to the principal viewpoint among management scholars where culture within the organization is viewed as concrete and measurable (Jack et al., 2013). Scholars in this camp seek to develop universal theories of culture and tend to emphasize objectivity and reliability in their research designs. They also tend to focus on culture as being consistent and uniform (Martin, Frost & O'Neill, 2004). One example can be seen in the research conducted by Hofstede and colleagues (Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohayv & Sanders, 1990) examining differences in aggregate dimensions of organizational culture among 20 Dutch and Danish firms. As well, other organizational culture scholars have conducted research emphasizing "concrete", aggregative dimensions as representative of culture in a given organization (Cooke & Rousseau, 1988; O'Reilly, Chatman & Caldwell, 1992), which are also reflective of a functionalist paradigm.

In a different vein, those who subscribe to the interpretive paradigm view the social world as an emergent social process which is created by the individuals concerned and regards social reality as being little more than a network of assumptions and intersubjectively shared meanings (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). In other words, the ontological status of the social world is viewed as questionable and problematic. As such, this perspective seeks to explain the social world within the realm of individual consciousness and subjectivity (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). When applying this paradigmatic view to culture, scholars in the interpretive camp view culture as more

ambiguous and particular as opposed to clearly defined and replicable (Van Maanen, 1979). Interpretive cultural scholars give significant credence to the importance of context and focus upon understanding how meanings and practices form, develop and change through the ongoing interactions of individuals (Gioia, Corely & Hamilton, 2012; Van Maanen, 1979). In other words, in this view, the world in which we find ourselves in is effectively socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Weick, 1993). In the interpretive viewpoint, rather than trying to determine universal or aggregate dimensions of culture that can be generalized across organizations without significant regard for differentiated contexts, organizational culture scholars such as Brannen (2009, 2015) contend that culture can best be understood in respect to specific settings, and, therefore, a high level of contextualization is imperative. Thus, within this perspective, it is important to seek to understand culture in a given time and place versus attempting to universalize the concept of culture, which interpretive scholars view as a relatively unattainable and fruitless endeavor.

In applying a paradigmatic lens to my own dissertation study, I subscribe to and carried out this research via an interpretive paradigm. I argue that the predominant view in cultural studies to date, which has tended to employ an aggregate approach to culture with positivistic undertones, is fairly insufficient when utilized independently. I contend that it does not effectively unpack the multi-faceted, situated nature of culture; instead, I believe studying culture requires an interpretive approach that is much more contextualized. Yet, unlike Burrell and Morgan (1979), I do not believe that the paradigms are incommensurable. Instead, in alignment with other organizational culture scholars (Brannen, 2009, 2015; Martin, Frost & O'Neill, 2004; Schultz & Hatch, 1996), I

argue that a more contextualized, interpretative approach would actually be complementary to the body of cultural research carried out via a positivistic paradigmatic view.

Multifaceted and Dynamic Nature of Culture in Organizations

In addition to identifying with the interpretive viewpoint of culture, I define an organization's culture as how things are done within an organization (Brannen, 1994; Van Maanen, 1988). In other words, these are the rules of the game or the meanings that make up and guide an organization. These ways of doing things within the organization can manifest themselves in a variety of ways - in ideas, things, words, symbols, groups, activities, actions, etc. (Van Maanen, 2011). Put another away, an organization's culture includes cognitive, symbolic and material elements (Martin, Frost & O'Neill, 2004). They can also be viewed as operating at three fundamental levels within the organization: a) observable artifacts, b) values and c) basic underlying assumptions. These levels of culture range from explicit and observable at the artifact level to taken-for-granted and tacit at the assumption level (Schein, 1990). I take the position that organizational culture is influenced by both internal as well as external influences, although it is noted that, to date, organizational theory has largely ignored the organization's relationship with its environment in conceptualizing influences that affect the development and change of organizational culture (Hatch & Schultz, 1997), with some more recent exceptions (see, for example, Harrison & Corley, 2011).

Not only are there multiple layers and levels in regards to a particular organization's culture, but also there are often multiple cultures at work (Martin, Frost & O'Neill, 2004; Meyerson & Martin, 1987). These sub cultures within the organization

can be focused on horizontal subcultural differences, such as differences in positions or occupations (e.g., Van Maanen & Barley, 1984) or vertical subcultural differences, such as dissimilarities between management and front line production workers (e.g. Moore, 2011). They can also be focused on national cultural differences (e.g., Brannen, 1994; Brannen & Salk; Moore, 2011). The subgroups that develop within organizations represent constituencies within and outside the organization (Meyerson & Martin, 1987). It is important to note that subcultures present within a given organization do not necessarily imply direct conflict. Indeed, Martin and Siehl (1983) show that organizational subcultures can develop that reinforce or exist in harmony within the predominant culture of the organization.

Furthermore, there is cultural complexity within organizations in regards to the individuals involved. Individuals are typically members of several subcultural groups and, as such, a given person's cultural make up is a multi-faceted arrangement of characteristics from belongingness to several subcultures simultaneously (Brannen, 1994, 2015; Chao & Moon, 2005). As well, there are an increasing number of individuals with multicultural identities (Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Fitzsimmons, 2013). And, the number of multiculturals, individuals who have internalized more than one cultural schema, is only likely to continue to rise in time. Research shows, for example, that Europe already has a significant proportion of individuals who are foreign born and the largest ethnic group in the United States is slated to be culturally mixed by 2020 (Brannen & Thomas, 2010). Thus, although culture is a group level phenomenon, there is sub-cultural variation as well as within individual variation, meaning that there is cultural diversity at the organizational, group and individual levels of analysis.

The notion that individuals in organizations are themselves "cultural mosaics" (Chao & Moon, 2005) is particularly significant as culture is embodied and enacted by individuals, even though it is a group level phenomenon. The cultural heterogeneity within the individuals themselves that resides in organizations means that "cultural manifestations are interpreted, evaluated, and enacted in varying ways because cultural members have differing interests, experiences, responsibilities and values" (Martin, 2005: 272; in Gehman, Trevino & Garud, 2013). In this vein, I subscribe to the view that culture is continually produced and reproduced via ongoing individual interactions (Van Maanen, 2011). As such, meaning in the organizational context is established via the continual socialization of heterogeneous subcultures, which makes culture constant, in one sense, but also fragile and precarious in another (Denison, 1996: 624). In other words, organizational culture is a "contested reality" (Jermier, 1991; in Denison, 1996: 640), which is fluid, dynamic and negotiated in nature as well as multi-faceted.

Multiculturals as Boundary Spanners in Multi-faceted Organizations

Because of today's complex and dynamic cultural settings, there is a greater need for individuals to effectively manage within such multi-faceted organizational arrangements (Brannen, 2014). The literature on multiculturals has emerged, in part, to address the individual bridging capabilities as it relates to effectively navigating across complex organizational contexts. Biculturals or multiculturals[4] have commonly been described as individuals who have internalized more than one cultural schema (Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Fitzsimmons, 2013). By internalizing a cultural schema, I mean adopting the socially constructed cognitive system that represents the knowledge, beliefs,

[4] For the sake of consistency, I refer to them in this dissertation as multiculturals, although, to be exact, individuals who have internalized two or more cultural schemas are multicultural and those who have internalized two cultural schemas are bicultural

values, norms, attitudes and behavioral assumptions of a given culture as well as the relations among these cultural elements (Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Fitzsimmons, 2013). In other words, multiculturals identify strongly with two or more distinct cultures.

Research has shown that multiculturals have intercultural skills needed to effectively bridge across diverse cultural contexts (Brannen, Thomas & Garcia, 2009; Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Fitzsimmons, 2013; Stahl & Brannen, 2013). Intercultural skill sets of multiculturals recognized in the literature include, for example, analytical skills such as negotiating successfully across cultures (Fitzsimmons, Miska & Sthal, 2011; Fitzsimmons, 2013) and cultural metacognition, the knowledge of and control over one's thinking and learning activities (Brannen, Thomas & Garcia, 2009). However, the literature specifically related to how multicultural employees contribute in the organizational context is still somewhat limited, with some notable exceptions (Bell, 1990; Brannen & Lee, 2014; Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Fitzsimmons, 2013; Hong, 2010; Lee, 2010; Stahl & Brannen, 2013), particularly as it relates to longitudinal empirical studies.

Further, while this burgeoning research area is significant in beginning to help organizations understand how multiculturals can act as effective bridging agents across varied cultures, to date, it has tended to focus on one type of multicultural, namely those who identify with more than one *national* culture. The literature is relatively silent, though, as it relates to other types of multicultural individuals that might be present in an organizational context, such as those who strongly identify with more than one culture in an occupational or organizational sense (Ashforth, Harrison & Corley, 2008), and how they might contribute in navigating across complex cultural settings. It is true that some

scholars have begun to examine the implications of subsidiary managers that identify with the parent multinational as well as the subsidiary (e.g., Vora & Kostova, 2007; Vora, Kostova & Roth, 2007). Yet, these studies have primarily been situated within the context of large multinationals and have not yet examined multiculturals and their respective roles in other types of complex organizational settings, such as social partnerships. As well, there is a lacuna of empirical work that teases apart the nuances of other types of multiculturals and the roles they play over time in managing in diverse organizational contexts.

Organizational Culture, Identity and Image

In the discussion of organizational culture, two closely related and pertinent concepts are organizational identity and image. I define organizational identity as expressed identity claims and associated understandings or meanings (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006), which develop, unfold and are altered over time based upon continuous interactions among all involved organizational stakeholders (Schultz et al., 2012). It answers the question "who are we as an organization?" and "who we are becoming" (Corley, 2002; Kreiner, Hollensbe, Sheep, Smith & Kataria, 2015), focused on both language and meaning (Gioia, Schultz & Corley, 2000). Organizational identity represents insiders' views and perceptions about what distinguishes their organization from others. In today's complex working environments, the people that populate organizations are increasingly diverse (Albert, Ashforth & Dutton, 2000) and they often have different perceptions and interpretations of what constitutes an organization's identity (Corley, 2002). As such, I take the standpoint that, more often than not, there are

multiple conceptions of identity at play within an organization (see, for example, Gioia, Patvardhan, Hamilton & Corley, 2013).

In alignment with organizational identity scholars in the social construction camp (e.g., Fiol, 2002; Hatch & Schultz, 1997, 2002; Gioia et al., 2000; Gioia et al., 2013), in this dissertation study I took up the position that organizational identity is a relational concept that emerges, is formed and changes in interaction with others. Individual-level identities of actors within serve as the building blocks for collective organizational level identity construction, change and resistance (Fiol, 2002). In this way, while much of the literature has conceptualized organizational identity as being enduring (following Albert and Whetten's 1985 seminal piece), building on Gioia and colleagues (Gioia et al., 2013), I take up the dynamic view of identity. By this, I mean that organizational identity is developed, altered and negotiated over time, both in the short and long term timeframes, by individuals.

Specifically concerning the relationship between organizational identity and organizational culture, organizational identity is situated in the larger context of cultural meaning (Fiol, 2001; Fiol, Hatch & Golden-Biddle, 1998) as to how the organization does things (Brannen, 1994; Van Maanen, 1988). Put differently, organizational identity is the process by which members of the organization understand and make sense of themselves as an organization. Since organizational members are participants in, and representations of, their organizational cultures, their capacity to navigate organizational identity is both enabled and constrained by their cultural context. In this way, organizational identity is grounded in local meanings and organizational symbols and, thus, embedded in organizational culture (Hatch & Schultz, 1997, 2002).

Organizational identity also provides the basis for presenting images of the organization to outsiders in which individuals will "see" other organizations as having a particular identity (Corley, 2002; Hatch & Schultz, 1998, 2002). Just as identity has an influence on organizational image, involving externally produced meaning-making about the organization, concurrently, image has a continual influence on the internal processes of identity formation and change (Hatch & Schultz, 2002). As distinctions between external and internal boundaries become more blurred, as in the case of a social partnership in this study, the reciprocal, dynamic relationship between organizational identity and image is likely to become stronger.

Incorporation of Negotiated Culture Perspective

A significant focus of this dissertation was on understanding how social partnerships negotiate multiple meanings over time. As a part of making sense of this phenomenon, I took up the negotiated culture perspective (e.g., Brannen & Salk, 2000), which was built from the negotiated order perspective outlined by sociologist Anselm Strauss (1978). As such, below I first outline the negotiated order perspective leading up to the development of the negotiated culture lens.

While the negotiated order perspective predates Strauss' work (e.g. Mead, 1934; Goffman, 1961; as noted in Fines, 1984), he was the first scholar to precisely detail negotiated order (Fine, 1984). By negotiation, I take up Strauss' (1978) definition of negotiation as one of the possible means of "getting things accomplished" when players must deal with one another in order to get things done (2). This theoretical perspective takes a process orientation, which emphasizes the continual emergence of organizational arrangements stemming from the ongoing interactions of involved participants. In other

words, organizational arrangements are in a continual state of flux, and seldom stable, as a result of the constant negotiations occurring in the day-to-day encounters of players. As Strauss (1978) outlines in the introduction of *Negotiations: Varieties, Contexts, Processes and Social Order*:

> rules and roles are always breaking down-and when they do not, they do not miraculously remain intact without some effort, including negotiation effort, to maintain them. What we can assent to is that when individuals or groups or organizations of any size work together 'to get things done' then agreement is required about such matters as what, how, when, where and how much. Continued agreement itself may be something to be worked at (ix)

These negotiation efforts, those that are overt as well as covert, can take a variety of different forms - from bargaining, compromising and making deals to mediating, gaining tacit understanding and power brokering (1). In sum, Strauss contends that all social order is negotiated order (1978), meaning that organization itself is not possible without some form of negotiation (Fine, 1984: 24).

In addition to the notion that all social orders are negotiated orders, there are a number of other important components of this perspective. One is the idea that the negotiated order perspective is about the relationship between the structural conditions of the organization and the negotiation process. Strauss (1978) argues that specific negotiations, or micro interactions, are contingent on the structural conditions of a given organization. These include such structural properties as the number of negotiators, the balance of power among parties, the negotiation stakes, the number and complexity of the issues involved and the clarity of boundaries of the issues (238). In this vein, any structural changes in the organization require alterations of the negotiated order. The element of time is also significant, as negotiations are renewed, revised and reconstructed over time and, thus, have temporal limits. Further, even though negotiations are dynamic

and rarely stable, it is important to note that they are patterned interactions, rather than random in nature (Fine, 1984; Strauss, 1978).

Similar to work in organizational culture, the negotiated order perspective recognizes that an individual's life in an organizational context is contingent on his or her sensemaking ability. In this way, both are heavily focused upon meaning construction, which plays out in a social sense. To understand a given organization, one must understand and attempt to capture it from the perspective of the participants themselves. Both perspectives also recognize that environmental conditions embed individuals in social systems, as resources such as power and materials create the grounds for the interaction among individuals that can serve as constraints (Fine, 1984). Moreover, particularly when utilizing the dynamic and complex perspective of organizational culture, which I adopt, both approaches recognize that organizations do not have a unified, harmonious culture; rather there are often a system of subcultures, albeit they may indeed by complementary (Riley, 1983). Thus, one's position and vantage point in the organization will determine how he or she makes sense of the issues to be negotiated and the cultural traditions that motivate the negotiation (Fine, 1984).

The negotiated order perspective has been incorporated into organization studies, primarily within the organizational culture stream of research as it relates to international business contexts (e.g., Brannen, 1994; Brannen & Salk, 2000; Salk & Shenkar, 2011), in order to better examine the dynamic and continually changing process of multiple organizational cultures interacting over time. Brannen (1994), for example, examined the coming together of two distinct national culture groups in an organizational work setting involving a Japanese takeover of a US paper plant. In taking up this perspective, Brannen

and colleagues described the specific content of negotiations as well as addressed the cultural elements embedded in the negotiations more explicitly, a previously noted gap of the negotiated order perspective (Fines, 1984). Their integration of the negotiated order perspective into organization studies, resulting in a process model of negotiated culture, involving internal and external cultural influences, has given rise to additional work in this area focused on the negotiation of culture in organizational settings (e.g., Caprar, 2011; Clausen, 2007; Moore, 2011; Yagi & Kleinberg, 2011). Yet, these studies have tended to examine cultural negotiation within multinationals and international joint ventures, situated in the private sector alone, involving distinct national cultures. There is a paucity of research, though, as it relates to multiple cultures that might be at play in negotiations, in addition to distinct national cultures (for an exception, see Yagi & Kleinberg, 2011). As well, the negotiated culture perspective has not yet been incorporated into the social partnership literature, which could arguably be considered a more multi-faceted organizational setting; such alliances typically involve players from the private, public and nonprofit sectors operating within blurred organizational boundaries and with a variety of heterogeneous cultures present at multiple levels.

Literature on the Institutional Logics Perspective

Introduction to Institutional Logics Perspective

Today organizations face unprecedented levels of turmoil in their operating environments while, simultaneously, the boundaries between organizations, industries and sectors are much more blurred. Consequently, organizations increasingly face multiple and, in many cases, competing influences from their institutional environments. An institutional demand, or logic, can be defined as the macro-level belief systems that

shape thoughts and influence decision-making processes in organizational fields (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Ocasio, 1997; McPherson & Sauder, 2013). In other words, institutional logics refer to belief systems and corresponding practices that define the content and meaning of institutional spaces in which organizations and individuals are embedded (Hinings, 2012; Reay & Hinings, 2009). And, often, organizations operate in pluralistic institutional environments where multiple logics coexist (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012).

The institutional logics perspective provides a basis for understanding how macro-level institutions affect organizational practices and strategies via logics (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999; Thornton, 2004; Thornton et al., 2012). Indeed, institutional logics research has offered a better understanding as to how the practices of organizational actors are embedded within institutional spaces including, for example, how organizations form and transform their identities and practices when faced with competing logics (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Lok, 2010; Tracey, Phillips & Jarvis, 2011) and how changing logics at the field level influence the strategies and practices of organizations (Thornton, 2004). Research in this fast growing area has documented organizations that operate in the presence of multiple institutional logics in a plethora of public, private and nonprofit arenas including universities (Townley, 1997), higher education book publishing companies (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999), microfinance (Battilana & Dorado, 2010), equity markets (Zajac & Westphal, 2004), sympathy orchestras (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005), health care organizations (Reay & Hinings, 2005, 2009), social enterprises (Katre & Saliapante, 2012), community banking (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007) and French cuisine (Rao, Monin & Durand, 2003), to name a few.

Foundations and Key Assumptions of the Institutional Logics Perspective

Institutional logics as a term first surfaced in 1985 by Alford and Friedland to explain the contradictory beliefs and practices present in institutions within modern Western societies. Six years later, the scholars (Friedland and Alford, 1991) further developed the institutional logics perspective as a means to investigate the interrelationships between individuals, organizations and society. Friedland and Alford (1991) conceptualized society as an inter-institutional system of societal sectors, where each sub-system or institutional space represents a different set of expectations for social relations and human and organizational behavior (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008: 104). In a separate, but related, vein, Jackell (1988; in Thornton & Ocasio, 2008: 101) defined an institutional logic as 'the way a particular social world works', recognizing the heterogeneous nature of logics in practice. Thus, as opposed to individuals and organizations operating within institutions that are conceptualized as being rather homogeneous in nature, this perspective accounts for the notion that organizations are often embedded within pluralistic institutional settings (Kraatz & Block, 2008), or operate in the presence of multiple institutional logics (Thornton et al., 2012).

Friedland and Alford (1991) viewed the core institutions of society, within a Western context, as the capitalist market, bureaucratic state, families, democracy and religion. Each institutional subsystem has a central logic, or shared beliefs and associated practices, which guide actor behavior. Any given organization could potentially be shaped by multiple institutional logics in a particular context. Thornton (2004) expounded upon Friedland and Alford's typology in her review of a number of empirical-based research studies to include six institutional subsystems – markets, corporations,

professions, states, families and religions. Thornton (2004) also expanded upon the organizing principles of each subsystem to include, for example, sources of legitimacy, authority and identity. In more recent developments, Thornton and colleagues (2012) in their book, *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, elaborated upon this typology to include community as an institutional order. The seven interinstitutional ideal types are shown in Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1: Interinstitutional System Ideal Types (Thornton et al., 2012)

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

The instantiations of logics draw from and are nested within these societal-level institutional orders. In this discussion, though, it is important to note that the ideal type framework of the interinstitutional system is conceptualized as being an abstract theoretical and empirical model from which initial anchors as to how the boundaries of institutional subsystems are defined and identified, which will play out uniquely in a given setting in actuality (Thornton et al., 2012).

The institutional logics perspective offers a lens as to how institutions, via logics, shape stability, heterogeneity and change in individuals and organizations (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Yet, unlike neoinstitutional theory that has allowed for limited choice from individual organizations in responding to powerful institutional pressures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977), a key tenet of the institutional logics perspective is that the interests, identities, values and assumptions of individuals and organizations are embedded within prevailing institutional logics. Conceptualized as embedded agency (e.g., Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006), the material practices and symbolic systems that make up a given institutional logic are available to individuals, groups and organizations to further elaborate, manipulate and utilize to their own advantage (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). In other words, institutional logics serve as both constraining and enabling mechanisms in shaping individual and organizational behavior. Accordingly, the institutional logics perspective is concerned with the interplay between individual agency and institutional structure (Jackall, 1988; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999), which distinguishes this approach from rational choice and macro structural perspectives (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

In terms of the levels of institutional logics, Thornton and colleagues (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012) conceptualize society as consisting of three nested, or embedded, levels: "individuals competing and negotiating, organizations in conflict and coordination, and institutions in contradiction and interdependency" (104). Even though individual and organizational action is embedded within institutions, this approach suggests that institutions themselves are socially constructed and, as such, constituted by the actions of individuals and organizations

(Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Yet, the literature to date has mainly focused on one level of analysis (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012), with few exceptions (e.g., Smets, Morris & Greenwood, 2012). As well, there is a lacuna of research as it relates to process models that elucidate how logics are negotiated by organizational actors on the ground.

Organizational Responses to Institutional Complexity

Early research exploring the institutional logics phenomenon focused upon the replacement of one dominant logic by another over time (Hoffman, 1999; Rao, Monin & Durand, 2003; Thornton, Jones & Kury, 2005). Proponents of this stream of research suggest that competing institutional logics are negotiated at the field level, in which the existing dominant logic increasingly incorporates features of challenging logics over time to redefine leading paradigms (Hoffman, 1999). Yet, when there is not a clear institutional logic that dominates a given field and, at the same time, several present logics are strong enough to affect organizational response – that is, the fields are fragmented – conflicting logics are not likely to be resolved at the macro level, but rather will be inflicted on organizations at the organizational level (Pache & Santos, 2010, 2013). In these environments, organizations find themselves operating with enduring competing logics (Reay & Hinings, 2009).

In fragmented fields characterized by a plurality of enduring competing logics, navigating these institutionally complex environments becomes a daunting task for organizations. When confronted with the norms, values and beliefs of multiple social systems, Kraatz and Block (2008) posit that organizations will usually adapt in one of four ways: attempt to eliminate pluralism, compartmentalize or decouple multiple logics,

balance competing demands or build their own identities and, thus, emerge as institutions. Pache and Santos' (2013) empirical research study, focused on social enterprises operating with social welfare and commercial logics simultaneously, reveals that rather than adopting strategies focused on decoupling or compromising, organizations can also selectively couple intact aspects of each logic. In such heterogeneous operating environments, organizations have more choice as to which pressures they select for conformity (Quirke, 2013), or can even promote alternative institutional logics to challenge the influence of dominant institutional demands (Durand & Jourdan, 2012). Overall, though, few empirical studies have explored how organizations actually experience the continuing presence and influences of multiple logics (see Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Kodeih & Greenwood, 2014; Pache & Santos, 2013; Yu; 2013 for exceptions). Those that do exist have tended to focus on specific organizational practices such as hiring and socialization strategies (Battilana & Dorado, 2010), which provides a partial, yet incomplete, view as to how organizations deal with competing institutional logics.

When institutional complexity surfaces as a result of interactions and/or alliances among diverse fields or sectors, that is when organizational boundaries are more blurred, recent research has shown that organizational actors have more flexibility in how they deal with competing logics (McPherson & Sauder, 2013; Smets et al., 2012). However, there is a paucity of research as it relates to *how* organizations with blurred boundaries respond to institutional pluralism, particularly as it relates to process-based models focused on the negotiation of multiple logics over time. To my knowledge, the literature is silent as it relates to process based research focused on how organizations with blurred

boundaries, such as social partnerships, negotiate multiple logics on the ground over time.

Microdynamics of Institutional Logics

Much of the institutional logics research to date has focused on the macro level of analysis (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012). There is a paucity of research as it relates to the microdynamics of institutional logics within organizational contexts and the lived experiences of actors on the ground, with a few exceptions (e.g., McPherson & Sauder, 2013; Smet et al., 2012). In other words, there is a lack of research as it relates to how logics actually play out in the day-to-day experiences, activities and interactions of organizational actors at the micro-level (Kraatz & Block, 2008; McPherson & Sauder, 2013). McPherson and Sauder's (2013) ethnographic study investigating how logics are utilized in the interactions of actors involved in a drug count provides a micro account in terms of the content of the actors' interactions and the logics at play in this context. Yet, the authors stop short of explaining *how* logics are negotiated by actors on the ground as it relates to a process based perspective. As well, while McPherson and Sauder (2013) do mention some structural constraints that affect how logics are enacted, they do not readily incorporate these dynamics into their full analysis or account for other micro-level filters, such as actors' roles and cultural identities, which may very well affect how logics are experienced in the everyday lives of organizational actors.

The lack of research concerning the microdynamics of logics in action, including connections to other meso and micro-level organizational filters that may affect their enactment on the ground, is a significant gap as institutional influences do not simply enter organizations; rather, they are interpreted, given meaning and represented by

organizational actors (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). In a similar vein, Powell and Colyvas (2008) contend that institutions and their underpinning logics "are sustained, altered and extinguished as they are enacted by individuals in concrete social situations" (276). Additionally, Greenwood and colleagues (Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta & Lounsbury, 2011) note that there are a number of organizational filters such as structure, ownership and governance that will affect how logics play out in practice within organizations. These organizational filters point to how things are done within the organization, or an organization's culture (Brannen, 1994; Van Maanen, 2011).

This speaks to the need to take an interdisciplinary approach, combining the institutional logics perspective with other significant organizational lenses, to provide a holistic understanding as to how logics play out in real organizational settings. Building upon recent scholarship (Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca, 2011: 52), I argue that capturing the "lived experience of organizational actors, especially the connection between this lived experience and the institutions that structure and are structured by it" cannot be achieved by using an institutional logics lens alone. And, yet, apart from a few recent studies (see Kodeih & Greenwood, 2014 exploring the relationship between institutional complexity and organizational identity), there is a lacuna of research connecting institutional logics with significant organizational lenses to provide a holistic account of logics in action on-the-ground.

Merging Perspectives to Better Understand Complex Organizational Arrangements

The plurality of meaning systems at play within and between organizations, such as in a social partnership context, speaks to the need for a holistic understanding of the ways in which organizations effectively navigate such complexities. To date, though, the

multiplicity of meaning systems in complex organizational contexts has been selectively treated; that is, studies typically focus on the interaction of multiple meaning systems within organizations to the neglect of the plural meaning systems that exist in an organization's operating environment and vice versa. Indeed, cultural scholars have tended to explore phenomena centered on a plurality of meaning systems at the meso and micro levels, in organizational culture and multicultural streams respectively, while institutional scholars have tended to look at multiple meaning systems between organizations at the macro level in the institutional logics stream of research (see Aten, Howard-Grenville & Ventresca, 2012 for a detailed discussion of divergences and possible convergences between organizational culture and institutional theories).

At the same time, scholars have noted the need to explore promising research avenues concerning how multiple meaning systems at the field level are affected by organizational cultures and vice versa (Aten, Howard-Grenville & Ventresca, 2012; De Baaker, Den, King & Weber, 2013; Hatch & Zilber, 2012; Suddaby, Elsbach, Greenwood, Meyer & Zilber, 2010; Weber & Dacin, 2011; Zilber, 2012). This could be due to the notion that both disciplines are deeply focused on developing a better understanding of how meaning is formed, shared and negotiated over time (Aten, Howard-Grenville & Ventresca, 2012; Hinings, 2012), albeit they tend to focus on different levels of analysis. Specifically as it relates to a multitude of meaning systems at play, within the organizational culture literature this has mainly taken shape in the study of subcultures and in the institutional logics literature within institutional theory (Hatch & Zilber, 2012).

Hinings (2012) notes possible synergies between institutional logics and organizational culture as well as the significance of exploring the relationship between these two areas, in a *Journal of Management Inquiry* special issue focused on convergences between organizational culture and institutional theory. Hinings (2012) discusses how both areas share a common focus on understanding meaning making over time. He also emphasizes possible synergies between organizational culture and institutional logics, such as examining the role of cultures beyond the bounds of the organization and exploring the relationship between institutional logics at the field level and how they are enacted in practice at the organizational level. In addition to Hining's observations, both perspectives emphasize that there are often a multitude of meanings at play, that these meaning systems are socially constructed and that they are dynamic in nature.

Yet, in spite of the convergences between perspectives, there are some notable challenges in attempting to combine organizational culture and institutional logics research. From my vantage point, the most significant challenge relates to the treatment of culture in the institutional logics perspective. Hinings (2012) notes that institutional logics and organizational culture are linked, but in a problematic manner, as scholars in the institutional logics domain seem to examine aspects of organizational culture and subcultures within organizations, but without using this terminology. In discussing the relationship between institutional logics and culture, Thornton (2015) even goes so far as to refer to institutional logics as culture (6). Similarly, in the influential work of Thornton and colleagues (Thornton et al., 2012:2; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008), the authors' definition of institutional logics exhibits strong parallels to definitions of culture in the

organizational culture literature: “the socially constructed, historical patterns, of cultural symbols and material practices, including assumptions, values and beliefs, by which individuals and organizations provide meaning to their daily activity, organize time and space, and reproduce their lives and experiences”.

My reading of the institutional logics literature, overall, is that there is definitional ambiguity as it relates to the use and treatment of culture. The term culture is often used in the institutional logics literature, but rarely defined. When it is elaborated upon, definitions seem to lack specificity and/or culture is defined in terms of logics, using similar phrasing to that taken up by scholars in organization behavior. Scholars in organization studies, in my view, tend to be more precise in conceptualizing culture, although the international business stream tends to use culture synonymously with nation and the organizational behavior stream with organizational culture, albeit mainly at different levels of analysis. While some scholars, particularly in the institutional logics camp, may well view institutional logics and organizational culture as being quite similar and competing theoretical lenses to explain phenomena, my own vantage point is that potential conflicts stem from the relationship and intersections between these two concepts being ill defined and in need of further development. As well, I take the stance that institutional logics, when used as a solitary theoretical lens, is not able to account for the day-to-day life of organizations to help in unraveling the microprocesses of complex phenomena, in this case, how multiple meaning systems are negotiated in social partnerships by the involved individuals.

As I began this empirical exploration, I thought that one possible bridge between institutional logics and organizational culture was organizational identity. Generally

speaking, Hatch and Zilber (2012) note that organizational identity may be utilized as a focal point in bridging culture and institutional logics as it is situated at the meso level, between individuals and fields, and because it has already been strongly linked to culture theoretically (Hatch & Schultz, 1997, 2002). Specifically as it relates to the institutional logics perspective, a number of prominent scholars in this domain have recognized the promise of linking institutional logics and organizational identity research (Greenwood et al., 2011; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012). Thornton et al. (2012), for example, discuss the notion that organizational identity could be a useful focal point for understanding how organizational actors experience multiple institutional logics stemming from the field level. In a similar vein, Greenwood and colleagues (Greenwood et al., 2011) note that organizational identity is an important, but underdeveloped, area in the institutional logics realm as it will serve as a significant filter in terms of how organizations respond to institutional demands, as organizational identity offers a framework for what organizational members should do (Gioia, Patvardhan, Hamilton & Corley, 2013). Yet, outside of a few empirical examples (e.g., Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Kodeih & Greenwood, 2014), the literature is relatively silent in this regard. While I thought that organizational identity might serve as a bridging construct, it surfaced as an unexpected focal point in my emergent findings, as detailed in Chapter 5.

In sum, while there are clear opportunities as well as notable challenges to combining perspectives, my starting assumption in this study was that the negotiation of multiple meaning systems in social partnerships involves the interplay between and among multiple organizational cultures and institutional logics by individuals. This starting assumption proved to be relevant as I progressed throughout this dissertation

work. It is important to note, though, that my motivation for incorporating both organizational culture and institutional logics literatures into this dissertation study as a starting point was driven by a desire to better understand the complex phenomenon under investigation as opposed to a desire to simply try and integrate the two perspectives. The distinctions and overlaps between perspectives are further discussed in Chapter 7 of my results.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Research Setting

In order to examine how social partnerships negotiate multiple meaning systems – or different assumptions about work and associated practices – over time, I carried out a longitudinal empirical study with the Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness (Coalition) over 16 months (which began in November 2014). In doing so, I took up an interpretive approach (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). By adopting this paradigm, I made two crucial assumptions in conducting this research: 1) organizational phenomena are largely socially constructed (e.g., Weick, 1993; Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012) and 2) the people constructing the organizational realities are informed about the phenomena they are seeing and experiencing (Gioia et al., 2012). In this way, my overall emphasis was on understanding and analyzing the "actual production of meanings and concepts used by social actors in real settings" (Gephart, 2004: 457); these contextualized, subjective experiences were then utilized to develop grounded empirical findings as it relates to the negotiation of multiple meaning systems in a social partnership context at multiple levels of analysis.

In carrying out this dissertation study, I employed ethnographic (Cunliffe, 2010) and grounded theory methods (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In what follows, I provide an overview of the key methods I utilized in this dissertation, detail the significance of this study to the phenomenon under investigation, and offer an overview of the research site as well as the data collection and analysis processes.

Overview of Key Methods Utilized

Ethnography can be defined as an experiential data collection approach, with the researcher him/herself serving as a tool for gathering information and analysis through

his/her own experiences (Moore, 2011). This approach is significant as it emphasizes the importance of studying people and processes in natural contexts to grasp the complexity of organizational life in a given setting (Cunliffe, 2010), a necessity for understanding the multi-faceted phenomenon of this study in a nuanced manner. In incorporating this method into my dissertation research, I took up the holistic ethnographic approach conceptualized by Moore (2011), which recognizes and incorporates the distinct groups and perspectives involved in developing an overall narrative of a given situation. A holistic ethnographic approach is particularly important in trying to capture the various voices involved in the Coalition and how they are interacting over time to provide a comprehensive perspective that does not favor one vantage point over another.

Further, in this dissertation I employed a grounded theory approach (e.g., Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This entailed an iterative process utilizing the key tenets of grounded theory – constant comparative method, theoretical coding, theoretical sampling and theoretical sensitivity (O'Reilly, Paper & Marz, 2012) – until theoretical saturation was achieved. In other words, the data collection and data analysis procedures were carried out concurrently. As such, this methodological approach involved induction and deduction being used in concert, or an abductive approach (Van de Ven, 2007).

Significance of Methodological Approach

Most of the social partnership literature to date has focused upon case study methodology involving data archives and interviews, which, when used alone, do not provide rich, nuanced accounts as to how these complex organizational arrangements play out in practice. There is a paucity of ethnographic studies providing on-the-ground accounts of social partnerships, with some exceptions (Clarke, 2014; Jay, 2013; Valente,

2012; Wadham & Warren, 2013). This is particularly true as it relates to process based studies that involve tri-sector partnerships. To my knowledge, there is one exception to this statement. Jay (2013) studied a tri-sector alliance focused on tackling climate change to develop a process model of continuous organization change. Yet, Jay (2013) does not hone in on the multiple vantage points and perspectives of the distinct organizations and individuals involved in this given alliance or how multiple meaning systems are negotiated over time. Rather, his focus is on investigating the collective change processes of the alliance as a whole, as it relates to sensemaking. Thus, there is a lack of research that provides contextualized accounts of the interactions of players within social partnerships over time, particularly capturing the multitude of voices and vantage points of the players involved. What's more, there is a lack of understanding in the literature as to how such ethnographic work involving multiple organizations and associations can effectively be carried out in actuality. As such, this study is significant in helping to close this noted gap in the social partnership literature as well as to provide scholars with a means by which to effectively study such multi-faceted alliances, involving ethnographic-based methods at a multitude of field sites (i.e., multiple organizational settings) within one research design.

Introduction to the Research Context

Located in Victoria, British Columbia (BC), Canada the Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness (Coalition) is a tri-sector social partnership involving players from over forty organizations and associations, comprising public, nonprofit and governmental entities. The Coalition involves all levels of government, service providers, business members, the faith community, post-secondary institutions, private citizens and

those experiencing homelessness themselves. The overall focus of the tri-sector social partnership is to effectively end homelessness in Greater Victoria by 2018.

People in the Greater Victoria region experience homelessness for a variety of reasons including, but not limited to, seniors being displaced as a result of rent increases, women and their families escaping abusive relationships, the working poor, youth leaving government care with no transitional help and low-income families unable to find affordable housing situations. While some people experiencing homelessness are, indeed, mentally ill and/or addicted to drugs or alcohol, it is a common myth that all people fall into this category (Coalition, 2009), one that the Coalition is actively working to communicate to the public. The issue of homelessness, particularly in the Greater Victoria region, is one of significance. Indeed, it was recently reported that Victoria has the highest per capita deaths of homeless people in all of B.C. (Petrescu, 2014).

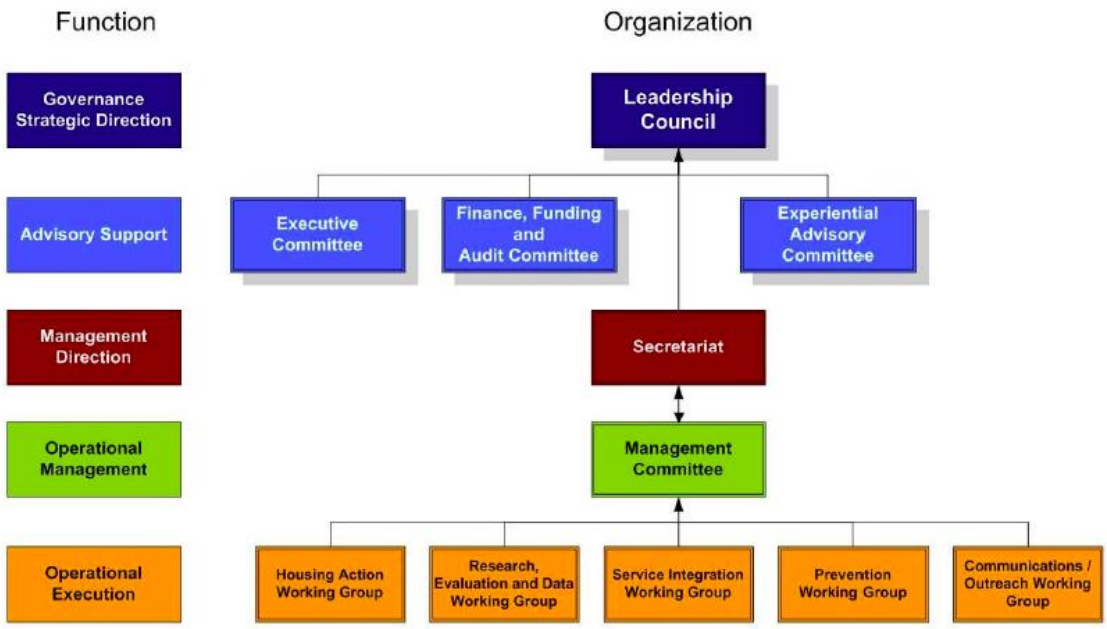
The Coalition was formed in early 2008, following former Victoria Mayor, Alan Lowe's, four-month task force in 2007 to recommend a service model and business plan to better address cycles of mental illness, addictions and homelessness in the Greater Victoria area. The decision to form this partnership was considered to be a significant and crucial milestone in the fight to end homelessness in the community. As one Executive Director for a major homelessness service provider in Greater Victoria as well as Chair of the Downtown Service Providers noted:

> "I have been doing this work for years in Victoria, and I have never seen a community rally behind a cause in the way Victoria has responded to the Mayor's Task Force action plan. Our community is on a roll and this (Coalition) is the key to keeping the right people and the money focused on this issue. We're on the cusp of something great here."

By working with partner organizations and associations, the Coalition coordinates efforts and helps increase awareness and commitment to end homelessness in Greater Victoria.

Organizationally, Figure 3.1 below provides an overview of the leadership and operational make up of the Coalition.

Figure 3.1: Governance Framework of the Coalition

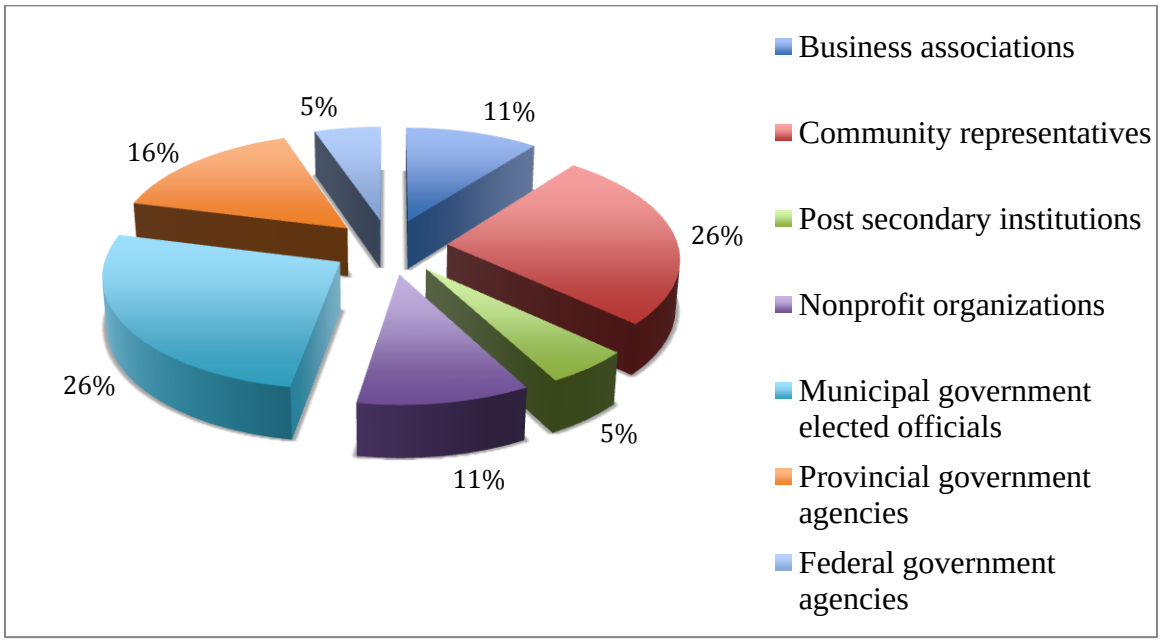


The Leadership Council provides governance and strategic oversight and is responsible for all key decisions involving the Coalition. An executive committee and a finance and audit committee, sub-sets of the Leadership Council, provide advisory support to this body on an ongoing basis. In 2013, the Coalition developed the social inclusion advisory committee, comprised of individuals with homelessness experiences in the Greater Victoria area, who also provide advisory support to the Leadership Council. The Coalition is coordinated and operated via a five-member staff team (the Secretariat), including an Executive Director who oversees the partnership and provides overall coordination between the involved committees and working groups. As the Executive

Director reports to the Leadership Council, comprised of a variety of different players from multiple sectors, the Coalition is an example of a loosely coupled organization with distributed authority. Since the social partnership's founding in 2008, the Coalition has had three Executive Director's at the helm: the first one was involved from 2008 – early 2010; the second from 2010 – 2011; and the third from 2012 – September 2015. The Coalition has just completed an external governance review to assess its progress and organizational structure to date, with plans to hire another Executive Director in late winter/early spring 2016.

Primary operational support is provided to the Secretariat via an operations management committee. The Management Committee aides the Secretariat in developing and implementing the Coalition's ongoing business plan and provides management direction and supervision to the working groups. Five working groups are involved in the ongoing implementation of the Coalition's business plan focused on particular priority areas of the tri-sector partnership, namely community engagement, prevention, homelessness prevention fund, housing and service integration, respectively. Thus, as outlined above and illustrated in Figure 3.1, the Coalition is managerially complex and entails a high level of engagement among players. As well, the Coalition involves a variety of individuals, organizations and associations in the public, private and nonprofit sectors. For example, as illustrated in Figure 3.2 below, within the Leadership Council alone, there are a variety of different players represented. These characteristics, collectively, make the Coalition an ideal setting in which to investigate how an interconnected, yet multi-faceted, social partnership negotiates multiple meaning systems, or assumptions about work and associated practices, over time.

Figure 3.2: Leadership Council Make Up



Data Gathering

In accordance with the ethnographic method, the principal means of data collection involved my conducting semi-structured interviews and carrying out participant observation. Below I detail the multiple data sources utilized in this study; data sources and uses are summarized in Table 3.1. While it is fully recognized that the data collection and analysis processes were conducted in concert, I highlight the major steps in each set of processes for ease of understanding and presentation.

In-depth semi-structured interviews. I conducted semi-structured interviews with key players of the Coalition, representative of the variety of organizations and associations involved from private, public and nonprofit sectors. I focused in particular on those at the "core" of the tri-sector partnership, namely players involved in the Leadership Council, Management Committee and Secretariat, involving both current and past players in order to capture participants' perspectives over time. Of the current

players involved, 48% of the Leadership Council, 67% of the Management Committee and 100% of the Secretariat employees agreed to participate. At the conclusion of each interview, I asked participants about other individuals they would recommend that I contact for possible inclusion in this study, which helped me to capture a breadth of perspectives over time, in addition to those currently involved in the Coalition's work. As well, I consulted with the Secretariat employees regarding potential participants to contact from the other groups involved in the Coalition, in order to capture representative perspectives from each of the tri-sector partnership's various working bodies, to gain a more holistic understanding of the variety of viewpoints at work in the Coalition. In doing so, I employed a purposeful sampling strategy, or theoretical sampling approach, continually comparing data across informants and over time, in accordance with the constant comparative technique (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; see Gioia, Price, Hamilton & Thomas, 2010 for an example). Appendix A includes the informed consent forms utilized in this study.

Table 4.1: Description of Data

Data Types and Dates	Amount	Use in Analysis
Primary Data		
Interviews		
46 semistructured interviews, averaging 43 minutes (March - July 2015)	571 pages of text (verbatim transcriptions from audiotape)	Insight into meaning system(s) and actions of Coalition players over time, involved present and past players
11 follow up interviews with key stakeholders, averaging 56 minutes (September - October 2015)	62 pages of text (typed up from detailed, handwritten notes taken at time of interview)	Additional insight into key preliminary empirical findings (i.e. neogotiation of multiple meanings of identity and how individual players traverse multiple meaning systems) and clarification as to my working findings to ensure they were reflective of members' "lived experiences" in the Coalition
Participant Observation		
2 initial meetings with third Executive Director, 30 minutes each (November 2014, January 2015)	3 pages of text (typed up from detailed, handwritten notes taken at time of meetings	Initial insight into Coalition's inner workings and goals from Executive Director's perspective
46 field notes taken at time of semistructured interviews (March - July 2015)	206 pages of text (typed up from detailed, handwritten notes taken at time of meeting)	Participant observation to provide a more holistic understanding of each interviewee interaction
8 Coalition meetings attended, averaging 1.5 hours (June - November 2015)	55 pages of text (typed up from detailed, handwritten notes taken at time of meetings)	Participant observation yielding insight into interactions among Coalition players as they neogotiated multiple meaning systems
3 Community events attended (February, June, October 2015)	13 pages of text (typed up from detailed, handwritten notes taken at time of meetings)	Participant observation yielding insight into homelessness situation in Greater Victoria and how Coalition was perceived in the community
5 additional meetings with Secretariat staff, averaging 39 minutes (June - September 2015)	15 pagse of text (typed up from detailed, handwritten notes taken at time of meetings)	Provided ongoing clarification as to the Coalition's inner workings and obtained feedback on initial themes that surfaced
1 meeting with external governance review team, 1.5 hours (November 2015)	6 pages of text (typed up from detailed, handwritten notes taken at time of meeting)	Opportunity to clarify preliminary findings with team conducting governance review
3.5 journals of handwritten notes (January 2015 - January 2016)		Ongoing thoughts, reflections, questions, comparisons across cases and sources and comparisons to the literature as I worked to make sense of phenemena over time
2 meetings with cross sector partnership experts (January - February 2016)	One hour each (one by phone & one in person) 5 pages written notes	Opportunity to triangulate the findings with practitioners outside of the research site and homelessness context

Table 1: Description of Data (continued)

Data Types and Dates	Amount	Use in Analysis
Secondary Data		
Coalition operational documents		
Leadership Council meeting minutes (July 2008 - August 2015)	242 pages of text and 55 documents	Insight into meaning systems present in Coalition and how players interacted over time
Management Committee meeting minutes (September 2008 - October 2015)	228 pages of text and 80 documents	Insight into meaning systems present in Coalition and how players interacted over time
Annual Businses Plans (October 2008 - April 2015)	158 pages of text and 7 documents	Identify Coalition's stated formal goals and how they evolved over time; Utilized in constructing initial timeline of events
Coalition Research and Policy Documents (March 2009 - November 2015)	417 pages of text and 17 documents	Insight into inner workings of the Coalition and meaning systems expressed via research documentation
Coalition Operations and Planning Documents (July 2010 - June 2013)	125 pages of text and 5 documents	Insight into inner workings of the Coalition and its operational and formal planning processes over time
Coalition Annual Reports (June 2009 - September 2015)	131 pages of text and 8 documents	Insight into Coalition's expressed goals from a public standpoint; Utilized in constructing initial timeline of events
2007 Mayors Task Force documents	273 pages of text and 11 documents	Insight into events leading to formation of Coalition and key perspectives at the onset of the social partnership
Coalition communications		
Press releases (December 2010 - September 2015)	450 pages of text and 45 documents	Determine how homelessness situation is perceived in community over time and the public perception of Coalition;
Social media posts (January 2015 - December 2015)	regularly reviewed	Contextualize insight to better understanding Coalition's perspectives and roles in tackling homelessness
Online Media		
Digital media stories related to homelessness and/or Coalition (January 2015 - December 2015)	Over 150 media stories	Contextualize insight to deepen understanding of homelessness and role of Coalition over time; Yielded insight into how Coalition players utilize media to convey their perspectives
Radio interviews with Coalition players (February - August 2015)	7 audio recordings accessed online	Provided understanding as to Coalition players' meaning systems as it relates to the social partnership
Documentary films		
Something to Eat, A Place to Sleep	35 minute video	Contextualize understanding of homelessness situation in the British Columbia region (Vancouver based documentary)
At Home project (Mental Health Commission of Canada & National Film Board of Canada)	30 videos (approximately 5 minutes each) about individuals' personal stories, those experiencing homelessness and support workers	Contextualize understanding of homelessness situation in Canada

The initial interviews focused upon each informant's experiences with their current organization and involvement and thoughts concerning the Coalition. The sample semi-structured interview schedule can be found in Appendix B. These questions were purposefully designed to be open-ended in nature and to provide insight into a given participant's vantage point on the current workings of their respective organization as well as their involvement in the Coalition to date. Particularly, these questions were designed with the goals of obtaining insight into how the multitude of meaning systems within a given informant's own organization and those at work in the Coalition play out over time as well as to better understand how the Coalition functions operationally with such a multitude of players involved. While these questions were used as a foundational guide for each interview, additional issues and questions were often generated depending upon how each informant answered my beginning questions. In consultation with the Secretariat employees and, in some cases, with the informants themselves, I also collected pertinent background information as to each interviewee in terms of education, work experience, involvement in other cross sector partnerships, etc. Over time, as initial themes surfaced, the questions in ensuing interviews became more focused around particular themes. For example, I noticed early on in the interviews that people talked about homelessness in a variety of different manners, some focusing in particular on those who are currently roofless while others took a more inclusive approach that recognized the many different faces that homelessness can take, such as those who are insecurely housed or couch surfing. As such, in future interviews, when players described the Coalition as a multi-stakeholder partnership working to end homelessness in Greater Victoria, I began probing to see exactly what homelessness meant to them.

Throughout my interviews, Coalition players were notably forthcoming and candid as to their experiences in the social partnership over time. I believe this frankness and openness on the part of participants to share their true experiences was enabled by a number of factors: a strong passion for the work of the Coalition in its quest to end homelessness in the community and a desire to try and see the social partnership be as effective as possible; a belief that I could offer value to the organization by compiling collective experiences and sharing key insights to the Coalition – a notion that I also expressed in my initial email communication to prospective participants and in my opening remarks during each interview session; and the option for their remarks to me to be completely confidential and anonymous, of which many opted to do. In total, 47 initial interviews were carried out with informants, averaging 43 minutes in length, which were audio recorded and professionally transcribed, except in one case where the participant declined to have the interview recorded due to the request of her organization. Of the 47 interviews, 33 were carried out with past and present players involved with "core" Coalition groups (i.e., 18 with Leadership Council directors, 8 with Management Committee members and 7 with Secretariat staff). When transcribed, the interviews comprised 571 pages of single-spaced text.

As well, I conducted 11 follow up interviews with select informants – representative of a range of perspectives at the Leadership Council, Management Committee and Secretariat levels – with the dual purpose of further clarifying key emergent findings and obtaining feedback as to my working findings in order to ensure that they were reflective of the participants' viewpoints. These meetings, where detailed notes were taken as opposed to carrying out these sessions as semi-structured interviews

with audio recording in order to facilitate an open, two-way dialogue, averaged 56 minutes in length and resulted in 62 pages of single-spaced text.

Participant observation of semi structured interview sessions. To provide a more holistic account of each interviewee interaction, I also generated field notes of each initial encounter. Whenever possible, I scheduled interviews in each participant's "home" organization or environment so that I could better grasp the meaning system(s) present in the environments in which each person was situated. I was able to employ this strategy in all but five of my interviews, as participants were coming in from out of town, no longer worked for an organization associated with the Coalition or worked for a governmental agency that did not allow visitors. In these cases, interviews were conducted in local coffee shops. My field notes included my own observations as to the organizational environment, non-verbal cues from each interviewee and any other subjective thoughts that the interview may have generated for me, particularly related to what was familiar, surprising and what I wanted to learn more about at the time (see Brannen, Mughan & Easter, 2013). Below are two examples from my field notes:

> The security guard seemed a bit jaded in his job as he was not smiling and moving with very little enthusiasm but he quickly took my name and called up to (the woman I was there to interview). I waited in the lobby for approximately 10 minutes prior to the start of our meeting time. It was not a very inviting place to wait. The area looked unkempt and dirty with uncomfortable plastic chairs

> When I asked him to describe the Coalition in his own words, he paused for a few seconds before answering. It was interesting to me that he answered my question by saying that everyone (involved in the Coalition) cares about homelessness but they are all representing different entities and organizations. He followed this up by saying that (his organization) has to be on it, which I thought was a very telling statement about the 'social requirements' and influence of certain bodies to be at the table, particularly governmental bodies. I got somewhat of a similar sense from

> (another governmental player), although he did not come out and say this. I need to watch for this sentiment more

In this way, these structured interactions with key participants of the Coalition involved the interviews and participant observation being carried out in concert. My field notes from these interactions resulted in 206 single-spaced pages of text, averaging 4.5 pages per note in length.

I also took detailed notes as to my informal interactions and ongoing one-on-one meetings with key players, particularly Secretariat staff, as I asked follow up questions and clarified my understandings over time. Consider the following:

> (The Secretariat staff member) asked me what surprised me the most so far in the research. When I mentioned that I was surprised that on the surface people talk about the Coalition's mission and goals as being pretty clear, but that when I asked people about what they meant by homelessness, ending homelessness etc. I received a variety of different answers. He said he was surprised that the Coalition has been up and running for so long and wondered aloud (in kind of an exasperated manner) how the partners cannot be on the same page about this after so long. I mentioned that I thought it had to do with the member fluidity and permeable boundaries, stakeholders continually influencing the focus every year and the importance of constantly keeping the mandate top of mind, the latter of which was not often explicitly discussed. This seemed to really make sense to him and resonate with him and he nodded as I talked about this

Participant observation of Coalition and community meetings. I was granted approval to begin sitting in on meetings at the Leadership Council and Management Committee levels in early June 2015 (seven months after the data collection processes had commenced). At this point in the process, I had a fairly strong grasp as to the players involved in the Coalition, their perspectives and a general working sense of the Coalition's complex organizational structures, including a working knowledge of the homelessness situation in Greater Victoria. As such, when I began observing meetings, I

was well positioned to examine the interactions among players in a way that I would have not been prepared to do upon just entering the field. After I received approval, I sat in on as many meetings as possible until my departure from the field. This included attending monthly Management Committee Meetings from June through November, which provided me with ongoing updates and key events taking place within the Coalition. I also had the opportunity to attend one Leadership Council meeting as well as the Coalition's annual general meeting. While I simply observed the interactions among players during the meetings, I had the opportunity to interact informally with participants before and after each meeting, which allowed me to continually clarify my ongoing understandings of the Coalition's inner workings and to gain deeper insight into participants' individual viewpoints. Following each meeting attended, I generated field notes, recording items related to the interactions being observed. Collecting data in this manner allowed me to directly observe the interactions among the diverse players involved in the Coalition and how they worked to negotiate multiple meaning systems at play in the Coalition in a more nuanced manner. It also allowed me to further flesh out and compare what players relayed to me one-on-one during interviews with their actual interactions with others in the Coalition. Consider the below excerpt from the field notes generated following the Leadership Council meeting attended:

> (The Leadership Council co-chair) then cut in and asked where the direction for this program came from as she was looking through the current business plan and did not see it. (The Secretariat staff member) hesitated momentarily and then said that (the third Executive Director) had identified through conversations with individual service providers that this was something that was necessary to address. (The co-chair) said she was worried about shifting priorities. She said the project had been created and asked of (to a key governmental agency) before it went through the Leadership Council table. To me, this was a perfect example of how stakeholders utilize resources in their everyday interactions to shift the

> manifestations of the Coalition's identity over time even after strategic plans are in place.

I also had the opportunity to attend a few key community events related to homelessness in the region, which allowed me to deepen my understanding of this complex issue as well as to gain a better understanding as to how the Coalition was perceived in the community. These events included a town hall on poverty and homelessness in the region in which case the third Executive Director and a Leadership Council director were on the panel; a public forum on supervised consumption services in Victoria where two of the four panelists were involved in the Coalition's work; and a federal candidates meeting to discuss poverty and homelessness, where the Coalition was a key sponsor.

Archival documentation. In addition to primary data collection, there were a multitude of archival documents, produced by the Secretariat of the Coalition, including annual reports dating back to 2008 and research reports detailing facets of the homelessness situation in Greater Victoria such as patterns of homelessness and housing and homelessness. After my first two initial meetings with the Executive Director, in November 2014 and January 2015, I was given access to all of the meeting minutes of the Leadership Council and the Management Committee, dating back to the social partnership's founding, which aided me in understanding how interactions among players evolved over time. I also kept a list of key documents that were referenced in the meeting minutes as well as in my interviews and informal conversations with Coalition players. I then requested such documents from the Secretariat in batches; all such requests for documents were granted except in the cases where they contained confidential information about particular players such as funding contracts between the Coalition and

involved players. In total, the publicly available Coalition documentation as well as requested documentation from the Secretariat resulted in 1,705 pages of single- spaced text and 172 documents.

There were also a variety of governmental documents available including those associated with the 2007 mayoral task force on homelessness, which fueled the formation of the Coalition, as well as those produced by homelessness service providers and government agencies involved in the Coalition. Additionally, there were a multitude of media sources available focused on homelessness in the Greater Victoria region, including print, website and social media resources. All of these documents provided me with additional contextual information as to my research site in order to deepen my understanding of the homelessness situation in Greater Victoria as well as the Coalition's role in tackling this complex issue.

Data Analysis Approach

I analyzed the data collected on an ongoing basis throughout the dissertation study, in alignment with grounded theory methodology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), meaning that my analytic process was both iterative and abductive. In trying to make sense of the multiple meaning systems at work within the Coalition, my particular focus throughout was two fold: to capture the meaning systems present in the Coalition and to understand how these assumptions about work and associated practices were used in interaction within the social partnership over time, at multiple levels of analysis. As such, I began by organizing the data around key concepts and labels (coding) related to the multiple meaning systems that exist, culturally and institutionally, within and between organizations and associations involved in this social partnership as well as any indicators

as to how the Coalition worked across these differences, such as planning processes to focus the social partnership's activities and relationship building.

In the earlier stages of analysis, I used an 'open coding' system (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), or first-order coding (Gioia et al., 2012), which attempted to adhere closely to the terms used by informants. I regularly reviewed the data collected, including interview transcripts, field notes and archival documents to make comparisons within and between data sources as I began to make sense of some of the embryonic themes. For example, I realized early on that there were many different meaning systems present in the Coalition and I looked within and between informant responses to begin to form emerging patterns (e.g., similarities in responses of business professionals). In order to sift through the large volume of data available, I primarily used the interviews and corresponding field notes as well as my observation notes (primary data) as anchors in developing the initial first-order themes. I then triangulated these emerging concepts with the archival meeting minutes, annual reports and other documents available, which I reviewed in chronological order. At this early phase, I kept all of my thoughts, ideas and questions about the initial themes surfacing and their suggested relationships in field notebooks that I kept on my person, so that I could continually jot down ideas as they struck me. I also met regularly with my dissertation committee, who were well versed in the literature, to discuss emerging ideas and patterns and to obtain their feedback as to my initial sensemaking. Concurrently, I developed a detailed timeline of events involved in the Coalition's formation, development and growth to date in order to better understand how the social partnership evolved over time. Particularly as it relates to the constructed timeline, I utilized the annual reports to ascertain key events in the partnership history

over time and triangulated these details with the Leadership Council and Management Committee meeting minutes as well as ongoing discussions with Coalition participants.

Once I was able to articulate some of my initially surfaced themes "grounded" in the experiences of Coalition participants, I set up meetings with Coalition staff to review these nascent ideas, clarify issues/ideas that emerged and to obtain their thoughts as to my early sensemaking. I sought out additional information based upon ideas generated during discussions. I also revisited archival documents gathered and sought to collect additional data in the field that could substantiate or expound about these insights. As I began to notice patterns in the data, the open or first order codes were combined into higher order themes, as relevant (Gioia et al., 2012), resulting in approximately 50 codes.

At this point, to facilitate formal coding as it relates to the multiple meaning systems present and the mechanisms utilized by the Coalition in order to navigate these differences in perspectives, collectively and individually, I imported all of my primary and key, selected secondary[5] materials (2,500+ pages of text) into the textual analysis software program ATLAS/ti in order to further organize and analyze the data (Muhr, 1991; 1997). To effectively navigate the large volume of data within the software program, similarly to my process described above when developing first-order codes, I started with my primary data: interview data and corresponding field notes as well as observations. Then, once I had a better understanding of the salience of these themes within my primary data sources, I triangulated by coding the secondary data sources, focusing in particular on the archival meeting minutes as they allowed me to see how participants interacted in regards to meaning systems in use over time. Utilizing Atlas.ti

[5] The significant quantity of and formats of some of the archival data made it unrealistic to include all secondary sources in the Atlas.ti database, particularly as it relates to the online media files. I perused these sources and summarized key pertinent information in my field notebooks.

as a supporting analytical tool enabled me to code passages within documents and examine the frequency in which codes appeared in the data in order to begin to see additional patterns as well as to better ascertain the salience of themes. It also served as a mechanism for generating memos: "the theorizing write-up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst while coding" (Glaser, 1978:83), to help ensure theoretical sensitivity. I coded for data passages related to each memo to ascertain the robustness of each notion expressed via memos. One example of a memo can be seen below:

> It is interesting that many individuals involved describe the Coalition as having a pretty clear mandate (i.e., ending homelessness in Victoria) but then they emphasize different aspects such as targets (narrow versus wide targets), what is meant by homelessness and how it should be addressed (e.g., housing, part of complex system, prevention). This was particularly interesting because the third Executive Director emphasized that the most important thing is being on the same page in terms of the mandate when I met with him.

As I continued to work with the data and to notice relationships between different events that occurred as well as among the emerging themes in the coding process, I continued to meet with my dissertation committee to obtain their feedback as to my emergent sensemaking and to further flesh out my working ideas about relationships among themes, etc. For example, I noticed that there were key differences among Coalition players as it relates to how they viewed the Coalition's mission to end homelessness in Greater Victoria in terms of what was meant by "homelessness" and what was meant by "ending"; in other words, different meanings of the Coalition's organizational identity. I gathered that these differences were attributable to macro, meso and micro factors, particularly institutional logics and organizational culture, and players utilized a variety of tactics at the group and individual levels to work across these

differences. Where the boundaries between concepts were blurred and unclear, such as in the case of institutional logics and organizational culture, I revisited the academic literature to help sharpen distinctions and, in some cases, to recategorize coded passages.

Particularly as it relates to the distinction between institutional logics and organizational culture in this empirical context, institutional logics account for macro level belief systems and associated practices within a given institutional sphere (McPherson & Sauder, 2013). By focusing on similarities in meaning systems across informants as well as by reviewing relevant archival documentation, I was able to begin articulating the key institutional logics at play within the social partnership. For example, I noticed there were emerging similarities in the way that most participants with a business based background talked about the Coalition, frequently using phrasing focused upon "efficiency", "cost savings" and an "action" orientation. By closely reviewing interview transcripts, observing behaviors in meetings as well as by examining the archival documents, with a particular focus on places where business professionals were highly involved, I was able to arrive at the institutional logic of efficient action over time (which is described in detail within Chapter 5). By contrast, organizational culture accounts for the micro, day-to-day interactions as to how things are done within a given organization – involving assumptions, values and artifacts (e.g., Brannen, 1994; Schein, 1990). By focusing on differences in meaning systems within each organizational entity in which informants were embedded, I was able to begin making sense of the organizational cultures of each respective entity. For instance, to continue with the same group as referenced above, for the business professionals interviewed, while there were many similarities across these participants, there were also distinct differences. The

individual interviews of each participant and particularly my corresponding field notes, where I essentially treated each interaction as participant observation, were valuable in ascertaining individual cultural differences among the organizations in which participants were associated, even within the same sector.

Following meetings with my dissertation committee to further clarify my sensemaking in the formal coding process, I constructed an initial process model focused on the negotiation of multiple meanings of organizational identity at the group level of analysis. I also detailed the key skill sets and characteristics that individuals exhibited in order to traverse, or boundary span, across these different meaning systems within the Coalition. I continued to construct and refine my emergent empirical findings as I consulted the literature and continued to collect additional data. Specifically, in regards to additional data, in order to sharpen my emerging understandings in regard to the negotiation of meaning systems at the group and individual levels, I conducted eleven follow up interviews with select stakeholders to ask additional questions in these areas as well as to obtain feedback from participants as to my developing findings. While participants had some clarifications as to my working findings, in all cases, individuals agreed that my sensemaking of the Coalition and how meaning systems were negotiated over time was reflective of their own experiences.

Further, I was fortunate that as I continued to refine my preliminary findings, a governance review was simultaneously, but separately, taking place within the Coalition. I was invited to share my findings with the external governance committee after they had completed their preliminary review, which allowed me to further triangulate my work. I discovered that the committee had reached similar conclusions as it relates to multiple

meaning systems present in the Coalition and were not taken aback by anything I shared with them. When the governance team's final report was released a few months later, I was able to further compare my sensemaking with theirs and see that there were many parallels in our findings even as we engaged in different processes. As well, I provided all Coalition participants with a summary of my key findings and recommendations for the social partnership in February 2016 and received positive feedback from participants in regards to this work. The summary report provided to the Coalition can be found in Appendix C.

I conducted a second round of coding in Atlas.ti of the preliminary findings to further alter, merge and elaborate upon my emergent empirical discoveries. I then shared my findings with two social partnership practitioners outside of the homelessness realm, one based in Victoria and one based in Toronto, to ensure that my findings had relevance for other types of socially focused partnerships outside of this particular context. In addition to these efforts to triangulate my findings throughout the analysis process, a multitude of different data sources collected and analyzed throughout this study allowed for within method triangulation (Brannen, 1996; Brannen & Peterson, 2008) of the emergent findings.

Chapter 4: Results Overview

My overarching empirical focus throughout this dissertation has been to investigate whether and how interconnected social partnerships negotiate a plurality of meaning systems at multiple levels over time. At a deeper theoretical level, I examined how meaning is negotiated when organizational boundaries are blurred and when there are a plurality of meaning systems at work, with a particular emphasis on players that act as boundary spanners within these complex organizational contexts. While this central motivation guided my inquiry in the field, the grounded theoretical approach and the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) I employed allowed for flexibility depending upon what emerged via my fieldwork. Some of the findings that surfaced did, indeed, align with some of my previously held expectations. I found a variety of meaning systems present in the Coalition – at macro, meso and micro levels of analysis. And, further, as a result of empirically analyzing these different assumptions about work and associated practices in the Coalition, I discovered that both institutional logics and organizational culture frames were relevant and applicable in helping me to understand these meaning systems at play in a holistic manner.

Yet, at the same time, this iterative, reflexive approach allowed me to make some unexpected discoveries. I realized that organizational identity played a central role in the process of negotiated meaning systems within the Coalition at the group level (i.e., the everyday intergroup dynamics among involved players). Identity is a construct that I had not previously imagined taking such a central role. As well, this process allowed me to discover that while boundary spanning capabilities were relevant and significant in helping the involved players to traverse multiple meaning systems at the individual level

of analysis, they manifested themselves and functioned in different ways than I had previously imagined. Consequently, as a part of explaining my key findings, in accordance with the constant comparative process (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), I incorporate relevant literature as appropriate, particularly where it concerns organizational identity as this construct emerged as an unexpected focal point in my dissertation study and was not explicated in detail in my literature review chapter.

In what follows, I elucidate my central findings focused on how meaning systems are negotiated in the presence of blurred organizational boundaries and a multitude of meaning systems, with an emphasis on the group and individual levels of analysis. First, in Chapter 5, I detail how multiple meaning systems as it relates to organizational identity are continually negotiated at the group level in a social partnership context. I develop a process model of identity change in a social partnership context, that I coin 'identity-as-negotiation', which highlights how the everyday actions and interactions of insider-outsider actors, involving formal and informal strategies, iteratively and continuously impacts how meanings about organizational identity, largely latent in nature, are negotiated over time. In doing so, I reconsider how key organizational identity constructs such as image and authority play out differently in complex organizational arrangements that transcend the boundaries of a single firm. This is particularly significant since the extant literature focuses primarily on single organizational contexts with distinct boundaries or the coming together of organizations in a merger situation rather than settings characterized by ongoing permeable boundaries. In chapter 6, I examine how individuals negotiate meaning systems in the presence of blurred organizational boundaries and a multitude of meaning systems. I consider how individual actors

contribute as boundary spanners in a social partnership context over time. In particular, I explicate skill sets and characteristics that facilitate boundary spanning activities in this underexplored, yet important organizational context. A by-product of this empirical exercise is that it allowed me the opportunity to begin to understand and clarify the intersections between institutional logics and organizational culture. As such, for my third major contribution, in Chapter 7 I theoretically develop the link between institutional logics and organizational culture that emerged empirically via my dissertation study to guide future integrative work to better understand complex organizational arrangements characterized by a multiplicity of meaning systems at multiple levels.

Chapter 5: Negotiation of Multiple Meanings of Organizational Identity in a Social Partnership

An Overview

> "I think the real key is ensuring we understand what the role is. What is the job of the organization? And that job can't be outside its power to achieve. That's really critical….we have to be really sure what our role is and what our job is. And that's key to making sure everyone stays on the same page and making sure everyone else knows what the job is; otherwise we get dragged all over the map."
>
> - third Executive Director

In both verbal and written form, the partners involved in the Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness (Coalition) commonly described the organization's identity as a partnership crossing sectors with the purpose, or 'mandate' as players often referred to it, of ending homelessness in Greater Victoria by 2018. Since Coalition participants commonly referred to the Coalition's identity (who the organization is) in terms of its overall purpose to end homelessness and key associated goals, I include purpose, goals and key characteristics under the umbrella term of organizational identity (see Schultz & Maguire, 2013 for a similar definition). Manifestations of identity, in turn, refer to particular programs, initiatives or priority areas that players attempted to enact in order to realize their underlying understandings of the Coalition's identity. The below quotes are reflective of how Coalition participants often articulated the Coalition's identity, or how they defined the social partnership, to me in both formal and informal conversations:

> "I would say it's a group – a multi-faceted group – of government agencies, private agencies, individual people, etc. who are working together with the goal of ending homelessness in Victoria within the next four years."
> - current Leadership Council director

> "It's a meaningful collaboration of key stakeholders to work toward solving the problem of homelessness."
> - current Leadership Council director

Early on many participants emphasized to me that they felt the expressed identity of the organization was 'clear', 'well understood' and that 'players were on the same page'. I also heard often, particularly from the third Executive Director and the Executive Leadership team, the significance of shared understanding among involved players in terms of the Coalition's identity and manifestations of that identity. They explained to me that there were a multitude of involved players representing a variety of different stakeholder and organizational interests that could pull the Coalition in a variety of directions if the Coalition's identity was not clearly defined and understood. One Secretariat employee put it this way: "…it's so easy for the Coalition to get pulled in a hundred different directions…if you don't know what you're there to do, you could be doing a hundred different things and be ineffective at all of them".

As I began my fieldwork, I thought that the Coalition's identity was relatively clear and well understood by the involved players. And, yet, as my time in the field progressed, I realized that there were actually a variety of different meanings that involved players attributed to partnership, homelessness and ending homelessness. In some cases, these different meanings attributed to the Coalition's identity were communicated directly to me during my one-on-one interviews with involved participants. Yet, the multiple meanings associated with the Coalition's articulated identity claims were largely latent and rarely made explicit in group-level Coalition activities, such as meetings. This discovery led me to further investigate the multiple understandings of identity present in the Coalition and how they evolved over time, from

its inception to present day. In doing so, I grasped that there were a variety of key contextual factors that affected the sensemaking of each involved actor and, in turn, how he/she viewed the Coalition's identity, the result being a variety of different meanings that were seldom overtly discussed formally within the Coalition. Rather these largely implicit meanings were negotiated in an ongoing manner in which case Coalition players enacted key strategies, both formal and informal, in their everyday interactions with others involved to iteratively and continually alter the Coalition's organizational identity and/or manifestations of that identity over time. What's more, this process led me to reconsider how image and authority played out differently in a social partnership context, a setting characterized by ongoing blurred boundaries in contrast to more clearly defined borders, the latter being where much of the extant literature has focused.

In what follows, I review the relevant organizational identity literature to better situate the ensuing findings related to identity change within the Coalition context, followed by a presentation of the key findings and an introduction to the identity-as-negotiation process model.

Relevant Literature

Organizational Identity as Process

> "if we presume the obvious – that identities can change – and go one tentative step further, that the "thing" that is changing is actually fleeting snapshots of a process in constant motion, then we acquire an informative and insightful alternative view of identity itself"
>
> Gioia and Patvardhan (2012: 51)

Albert and Whetten's (1985) seminal definition of organizational identity, characterized by centrality, distinctiveness and enduringness, has long played a prominent role in the theoretical and empirical development of this organizational

construct (Gioia et al., 2013). In spite of the popularity of the entity-based view, though, organizational identity scholars are increasingly recognizing and calling for scholarly work in this area that actively incorporates a process-based perspective (Gioia & Patvardhan, 2012; Gioia et al., 2013; Pratt, 2012; Schultz, Maguire, Langley & Tsoukas, 2012; Schultz & Maguire, 2013). A process-based view recognizes that identities are dynamic in nature and that they are continually being altered and shaped via the ongoing constructions and actions of involved players (Gioia & Patvardhan, 2012; Schultz et al. 2012). Yet, rather than focusing on the process only to the exclusion of the features and characteristics of organizational identity, in taking up a process based perspective in my dissertation work, I draw on Schultz and colleagues' (Gioia & Pardvardtam, 2012; Gioia et al., 2010; Kreiner, Hollensbe, Sheep, Smith & Kataria, 2015; Ravasi & Schultz, 2006; Schultz et al., 2012; Schultz & Maguire, 2013) view that consideration needs to be given to both the entity based aspects alongside the actual processes of identity change in order to capture the organizational identity process in a holistic manner. As such, I define organizational identity as expressed identity claims and associated understandings or meanings (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006), which develop, unfold and are altered over time based upon continuous interactions among all involved organizational stakeholders (Schultz et al., 2012).

The extant literature that focuses on processes of identity construction and reconstruction, in some shape or form, has tended to hone in on planned identity change in the context of major transformational shifts (Clark, Gioia, Ketchen, & Thomas, 2010; Drori, Wrzesniewski and Ellis, 2013; Fiol, 2002; Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991; Gioia et al., 2013; Gioia & Thomas, 1996; Ravasi & Schultz, 2006; Hatch, Schultz & Skov, 2015;

Schultz & Hernes, 2013) that do not fully account for ongoing, continuous identity changes. As one example, Fiol's (2002: 653) expressed purpose is to "unpack and trace the dynamic processes by which individual and organizational identities interact over time to generate identity renewal". However, her resulting model draws largely from and is reflective of Lewin's (1951) theory of unfreezing, moving and refreezing that is linear in nature and stops short of elucidating the ongoing dynamic mechanisms of organizational identity change. In their survey of the organizational identity change literature, Gioia et al. (2013) note that little theoretical or empirical attention has been given to examining non-teleological changes (or identity changes that are not entirely planned). We lack research that focuses on the continual and iterative processes of identity construction and reconstruction processes at the group level that result from the everyday interactions between involved internal and external actors (see Coupland and Brown (2004) as one exception although the authors are focused specifically on discursive processes), beyond those that focus on radical and planned change efforts.

The shift in emphasis from organizational identity as an "entity" or "thing" to a "process" suggests that new symbols and metaphors are needed to better describe and reflect the ongoing alterations and changes in identity such as "flow" or "work" (Schultz & Maguire, 2013: 10). Particularly as it relates to identity work, much of the emergent extant literature in this regard explicitly examining the strategies and actions involved with forming, altering, maintaining or strengthening identities (see Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003: 1165) has focused on the individual level of analysis (e.g., Brown, 2015; Brown & Lewis, 2011; Creed, DeJordy & Lok, 2010; Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006; Maguire & Hardy, 2005; Pratt, Rockmann & Kaufmann, 2006; Thomas & Davies, 2005;

Watson, 2008) with some exceptions (e.g., Kreiner et al. 2015). While a study conducted by Langley and colleagues (e.g., Langley, Golden-Biddle, Reay, Denis, Hebert, Lamothe & Gervais, 2012) is an exception to this statement in that the authors explore group-level identity work in two healthcare mergers, their focus is on the identity work of particular groups (e.g., managers and clinical frontline staff) rather than considering how the ongoing interactions among all involved stakeholders alter and shift the identities of the postmerger organizations over time. There is a paucity of research that provides rich, contextualized accounts of identity work at the group level that captures the multitude of vantage points of involved stakeholders and their associated strategies utilized to form, alter, maintain and/or strengthen organizational identities over time.

In addition to emphasizing how identities change, a process-based view focuses on how identities unfold and are altered *over time* (Schultz & Maguire, 2013, emphasis mine), which has only recently been taken up more directly as a research topic of interest by identity scholars. For example, Schultz and Hernes (2013) study two specific processes of identity reconstruction in the LEGO Group and present the textual, material and oral memory forms that were enacted in the processes of identity change. Another instance can be seen in the study conducted by Langley and colleagues (Langley et al., 2012) where the authors show how groups involved in two respective mergers in the health care industry made connections between the past, present and future to shape their ongoing identity constructions of themselves at the group level. Yet, outside of a few recent empirical studies (e.g., Langley et al., 2012; Schultz & Hernes, 2013; Ybema, 2010), we still know very little about the temporality aspects of organizational identity. What's more, the importance of incorporating temporality in identity change processes is

particularly relevant in my dissertation research as the Coalition is time bounded in nature (i.e., since its inception the Coalition has been set up as an organization with a 10-year timeframe to end homelessness in the region), yet still has a distinct identity (see Gioia et al., 2000). By contrast, the emerging organizational identity studies emphasizing temporality have focused on organizational contexts that have rich collective histories to draw from in reconstructing organizational identities for the future.

Further, a process perspective of identity recognizes that authority to change organizational identity does not rest predominantly in the hands of top managers. Rather, managers must actively and continuously facilitate conversations with key stakeholders, both internal and external, about a given organization's identity (Schultz & Maguire, 2013). However, most of the extant theoretical and empirical literature concerning organizational identity has focused on instances where top managers hold a great deal of authority in influencing identity construction processes (e.g., Clark et al., 2010; Fiol, 2002; Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991; Gioia et al., 2000; Gioia & Thomas, 1996; Hatch et al., 2015; Pratt & Foreman, 2000; Ravasi & Phillips, 2011; Ravasi & Schultz, 2006; Scott & Lane, 2000). There is a paucity of empirical work that examines organizational arrangements where authority to influence a given organizational identity is less centralized (see Langley et al., 2012 as one recent empirical exception), particularly in cross sectoral organizational arrangements that conjoin organizational boundaries and where authority is much more distributed.

Sensemaking and Organizational Identity

Sensemaking, within this discussion, is concerned with how individuals process and interpret information as well as ascribe meaning to organizational identity (Gioia &

Chittipeddi, 1991; Weick, 1993). Echoing Gioia and colleagues (Gioia et al., 2013), I take the position that a meanings focused perspective is significant to understanding processes of organizational identity construction as "individuals and organizations experience it as a deeply personal phenomenon" (173). The ways in which organizational members make sense of organizational identity will be influenced by other meaning systems that individuals deem to be important (Fiol, 1991; Ravasi & Schultz, 2006). Recent scholarly work in this area has focused to a great extent on two meaning systems that provide the context by which individuals make sense of organizational identity, namely organizational culture (Hatch & Schultz, 2002; Hatch, Schultz & Skov, 2015; Ravasi & Schultz, 2006) and institutional logics (Battilano & Dorado, 2010; Jay, 2013). In regards to organizational culture, Ravasi and Schultz (2006), for example, show how organizational culture influences responses to identity-threatening environmental changes in an organization over time. Similarly, Jay (2013) illustrates how multiple institutional logics provide the context by which involved actors make sense of the organization's identity over time. In the case of the former, the primary focus is on meaning systems within the organization while the latter focuses on meaning systems in which individuals and organizations are embedded. To date, though, we lack a holistic understanding as to how meaning systems emanating at multiple levels – macro, meso and micro – affect how actors make sense of organizational identity. This is a significant gap, particularly in the case of complex organizational arrangements such as social partnerships where organizational boundaries are blurred and where there are likely to be a presence of multiple meaning-making systems present, which will, in turn, affect how organizational actors make sense of identity over time.

Identity Change as Negotiated

As Gioia and colleagues (Gioia et al., 2010) note, highlighting the negotiation of organizational identity claims as a key process in organizational identity formation is not a new notion in and of itself. Indeed, a number of scholars focus on how identity claims and/or understandings are actively contested and debated by involved stakeholders, such as among internal players (e.g., Ybema, 2010) as well as between external and internal stakeholders (e.g., Coupland & Brown, 2004). Yet, to date, the incorporation of negotiation as a process in identity change has largely centred upon those that are formalized and/or explicit in nature. For example, Gioia et al. (2010:23-24) conceptualize negotiation in terms of "discussion", "discourse", "debate" and "argument" in which case involved actors are actively engaged in vying for certain identity claims and associated understandings in an explicit and overt manner, such as actively considering identity claims and/or understandings in organized meetings. Likewise, Ybema (2010) describes how editors at a Dutch national newspaper engage in temporally based discussions to promote, contest and negotiate particular organizational identity claims.

While the extant empirical work in this regard helps us to understand how organizational identities are negotiated in a formalized and overt sense, from my reading of the organizational identity literature, I argue that we still lack a full understanding as to how identity negotiations play out holistically. To elaborate, as detailed in both my introduction and literature review chapters, in carrying out my dissertation work, I take up Strauss' (1978:2) definition of negotiation as one of the possible meanings of "getting things accomplished" when players must work together to get something done. Even as this definition includes active and overt negotiation tactics that have by and large been

captured in the literature, it also incorporates more subtle and informal strategies stemming from some tension between parties that is worked out via the ongoing interactions among involved players. This entails considering how actions, such as mediating, gaining tacit understanding and power brokering are carried out alongside more overt tactics such as debating and arguing (see Strauss, 1978). In order to understand how players negotiate organizational identities in an inclusive sense, I argue that consideration needs to be given to how formal and informal, subtle and overt negotiation tactics are utilized by actors in concert to construct and reconstruct identities over time.

Further, organizational identity negotiations are likely to be made much more complex in the presence of multiple identity claims and/or understandings. While some scholars have taken up the need to study how organizations deal with multiple identities (Corley, 2004; Glynn, 2000; Golden-Biddle & Rao, 1997; Pratt & Foreman, 2000; Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997), the literature as a whole remains relatively quiet in this regard (Gioia et al., 2013). This is surprising given that today's organizations are likely coping with environments and involved players that support multiple conceptions of organizational identity (e.g., Corley, 2004; Gioia et al., 2000). Pratt and Foreman (2000) note that some conflicts that stem from multiple organizational identities may occur without clear realization of the sources or nature of those conflicts. And, yet, existing scholarly work has mainly focused on identity negotiations as it relates to overt identity claims (e.g., Corley, 2000; Glynn, 2000; Pratt & Foreman, 2000), as opposed to those that are latent in nature (see Pratt and Rafaeli, 1997 as one exception of an ideographic identity study (i.e.,

separately maintained by different groups) and Golden-Biddle & Rao, 1997 as one exception of a holographic identity study (i.e., hybrid identity)).

Identity Change in Complex Organizational Arrangements

Organizational identity researchers have recently begun to examine organizational arrangements that transcend the boundaries of a single firm. In particular, increasingly, scholars are investigating organizational arrangements where members of different firms come together to form a new organizational identity, within the context of mergers and acquisitions (e.g., Chreim, 2007; Clark et al., 2010; Drori et al., 2013; Langley et al., 2012; Maguire & Phillips, 2008). For example, Clark and colleagues (Clark et al., 2010) explore the processes of organizational identity change during the initial phases of a merger between two healthcare organizations that were formerly rivals. The authors introduce the notion of a transitional identity as a means to manage this major organizational change effort. Similarly, Drori, Wrzesniewski and Ellis (2013) address how boundaries between organizations coming together in a merger are negotiated to form a postmerger integrated identity. Outside of a few recent empirical studies, though, we still know little about how organizational identity changes play out in contexts where multiple organizations are involved. This is a notable gap as these organizational arrangements are characterized by increased complexity and require enhanced coordination across organizational boundaries (Clark et al., 2010).

What's more, although the emerging identity literature in regards to mergers begins to elucidate how organizational identity is reconstructed when multiple organizational boundaries come together, in the aforementioned studies researchers tend to focus on instances where the resulting identity becomes consensual and shared at the

organizational and group levels as opposed to fragmented and continually negotiated (for one exception see Langley et al., 2012). Further, we know very little about instances where more than two organizational boundaries conjoin, such as in the case of social partnerships, even as each involved organization retains its own distinct organizational identity. In such multi-faceted organizational arrangements, organizational identity is likely to be continually altered, shaped and negotiated among involved actors. Yet, how these processes play out and the strategies that players utilize to manage ongoing identity tensions in such multi-faceted organizational arrangements remains an unexplored, but promising territory. While Maguire and Hardy (2005) is one exception to this statement in that the authors do study identity and collaborative strategy between community organizations and pharmaceutical companies involved in Canadian HIV/AIDS treatment, they focus on identity work and its link to strategy at the individual level of analysis (that is discursive in nature only) rather than examining the identity change processes as a whole, involving intergroup dynamics among the different players involved.

Examining the processes of identity that transcend the boundaries of a single organization is also significant in that it calls for us as scholars to reconsider basic assumptions about identity change (Clark et al., 2010). This is particularly pertinent when considering organizational image, which has been closely linked to organizational identity change. As mentioned in my literature review chapter, scholars have conceptualized organizational identity and image as having a dynamic, reciprocal relationship in which case image has a continual influence on the internal processes of identity formation and change, and vice versa (Gioia et al., 2000; Hatch & Schultz, 2002). Likewise, empirical studies trace the adaptability of organizational identity to the

mutability of organizational image (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Gioia & Thomas, 1996; Ravasi & Schultz, 2006). Such work highlights how *external* events or feedback serve as triggers for organizational members to *internally* make alterations to align their perceptions of organizational identity with that of its environment; in such conceptualizations, there is a distinction between organizational image being externally derived and organizational identity originating internally.

However, what about situations where the lines between external and internal organizational boundaries become much more blurred? For example, as in the case of a social partnership in this study, involved actors simultaneously function as members of the partnership while, at the same time, retaining membership in their own organizations (Hardy et al., 2005). In other words, the involved players are insider-outsiders. While it is likely that the dynamic link between identity and image will become much stronger in organizational boundaries characterized by blurred boundaries, which I previously suggested in Chapter 2, we do not yet know how this fluid relationship will play out in the processes of identity change in such multi-faceted organizational arrangements. This is a notable lacuna as collaboration across organizations and sectors is significant for tackling today's complex socio-economic challenges and as bringing together individuals from different perspectives, organizations and sectors is likely to surface identity issues among players (Hardy & Maguire, 2005). Therefore, empirical exploration to better understand and reconsider how key constructs such as image play out in these multi-faceted organizational settings with permeable boundaries is highly warranted.

Findings

> "I think one of the challenges was that not everybody around the (Coalition) tables…shared the same understanding…I think, you know, really good coalitions that work well have people who share a fundamental understanding of the nature of the problem."
>
> - former Management Committee member

The Coalition's articulated identity claim as a partnership involving players from multiple sectors coming together with the expressed purpose to end homelessness in the Greater Victoria region by 2018 was rarely altered in the years since it was formed in 2008. While it evolved in small ways over time as the organization developed, the Coalition's publically available annual reports from the first one to present consistently describe the organization in terms of a collaborative partnership involving a wide variety of stakeholders from multiple sectors and focused on ending homelessness in the region (see Table 5.1 below). Likewise, in talking with some of the stakeholders, particularly the third Executive Director and those comprising the senior leadership team, even though it was emphasized to me that there were a variety of different perspectives on homelessness and ending homelessness (as is even acknowledged explicitly in the Coalition's annual reports), I was led to believe that the Coalition's identity was relatively clear and well understood by involved players. For example, one former Leadership Council co-chair emphasized to me the following:

> "I think everyone was always clear about what (the Coalition) represented"

Table 5.1: Articulated Identity Claims Over Time

Year	Excerpts from Annual Reports
2009	The Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness is a non-profit community-based organization that engages community organizations, governments, business and individuals to work in partnership with each other and the broader community to lead and drive the commitment to end homelessness.
2010	Mission: End homelessness in the Capital Region by 2018. Partnership is our most critical – and most powerful – strategic guideline. Today the Coalition comprises elected officials and senior staff from municipal and regional governments, plus service providers, funders, police, hospitals, businesses, and the faith community, as well as senior staff from the provincial and federal governments. All are working together to achieve our goals.
2011	We are a working partnership of local service providers, non-profit organizations, all levels of government, and the business, post-secondary and faith communities from across the Capital Region. Mission: to end homelessness in the Capital Region by 2018. Vision: By 2018, all people facing homelessness in our community will have access to safe, affordable, appropriate and permanent housing.
2012	The solutions to end homelessness are as diverse as homelessness itself, and we all have a role to play in ending homelessness. The Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness Society is a partnership of all levels of government, service providers, business members, the faith community, post-secondary institutions and private citizens dedicated to ending homelessness in Greater Victoria. Mission: To end homelessness in Greater Victoria by 2018 Vision: By 2018, all people facing homelessness in our community will have access to safe, affordable, appropriate, permanent housing, with support if they require it.
2013	The solutions to end homelessness are as diverse as homelessness itself, and we all have a role to play in ending homelessness. The Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness Society (Coalition) is a partnership of all levels of government, service providers, business members, the faith community, post-secondary institutions and private citizens dedicated to ending homelessness in Greater Victoria.

	Mission: To end homelessness in Greater Victoria by 2018 Vision: By 2018, all people facing homelessness in our community will have access to safe, affordable, permanent housing, with support if they require it. This will be provided in a coordinated, accessible and effective manner.
2014	The solutions to end homelessness are as diverse as homelessness itself, and we all have a role to play in ending homelessness. The Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness Society (Coalition) is a partnership of all levels of government, service providers, business members, the faith community, post-secondary institutions and private citizens dedicated to ending homelessness in Greater Victoria. Working with our partners and the broad community, the Coalition coordinates efforts and drives commitments to end homelessness in our community. Mission: To end homelessness in Greater Victoria by 2018 Vision: By 2018, all people facing homelessness in our community will have access to safe, affordable, appropriate, permanent housing, with support if they require it. This will be provided in a coordinated, accessible and effective manner.
2015	The solutions to end homelessness are as diverse as homelessness itself, and we all have a role to play in ending homelessness. The Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness Society (Coalition) is a partnership of all levels of government, service providers, business members, the faith community, post-secondary institutions, the experiential community and private citizens dedicated to ending homelessness in Greater Victoria. Working with our partners and the broad community, the Coalition coordinates efforts and drives commitments to end homelessness in our community. Mission: To end homelessness in Greater Victoria by 2018 Vision: By 2018, all people facing homelessness in our community will have access to safe, affordable, appropriate, permanent housing, with support if they require it. This will be provided in a coordinated, accessible and effective manner.

(Source: Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness (Coalition) Annual Reports accessed from Coalition website)

During my time in the field, however, as I talked with a wide variety of stakeholders, observed meetings and closely reviewed archival documentation, I realized that there were actually a variety of different meanings or understandings that players

attributed to the Coalition's identity. This was particularly true as it relates to understandings about partnership, homelessness and ending homelessness. As Figure 1 below shows, these various meanings ascribed to partnership, homelessness and ending homelessness tended to fall on a continuum ranging from a narrow to a wide net focus or approach. For instance, as it relates to the meaning of homelessness, some players indicated that it was important for the Coalition to focus specifically on those experiencing chronic homelessness (i.e., those with long-term or repeated episodes of homelessness) since this group is the most vulnerable. Those who held this view concerning the meaning of homelessness when it came to the Coalition's identity tended to focus on manifestations of that identity related to housing related initiatives as the primary vehicle for ending homelessness. Consider the following statement made by the third Executive Director:

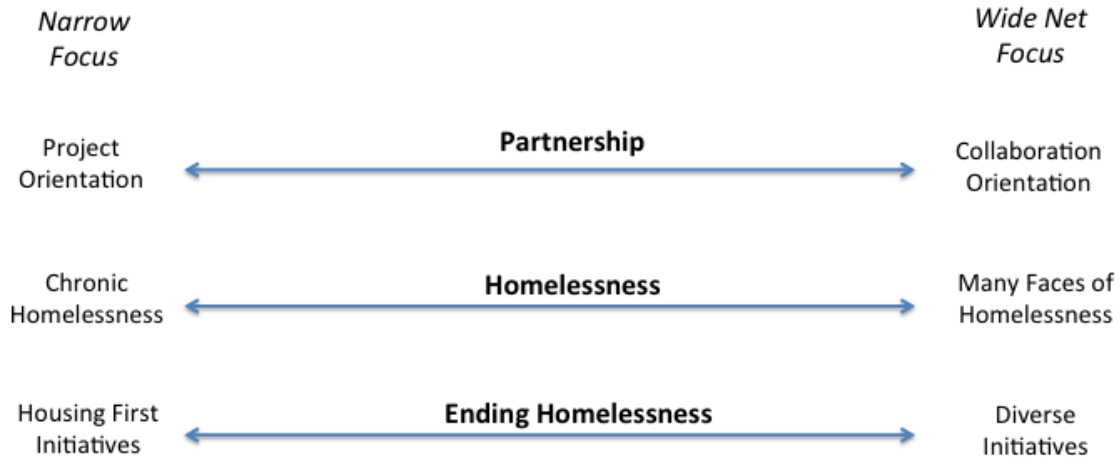
> "So the focus of the organization has almost always been chronic homelessness, right, and how many people are experiencing chronic homelessness and what the definition of chronic homelessness is. That has almost from the get go been the focus of our organization and it remains our top priority"

Others, though, believed that an inclusive approach needed to be taken that addressed the many faces that homelessness can take, including those who are couchsurfing, do not have access to affordable housing, etc. alongside those who are 'visibly' experiencing homelessness. In discussing manifestations of identity, the latter group tended to emphasize a wider array of initiatives in addition to focusing primarily on housing related efforts, such as prevention related efforts and/or initiatives to minimize the effects of homelessness, as one involved partner emphatically put it:

> "I really get hot under the collar when people say we should prioritize those that are chronically homeless. Well, no bloody wonder, okay so

> that's almost a useless statement in one way…they're flooding in like massive amounts. You're never gonna take care of just those chronically homeless. If you just focus on that you're gonna lose the war…You're never gonna resolve the problem if you just focus on that part of the society."

Figure 5.1: Continuum of Identity Understandings Among Coalition Players



In tracing the various meanings that involved participants ascribed to the Coalition's identity, I began to see that these different understandings were not simply a current day challenge, but rather dated back to the very conception of the social partnership. Of the individuals I interviewed who were involved in the early stages of the Coalition, while many described the organization's central focus on chronic homelessness (from the beginning) a few others felt that chronic homelessness was just one piece of a much larger puzzle with which the Coalition was grappling. In recognition of these various perspectives, one former Leadership Council director involved during the initial founding of the organization put it this way:

> "One of the challenges I think from the very beginning was defining what is the goal of the Coalition and when we say our goal is to end homelessness what is it that we mean by that?"

In spite of these different viewpoints, individuals' different foundational understandings were rarely explicitly and openly discussed within the Coalition context such as in group-level meetings. Rather, more often than not, strategic priority areas or manifestations of identity, linked to, by and large, tacit understandings of the Coalition's identity, were considered at the Coalition table, such as participants deliberating the initiatives and projects that the Coalition should put its energy and resources toward. As one former Secretariat employee relayed to me, many of the direct discussions concerning different perspectives were navigated behind the scenes and in informal conversations. All the while, I discovered that many of the underlying tensions within the Coalition actually stemmed from the multiple meanings that players attributed to the organizational identity, which often occurred without full and clear realization of the nature of these disagreements by the involved stakeholders (Pratt & Foreman, 2000). Rather the implicit meanings that players associated with the Coalition's identity were negotiated during everyday interactions, in both formal and informal ways, to continually shape and alter the Coalition's identity and/or manifestations of identity over time.

In what follows, I begin by describing the most salient contextual factors[6] that shaped how each individual actor approached the Coalition, the result being a variety of different meanings associated with its organizational identity and/or manifestations of identity. Then, I detail how formal and informal strategies utilized by involved players in everyday interactions shaped and altered the Coalition's identity over time, after which I elucidate other characteristics that shaped the ongoing identity negotiations among actors, namely new inputs and structural factors. Finally, I present a process model of identity-

[6] While there are a variety of contextual factors that could have shaped individual's understandings, I focus on those that are sociological in nature (versus psychological in nature such as personality) and include only the three that were most salient in the data

as-negotiation, which emerged as a result of this grounded theory inquiry and draw conclusions about these findings.

Multi-Level Contextual Factors Shaping Sensemaking of Each Individual Actor[7]

> "Perspective is always an important element in any issue. So, it depends on what your perspective is as to how big an issue this is, when it arose, etc."
>
> - current Leadership Council co-chair

Each individual in the Coalition made sense of his/her involvement, processing and interpreting information about the Coalition as well as determining action (e.g., Weick, 1993), in a different manner. As I illustrate in the ensuing narrative, these perspectives colored how members viewed the Coalition's very identity, the result being a multitude of meanings related to its organizational identity, which were, more often than not, implicit in nature. Differences in perspectives stemmed from each individual involved approaching the Coalition table with multiple "hats" simultaneously, including, but not limited to, the organization and/or stakeholder group he/she represented and the sector(s) in which his/her organization was situated (e.g., nonprofit, governmental, business). As well, each involved player held an individual stance on the Coalition and the issue of homelessness, which may or may not have aligned with the group and/or organization he/she represented. Throughout my time in the field, players referred to this balancing act of holding multiple perspectives concurrently as "juggling a variety of different hats".

[7] Following Gioia and colleagues (e.g., Gioia & Patvardhan; Schultz et al., 2013), I take the position that in order to obtain a holistic understanding of organizational identity change, one must examine both the entity and process based aspects of change. Thus, I begin by introducing the contextual 'elements' that shaped the meanings that participants attributed to the Coalition's organizational identity, in order to better trace how these latent meanings were negotiated by actors involved in the social partnership over time.

While there are certainly a multitude of different contextual factors that influenced how Coalition players made sense of the organization's identity, resulting in a variety of different understandings as to what partnership, homelessness and ending homelessness truly means, there are three factors that emerged in the data as being the most salient. These factors are: an individual's connection to homelessness, the identity and culture of the organization and/or stakeholder group he/she represented in approaching the Coalition table and the macro beliefs and associated practices of the institutional spaces in which involved organizations and individuals were embedded (i.e., institutional logics). I elaborate upon each of these, in turn, below in terms of the degree to which participants discussed each factor overtly, beginning with the most explicit and ending with the most tacit in nature.

Identity and Culture of Organization or Interest Group

> "They (speaking of involved stakeholders) come with their own organizations' needs. They know what their own mandates are and they're sitting on the Coalition Leadership Council because they have a stake in what the Coalition does. So, I think they're sometimes balancing a couple of different hats when they're there. They are representing the organization – they have to make sure that the decisions they're making are compatible with the goals of the organization they represent."
>
> - third Executive Director

It became fairly apparent to me from the beginning of my time in the field that the organization and/or stakeholder group that an involved individual represented at the Coalition table influenced the way he/she made sense of the social partnership's identity. Throughout my interviews, in discussing their viewpoints about the Coalition, as a partnership to address homelessness in the local region, participants frequently referred to the purposes, or mandates, of their respective organizations and/or stakeholder groups.

Many described the challenges associated with balancing the goals of their respective organizations and/or stakeholder groups alongside those of the Coalition. The degree to which participants viewed these roles to be particularly challenging was largely driven by the level of compatibility perceived between their organizations' identity and/or manifestations of identity and that of the Coalition. One example can be seen in the way that participants discussed their views on the homelessness targets and associated goals of their representative organizations and/or associations in comparison to what they perceived to be the target focus of the Coalition when describing the Coalition as an organization working to end homelessness. Some viewed the Coalition's focus as being similar to that of their own organizations. Others, though, viewed the focus of their organizations as being further apart. Consider the following exchange between a current Leadership Council director and myself:

> "The difference in value was that the Coalition was created to target and deal with the fire that was happening downtown." (Leadership Council director)
>
> "Those who are chronically homeless?" (SE)
>
> "Yeah and we're on board with that. Yes, indeed we have to be there. But, our belief is that you have to get to the base of the issue or all you're going to do is continue to put out fires at the tip of that pyramid. So, a difference in value and it's come up a couple of times….And, I think we're shaping and I think we're moving that agenda ahead but it has been a difference in values." (Leadership Council director)

In the above scenario, this particular Leadership Council director believed that the Coalition was formed primarily to deal with those who were experiencing chronic homelessness, the resulting goal being to focus primarily on providing supported housing for this core group. Yet, this particular participant perceived her organization as being

concerned with providing preventative measures in addition to housing to address homelessness in a more holistic sense.

Likewise, I witnessed firsthand in meetings as well as in my reading of the archival meeting minutes that participants would often explicitly bring items to the table that their organizations and/or stakeholder groups deemed important. The minutes of a 2009 Leadership Council meeting, for example, detailed a municipal governmental representative expressing the need for more inclusion of homelessness issues for other regions in the Greater Victoria region, in addition to the City of Victoria. As well, at meetings, individuals would often respond to motions being put forward by others by stating that their organization did or did not agree with what was being put forth.

The organizational culture, or how things were done in a given participant's home organization or stakeholder group (e.g., Brannen, 1994), also framed how representatives approached the Coalition. This seemed to apply, in particular, to how involved participants made sense of the partnership aspect of the Coalition's identity and, in turn, manifestations of identity, namely the type of model that the social partnership should invoke in carrying out a shared commitment among the players to end homelessness in Greater Victoria. For instance, in regards to decision making, some involved players, especially those in the business-related sphere, talked about how decisions were made very quickly within their own organizations in comparison to the Coalition. When asked to describe decision making in her own firm in comparison to that of the Coalition, one Leadership Council Director put in this way:

> "Well, there is a lot more decision making in my own firm – actual decisions: here's the problem, some discussion…say I'm discussing something that's come up with my partners – I have an issue, then it's going to be dealt with…we might change our tact later but we're going to

> have an approach and a decision will be made at that stage relatively quickly. I haven't seen a lot of decision-making coming out of the Leadership Council. Now, it's quite high-level governance, and that's not really my style either. I can understand not to get into operations but I like to get things done, so they're a little bit up here."

While some players viewed the Coalition as moving too slowly in regards to its partnership decision making processes, other participants talked about how they felt like decisions were made too quickly in comparison to their home organizations and expressed a desire to ensure that all information and voices were heard versus "rushing to the finish line" without proper consultation among players taking place. Still others were rather uncomfortable, and even frustrated, with what they felt was a "bureaucratic" and formalized way of working. One Leadership Council director expressed consternation with this approach:

> "I'm just saying, not necessarily for everyone around the table, but for me what began a painful time of your business plan, your policy for all of that, bureaucratic structure of that…is this IBM? That's where I, when I look at it, is this IBM, I'm a partner of IBM?"

These organizational cultures, in turn, colored players' viewpoints of the Coalition's identity, particularly the meaning of partnership. To elaborate, those who were accustomed to and preferred fast-paced decision making, for example, tended to view partnership in terms of a task orientation model, which manifested itself in terms of mobilizing players around particular projects, such as task forces, as needed. By contrast, those whose home organizational cultures were characterized by careful planning and full engagement among involved stakeholders tended to perceive of a partnership model in similar terms.

Individual's Connection to Homelessness

> "…the personal connection to the issue means that how (the Coalition) is organized and how it considers itself to be effective or impactful manifests itself very differently."
>
> - former Leadership Council director

Participants demonstrated a wide range of opinions and beliefs in terms of how invested they were personally in regards to the core issue of homelessness the Coalition was seeking to address. In discussing their motivation for being involved, some participants felt deeply connected to the issue of homelessness and passionately discussed the need to address this critical issue in the community. These participants often relayed stories to me concerning their personal encounters with homelessness, in some shape or form, such as living in a neighborhood where they was directly confronted with homelessness, a long history of working with those experiencing homelessness in a direct capacity or even finding themselves experiencing homelessness at some point in their lives. Others, though, mentioned very little in terms of their personal connection to the issue and instead talked about their involvement primarily in terms of the organizations they represented. Some even offered, in more hushed tones, that their representative organizations needed to be at the table or it would not be prudent. One former Leadership Council director put it this way:

> "I think everybody cares about homelessness but everybody in there represents their organizations, too. So...we have to be on (the Coalition Leadership Council). We can't say we're not going be on it or it wouldn't be very smart. But, we're quite committed to it, too."

Interestingly, some participants discussed their personal views on homelessness as being different than those of the organizations they represented. Consider the following:

> "Well, I think everybody comes with their own view as well as their

> organization's view or not. Like my view might be very different from the university's official view because, of course, I think that the university is a prime contributor to homelessness in Victoria and that isn't something that goes over really well. We are, though, because the students take up all of the cheap housing, right? And, I encourage the Coalition to advocate to really give the university a hard time and they won't do that, right?
>
> - former Leadership Council director

These personal viewpoints that players exhibited, which ranged widely in terms of deep connection to more peripherally connected through his/her organization, served as another significant factor in shaping the meanings that players attached to the Coalition's identity and, in turn, manifestations of that perceived identity.

Key Macro Level Beliefs and Associated Practices

As my time in the field progressed, I slowly began to realize that there were macro level belief systems and associated practices, or institutional logics (e.g., Reay & Hinings, 2009), which served as additional contextual factors in shaping individuals' perceptions of the Coalition and ultimately how they viewed its organizational identity. I found that five distinct institutional logics were the most salient in the Coalition setting: the logic of social justice, the logic of root causes, the logic of efficient action, the logic of planning and the logic of community accountability. As mentioned in my methodology chapter, I examined institutional logics by looking at similarities across informants as well as by relevant associated archival documentation. The five captured here were the most salient in the data. Table 5.2 below provides an overview of the identified logics and how each served as a contextual factor in framing participants' perceptions of the Coalition's identity. While each logic represents a distinct set of belief systems and associated practices in a particular institutional sphere, often I found that individuals identified with multiple institutional logics simultaneously. This could be due to the fact

that many involved participants boasted work experience in a variety of different institutional spheres (e.g., an individual with work experience in both a service provider and a health organization) and worked in organizational settings where they frequently crossed organizational and sectoral boundaries in carrying out their respective job functions.

Table 5.2: Instantiated Logics within the Coalition

	Logic of Social Justice	Logic of Root Causes	Logic of Efficient Action
Characteristic			
Basis of attention	Human element of issue, focus on those who are actually experiencing homelessness today, value of every single individual experiencing homelessness	Systemic focus, root causes of homelessness, social change	Solutions orientation, emphasis on cost savings, project focused, concrete priorities and action plans
Identity framing of Coalition			
Partnership model	Work alongside experiential community and front line service providers to develop interim and long-term solutions to combat homelessness	Direct discussion of issues and challenges, transparent and open communication among partners	Engage partners to work on specific projects as needed, task orientation, efficiently manage different perspectives
Homelessness	Inclusive approach that acknowledges the many faces that homelessness can take	Inclusive approach to identifying homelessness that recognizes those who are about to fall into homelessness situation in order to holistically address issue, beyond an emphasis on housing	Specific targets, emphasis on chronically homeless
Ending Homelessness	Long-term tangible goals of building housing while also implementing short term priorities to minimize the effect of homelessness	Inclusive approach that addresses the root causes of homelesness	Emphasis on housing first initiatives
Basis of strategy	Human rights, moral imperative, emotionally charged commmunications and rhetoric, programs that directly engage the experiential community (e.g., Social Inclusion Advisory Committee)	Research outlining significance of systemic approach, emphasis on prevention based initiatives in addition to focusing on housing based priorities, social change advocacy	Identify specific long-term targets that Coalition has ability to address, business plans, task forces for specific projects as needed
Commonly associated actors	Experiential community, front line service providers, community advocates, faith community, municipal government, social workers	Researchers, health professionals	Business professionals, municipal government, community nonprofits

Table 5.2: Instantiated Logics within the Coalition (continued)

	Logic of Planning	Logic of Community Accountability
Characteristic		
Basis of attention	Structured planning approach, evidence based, need for significant information and discussion before moving forward	Focus on public commitment made by community and involved stakeholders
Identity framing of Coalition		
Partnership model	Engage partners in structured decision making and planning processes	Ongoing involvement that meaningfully and actively involves all stakeholders, players must be held accountable for commitment made
Homelessness	Specific targets, emphasis on chronically homeless	Direct emphasis on those who are currently roofless or houseless but strong recognition that Coalition needs to address those who are insecurely and inadequately housed as well
Ending Homelessness	Emphasis on housing first initiatives	Emphasis on housing first initiatives that can be addressed in 10 year window if all stakeholders participate fully
Basis of strategy	Highly structured meetings, evidenced based reports, policy-based advocacy, agreement on plans and projects	Relationship building, community accountability, strength in numbers, strong role of internal and external advocacy, official community plans
Commonly associated actors	Provincial and federal government	Cut across all stakeholders

It is important to note that this chart simply represents the ideal types of distinct institutional logics present within the Coalition. In actually, individuals involved demonstrated different levels of identification with them (see, for example, Kim, Shin, Oh & Jeong, 2007). What's more, since the Coalition is made up of a variety of individuals situated in and embedded within different institutional spheres, the organization itself contains traces of all five of these institutional logics in some shape or form at any given time. The extent to which these five logics enacted by individuals shaped the Coalition's identity and/or manifestations of that identity, though, shifted over time depending upon the ongoing everyday interactions among involved players. Below I briefly outline the five logics.

Logic of social justice: The logic of social justice denotes a view of how those seeking to address complex social issues, such as homelessness, should keep the beneficiaries themselves as the focal point and actively engage them in determining solutions, in this case, those experiencing homelessness. This represents a field-level manifestation of the logic of profession (e.g., Thornton et al., 2012) within the homelessness arena. An increasingly important emphasis, both in research and practice, as it relates to working to combat the multi-faceted challenge of homelessness focuses on the significance of actively involving those experiencing homelessness as being a part of the solution in an inclusive manner (Norman & Pauly, 2013), as opposed to excluding them from the process. Individuals in this realm focused on the human element of homelessness, rather than simply viewing the issue in terms of a macro level systems challenge alone. Key words and phrasing commonly used include "human rights", "social

inclusion", "direction connection to homelessness", "homelessness is unacceptable", "moral imperative" and "social change".

Many of the individuals who identified with this logic actively worked with those experiencing homelessness in an "on the ground" sense, such as social workers, frontline service providers, the faith community and the experiential community involved in the Coalition themselves. They believed it was important to remember the many different faces that homelessness can take, such as people couchsurfing and those at risk of experiencing homelessness, in addition to working to address visible homelessness, such as those sleeping rough outside. While individuals who ascribed to this logic believed it was important to focus on long-term solutions to homelessness such as building housing, they also felt it was crucial to deal with the challenges that those experiencing homelessness are faced with in the short-term to minimize the impact of homelessness, such as ensuring there are enough emergency shelter beds and that individuals have temporary storage lockers for their belongings.

Logic of root causes: The logic of root causes represents a view of systems thinking and a recognition of the root causes of homelessness. This logic is another field-level manifestation of the logic of profession (Thornton et al., 2012) in the homelessness arena. It emphasizes the structural factors that contribute to individuals falling into homelessness such as lack of affordable housing and living-wage incomes (Pauly, Cross, Vallance, Wynn-Williams & Stiles, 2013), in addition to addressing the building of more housing units. . Key phrases commonly used in relation to this logic include "structural factors", "prevention", "holistic approach", "poverty" and "economic and social inequality".

Individuals who ascribed to this logic, commonly researchers (many who focused specifically on homelessness related research) and health professionals, talked about homelessness in an inclusive sense, recognizing individuals who are about to fall into homelessness alongside those who are experiencing abject poverty and visible forms of homelessness. As such, they were focused on incorporating preventative measures alongside housing focused priorities in order to attack homelessness from multiple angles, and thus enact a more holistic approach to solving the issue. Some were even quite critical of the notion of "ending homelessness" and felt that it would not be possible to do so unless major systemic changes were made in society to alter social and economic inequalities. One Management Committee member put it this way:

> "I think when the Coalition talks about ending homelessness they're talking about ending street homelessness. They're talking about ending the visual aspect of homelessness, abject poverty, which I actually don't truly believe we'll ever be able to end unless we change how we organize our economic systems and how we organize ourselves socially. I just don't think we'll ever really see an end to that kind of poverty until we really shift our priorities as a society."

Logic of efficient action: The logic of efficient action is a view that is solutions-oriented and focused on concrete priorities and action plans. This logic represents a field-level manifestation of the logic of the market (Thornton et al., 2012) in the realm of homelessness. An increasingly popular approach to address homelessness in North America is the ten-year plan to end homelessness (Culhane, 2008). This model focuses particularly on ending chronic homelessness, those who experience long-term or repeated episodes of homelessness, with the key solution being to provide supportive housing units (Elliott, 2015). In a housing first, or supportive housing framework, individuals are placed in independent housing units as soon as possible, without any preconditions being

met, after which they are provided with additional supports, as needed, to combat challenges such as addictions (Gaetz, Scott & Tanya, 2013). The underlying assumption of this approach is that people will be able to move forward with their lives in a more successful manner if they are first housed (Gaetz et al., 2013).

One of the key arguments frequently made in enacting this approach is an economic one focused on the cost savings associated with providing this core group experiencing homelessness with housing (Culhane, 2008). As one former Leadership Council co-chair put it, "…it is at least as cost-effective or cheaper to provide supportive housing to people than to deal with them through the other systems that we have, which are primarily police, prison systems and the health system. So, the economic argument is quite sound." Key phrasing commonly used in conjunction with this logic includes: "efficiency", "solutions oriented", "action plans", "cost effective" and "quick turnaround". Those who ascribed to this logic – primarily business professionals, municipal government representatives and community nonprofits – emphasized the importance of having specific homelessness targets and associated action plans, with a particular focus on those who are experiencing chronic homelessness.

Logic of planning: This logic represents a field-level manifestation of the logic of the bureaucratic state (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012) in the sphere of homelessness. The logic of planning focuses one's attention toward evidenced based, structured planning processes. The logic is similar to that of efficient action in that both frame the Coalition's identity in terms of those experiencing chronic homelessness via housing first initiatives. The Government of Canada has focused more readily on a housing first approach in recent years, including making this a focal point in its five-year

renewal of the Homelessness Partnering Strategy (HPS), including a financial commitment of $119 million (Gaetz et al., 2013).

Its main point of departure from the logic of efficient action rests on its emphasis on planning based approaches in comparison to action orientation. Provincial and federal governmental representatives commonly identified with this logic and frequently used phrasing such as “planning”, “policy”, “procedures”, “evidenced based reporting” and “structured decision making”.

Logic of community accountability: The logic of accountability is oriented to the interests of the community at large. According to this manifestation of the community logic, or the community logic at the societal level (Thornton et al., 2012), the Coalition, as a concerted group of stakeholders, is accountable to the public regarding its commitment made in 2008 to end homelessness in Greater Victoria within a ten-year window.

This logic stresses that not only has a public commitment been made to end homelessness in the ten-year window, but that it will not be possible to achieve without the community, and its many components, working together to address it. As one former Leadership Council director put it: “…the intention of the Coalition when it first began was very innovative in that we were recognizing the issue of homelessness in Victoria and realizing that that it was going to take a concerted effort of everybody to try and figure out what to do.” Participants who identified with this logics, which cut across all stakeholders in the Coalition, commonly used phrasing such as “community approach”, “concerted effort to solve homelessness”, “accountability”, “Victoria with the Coalition is

better than Victoria without the Coalition" and "it takes a community to end homelessness".

Significance of Considering All Three Factors

While there is certainly 'messy' overlap among these contextual factors shaping the meanings that players ascribed to the Coalition's identity and/or manifestations of identity, particularly where it concerns institutional logics and organizational identity and culture, I argue that it is important to give consideration to all three aforementioned factors, in order to provide a holistic view of each individual's perspective. While it is not possible to showcase the many examples of individuals' multi-faceted perspectives within the confines of this dissertation, to illustrate this argument, I provide the profile of one Coalition player as a representative example below whose viewpoint would not be captured in full by focusing on any of the abovementioned salient factors in isolation.

David (pseudonym) is a Management Committee member and has been involved in the Coalition since it was founded in 2008. David's professional background consists of time spent working as a case manager for a service provider as well as an operational officer for a major governmental health agency. During our two interviews, David emphasized the importance of keeping the beneficiaries a given group is trying to serve at the forefront, in this case those experiencing homelessness themselves (social justice logic). At the same time, David talked about the importance of a systemic approach that considers prevention based solutions, such as addressing youth in foster care at risk of homelessness, alongside housing initiatives (root causes logic). Organizationally speaking, David relayed to me that his organization, a major health agency, is most focused on the high needs group within the homelessness realm (i.e., those experiencing

chronic homelessness) and desires for the Coalition to think outside the box in terms of generating housing resources beyond new capital projects in order to ensure that resources are being used effectively and efficiently. He also described to me the health organization's culture, "…revolv(ing) around flow and getting people out of the beds and the people from emergency into those beds", which informs how he approaches the Coalition as an organizational representative. Personally speaking, David expressed to me the importance of addressing homelessness, a major societal challenge, and that the Coalition should advocate to involved governmental agencies such as his own in order to do more to help solve the issue, a viewpoint that did not represent the official stance of his organization. In contrast, one of his colleagues who worked within the same health agency felt that the organization was significantly contributing to the Coalition's work.

Taking the above profile as one example, it becomes clear that there were a wide array of different viewpoints and perceptions that players held of the Coalition, which shaped their foundational understandings of the organization's identity and manifestations of that identity. While it is true that there were some patterns and commonalities across players, each and every involved participant demonstrated a slightly different perspective to that of another. Even those situated in the same sector and/or organization were slightly unique in their viewpoints as each individual approached his role with a different set of professional and personal experiences to her counterparts. As well, players demonstrated different degrees of identification concerning their personal connection to homelessness, the organizations and/or associations they were representing as well as the institutional spaces in which they were situated.

Figure 5.2 below highlights these different factors that affected players' sensemaking. Thus, rather than being placed into clearly defined categories, then, sensemaking of each involved actor in the Coalition is like a kaleidoscope in that each individual looks at the organization and sees a different pattern of identity and, in turn, manifestations of that perceived identity based on his/her own reflection, or multi-faceted viewpoint.

Construed Image of Other Actors at the Table

Beyond considering the three most salient contextual factors, which shaped participants views of the Coalition's identity, it is important to take into account the construed image that players held of other actors within the Coalition, which is also highlighted in Figure 2. This is especially pertinent as the Coalition is characterized by blurred boundaries and involved players who function as both insiders and outsiders. The players were internal members in that each played a role in determining the Coalition's course of action including attending meetings, taking part in strategic planning meetings, etc. At the same time, they were also external in the sense that players represented distinct organizations and associations at the Coalition table and held images of other actors present, which, in turn, affected how they perceived the Coalition overall.

As one example, some of the governmental bodies and agencies involved in the Coalition felt that the service provider community was exerting a great deal of influence over the Coalition's activities and focus areas (i.e., the manifestations of the Coalition's identity). They believed that the service providers were concerned with growing their organizations and were influencing the Coalition to increase the housing supply and associated support services, thus expanding their organizations' reach rather than

working to truly eliminate homelessness. Consider the following comment from a Leadership Council director:

> "I just think we have to be mindful that when you're dealing with homelessness and you're dealing with a lot of money that's going out the door to deal with the homelessness issue you've got service providers whose agenda and I get it is to provide more and more services to the homeless but their agenda isn't to bring down any of their services and to extinguish homelessness. To extinguish it they could extinguish their organization. So somebody has to have a vision that's beyond just dealing with the service that's needed today and growing the amount of services needed today and bringing that service need down. That's not a popular place for people who are service providers right cause they're about building and increasing the scope."

Particularly as it relates to a recent Coalition report outlining the number of housing units and associated supportive services needed in the region to serve the most vulnerable populations experiencing homelessness, a few governmental representatives expressed to me that they believed the service providers had overly influenced the report, resulting in higher estimations of housing and supports needs. They felt it was important to carefully plan how resources could be used in the most efficient manner rather than simply committing to building a significant amount of new capital housing projects. By contrast, many service providers expressed to me that they truly wanted to work to end homelessness and were not in the business of "furthering their own empires".

> "…the Leadership Council think(s) that there's some kind of conflict of interest whereas there's not – because (our organization) is a public organization. We're not out to create our own little empire but it seems like there's some thinking that we're trying to get ahead…you have the Leadership Council that has a lot of people that are there as a part of bureaucracies and government bodies not understanding that not for profit organizations – when they're coming together, it's not because they wanna further their own interests…they really do care about the community at large. So I think there's some of that…comes from that side of the table."
>
> - current Management Committee member

At the same time that some governmental players perceived that service providers held a great deal of power, many involved service providers and other players such as researchers believed that it was actually the governmental players who held the most power and influence over the organization's activities since they were committing the most in terms of financial resources. In communicating this view, some expressed the notion that they felt the governmental representatives were trying to "pacify" or "satisfice" the other players at the Coalition table versus truly trying to work to eradicate homelessness. They believed that the governmental bodies wanted to limit their financial commitment and thus were continually trying to narrow the focus of the organization versus actively working to address the many faces that homelessness can take.

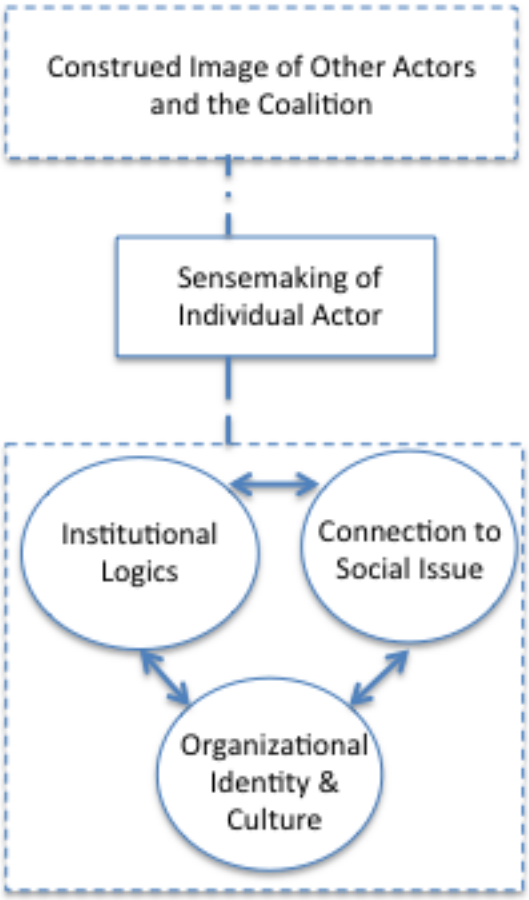
> "…government has useful things to say, too, but I think the issue for me is balance and an imbalance in the Coalition overall. Too weighted in favor of government who ultimately hold the solutions to the issue and who ultimately hold the responsibility for the situation being as it is today. So, they kind of have a vested interest in painting a rosy picture and not shaking things up too much."
> - Coalition working group member (worked for a service provider)

The above described images that players held of each other at the table, often in stark contrast, is simply one example out of many that surfaced among Coalition members during this study. In this way, involved players were not simply approaching the Coalition with their own perspectives, which shaped their understandings of the Coalition's identity, and, in turn, how they tried to shape and alter the Coalition's identity and/or manifestations of identity over time (e.g., influencing priority areas, initiatives Coalition would focus on). Rather they also held images of other players at the table, and continually tried to influence them via ongoing interactions, in formal and informal ways, in order to realize their own understandings of the Coalition's identity. Particularly in

regards to the example above, one Leadership Council director described this "creative friction" process between funders, such as governmental entities, and other players, such as service providers, trying to impact where Coalition resources were being directed as follows:

> "Some of the organizations around that table have money and actually contribute to this problem…And, then there's others…who are advocating for funding of certain things. So there's a little bit of creative friction that goes on between the people that hold the money to help solve the problem and the people who are advocating for things."

Figure 5.2: Sensemaking of Individual Actor in Coalition



Organizational Identity Work in the Coalition

Formal Planning

The Coalition utilized a number of strategies in its efforts to help focus the social partnership around a shared identity (who it was and who it was becoming), with a plethora of different players and associated perspectives as detailed above. These formal strategies that the Coalition enacted as an organization, mainly centered upon a regular formal planning process. In essence, this process consisted of garnering feedback from the stakeholders involved in the various facets of the Coalition (e.g., working groups, those experiencing homelessness themselves, the Management Committee) over a number of months in formal meetings, which coalesced around a draft business plan that was discussed and then approved by the Leadership Council as a part of a business planning process for the following year. While the actual processes evolved over time, in recent years it would take approximately six months out of every year to complete.

Some, particularly the third Executive Director and the Executive Leadership team, felt that the formal planning processes were beneficial in terms of focusing the organization and helping the many involved players to offer input as to the Coalition's key focuses and activities, or manifestations of the Coalition's identity. Consider the following from one of the former Leadership Council co-chairs:

> "The strategic planning meetings were good in that they allowed the diversity of the different perspectives around the table to be captured."

As well, the Coalition held regularly scheduled meetings among its various stakeholder groups, such as the Leadership Council, Management Committee and working groups to obtain partner updates and to discuss pertinent issues facing the Coalition as an organization. For example, in 2015, the Leadership Council held quarterly meetings, the

Management Committee met monthly meetings and the working groups met as needed to discuss specific projects related to their given focus areas (e.g., communications, housing).

Some felt that the actual formal planning processes had changed little since the Coalition was founded. One of the Leadership Council directors who has been involved since the organization's conception communicated to me that the Coalition engaged in a regular strategic planning process since the very beginning and that the overall identity of the organization as a multi-stakeholder partnership focused on ending homelessness and its associated goals had essentially not changed. Others, though, talked about how the Coalition had been organized in an official capacity in different manners over time that affected how stakeholders interacted within the partnership. In describing these differences in formal organizing processes in the Coalition over time, participants tended to use the three Executive Directors as reference points, and perceive their management styles differently based upon their own perspectives in approaching the Coalition table, particularly as it relates to their understandings of partnership. As one former Leadership Council director articulated:

> "I think…what's been different about the three EDs is they've had different models of partnerships and how partnerships should work"

Since participants often discussed changes to the Coalition's formal organizing processes in terms of the tenure of each Executive Director, below I discuss the formalized strategies used by the Coalition (in an effort to mobilize the various stakeholder voices at the table around a shared identity) over time by each Executive Director's tenure, beginning with the first one in 2008. Table 5.3 provides an overview of each Executive Director's tenure, examples of his/her management style, examples of formal planning

dynamics as well as influences of such tactics on the Coalition's identity and/or manifestations of identity over time.

First Executive Director – she assumed her role in the first two years of the Coalition's existence and was described as being relationship oriented and energetic. Those involved in the early years of the Coalition referred to her role in terms of facilitating the Coalition to get up and running as it relates to governance, terms of reference, organizing structures, etc. Many characterized the Coalition during this timeframe as being very collaborative and a place where stakeholders could actively discuss priority areas and focal points of the Coalition (i.e., manifestations of the Coalition's identity) as the norm. Some even communicated to me that they could not recall any visible tensions present at the table and that the partnership model was very much one of collaboration. Others, though, pointed out that there were a variety of different viewpoints present and that meetings would often end without resolution or a clear path forward. One former Leadership Council director recalled that there were many meetings where the Coalition did not move forward.

Table 5.3: Formal Planning in the Coalition Under Each Executive Director

Overview of Executive Director's Tenure	Examples of Executive Director's Management Style	Examples of Formal Planning Dynamics	Influences on Coalition's Identity and/or Manifestations of Identity Over Time
First Executive Director assumed her role during the first two years of the Coalition's operation. She was commonly described as being relationship oriented and energetic. Her role entailed facilitating the partnership to become more formalized in terms of determining governance structures, terms of reference and organizing models in cooperation with the involved stakeholders.	"The first Executive Director was a big kind of relationship builder, very radiant person, lots of energy, positive energy and she would kind of connect with people and have meetings and talk about ideas with lots of enthusiasm and bring people together and try different things. Some things worked, some things didn't but I think she was – because the coalition was…young it was…about how do we bring all these partners together and how can we engage with all these different players and excite them about coming together and make them feel like this is a good thing to do." - Management Committee member "The first ED, I think she really drew on those strengths (of the partners) and in terms determining governance and strategic planning, because she had to set it up from nothing." - former Leadership Council director	When I asked him about the nature of the players' interactions around the Leadership Council table when the Coalition was formed, he mentioned that it was very collaborative and that there were not any tensions that he could recall surfacing during that time. - Field notes from interview with first Leadership Council co-chair "I mean there was a lot of meetings where we didn't move ahead. Where we were stalled because the goals and the direction…it was difficult to lead and move ahead when you couldn't figure out the funding portion of it and then when you start putting the funding off to the side table and go well let's just figure out the situation and all the organizations that need to be involved and the more players that you put at the table definitely a lot more complicated it got but you needed everybody there to	The partnership aspect of the Coalition's identity was primarily enacted as a collaborative model. While Coalition members believed that open communication and collaboration were very present in the multi-stakeholder organization in the early years, there was rarely explicit discussion in regards to foundational understandings core to the Coalition's identity. Even as a few archival meeting notes do detail occasional direct discussion in regards to the meaning of homelessness or what is meant by partnership, more often than not, the formal planning process and Coalition meetings focused on particular issues or programs (i.e., manifestations of the organization's identity). As well, many felt that the Coalition suffered from a lack of focus during this timeframe.

		understand and appreciate what we're trying to achieve." - former Leadership Council director	
The Second Executive Director was involved from 2010 to 2011. Many described her as exceptional in terms of building relationships and helping partners to feel actively included in the Coalition's activities and operations. During her tenure, she focused on continuing to build relationships with key stakeholders and further establishing the organization's operations such as making tweaks to the governance structure and establishing a	"She's very outgoing, very good at bringing people together and so I would say she did a lot to expand community awareness of the Coalition…She would sort of get a little bit involved in the micro area in terms of coming to us in individual circumstances. She would phone various agencies and say "Here's a case, is it something you can do?" And I think she was probably pretty instrumental in bringing one or two solutions to bear for some people." - Secretariat employee "Yeah she was delightful, really terrific lady. Relationship-focused. Got in the weeds, though. She was a bit in the weeds. So things could get stalled with her a lot." - Leadership Council director	"Well, (it) was really a struggle in terms of what should be the priority given our limited resources. And they're valid arguments for focusing on youth, families, or the chronic or and then the housing first – what does that really mean in terms of is it just housing or supported housing and all of that. And then looking at shelters and should we even have shelters or is that – and I didn't – I don't know if that's ever – I don't know if we really ever resolved that." - former Leadership Council director The Strategic Planning Session was held on September 20th. Highlights from that meeting include: • Leadership Council reaffirmed the goals and priority areas identified in the draft plan. It was decided that the Strategic Plan should be reframed as a Community Plan, and that plan should reflect a broader scope of housing needs, supports and issues, including youth.	While many stakeholders felt actively engaged in the partnership during this timeframe, others felt that the Coalition was too focused on programs and initiatives (i.e., manifestations of the Coalition's identity) and that there was not a shared vision. Under the second Executive Director's tenure, similarly to the first, while players characterized meetings and planning processes in terms of active and open discussion (i.e., collaborative orientation), players also discussed the notion that they often felt like people approached the Coalition with different foundational understandings in relations to the Coalition's identity, such as the meaning of homelessness, and that there was often not a resolution. Many also felt that there was still a lack of focus within the organization during this timeframe

number of pilot programs.		- October 2011 Leadership Council meeting minutes	
The third Executive Director was involved from 2012-2015. He assumed his position during a time when the partnership was trying to better leverage its relationships and bring stronger strategic clarity and focus to the Coalition. He was commonly described as being effective at shepherding the players towards a shared vision, but some felt that he was not very collaborative in nature.	"(He) provides a tremendous amount of clarity and focus…and doesn't get kind of pulled around by the various musings of those of us who are on the committees and he's very good at setting boundaries in terms of being able to say what he can and cannot achieve. And I think that's so important for a nonprofit organization like the Coalition because of the numbers around the table you can get pulled in thirty directions all at the same time." - former Management Committee member "When I met him I went, oh my God another bureaucrat – sorry I get it. Like he's getting the bureaucracy in order so that the thing could function. Getting the institution in order and yeah so (the second Executive Director) had her own inefficiencies because she…was trying to take the energy of the minute – of the mayors and translate it into action. (The third Executive Director) put structures in place to try to translate into action and	"I think (the third Executive Direct) brought more of a governmental/organizational kind of a strategic approach to things and I think it was good timing for that. And that the relationships were already there, some of the structures were in place. And we needed a bit more of a strategic plan, something that would…start to describe how we're gonna develop and what we really need and be more concrete – less talking and relationship building and I think he's tried really hard to do that." - Management Committee member Specific priorities set: 1. Encourage the creation of more supported housing projects 2. Develop and implement a Strategic Communications Plan 3. Develop a Research Plan 4. Focus on specific projects that require the Coalition's collaborative approach 5. Manage Secretariat staff and resources, producing key reports such as the Annual Report,	Many players, particularly business and governmental representatives, expressed the view that the Coalition obtained much more focus and clarity in terms of its overall vision and goals under the third Executive Director's leadership. Increased clarity, though, was focused around particular priority areas and projects (i.e., manifestations of the Coalition's identity), while players continued to express and enact different foundational understandings of the Coalition's identity. What's more, many felt that the partnership model within the Coalition had become one of task orientation (from more of a collaboration model enacted previously) and that there was a lack of active stakeholder engagement.

	sometimes structures get in the way. They just, they fossilize it." - former Leadership Council director	the Report on Housing and Supports, the Business Plan and the Coalition Community Plan - March 2012 Leadership Council meeting minutes	

Even though the members of the Coalition were aware of different perspectives in regards to the Coalition's focus on ending homelessness and believed that open communication and collaboration were present in the social partnership in the early years, during this period there was rarely explicit discussion in regards to foundational understandings core to the Coalition's identity, namely partnership, homelessness and ending homelessness. Some of the archival meetings notes detailed the occasional direct discussion in regards to the meaning of homelessness or what is meant by partnership as it relates to individual partner involvement. However, more often than not, the formal planning processes and Coalition meetings focused on particular issues or programs (i.e., manifestations of the organization's identity). At one Leadership Council meeting in 2009, for example, discussion was raised in regards to a partnership agreement and what is means to be a partner in the Coalition. Consider the following excerpt from the meeting minutes:

> What does it mean to be a Coalition partner? One definition offered was that LC directors are constitutional partners; they set the context for moving the Coalition forward to achieve its objectives, while tactical partners execute its objectives. Should there be a different partnership agreement for each partner organization? Some concerns were raised about an aspect of the partnership agreement, which outlined that directors commit unreservedly to ending homelessness in Greater Victoria.

Yet, even these discussions, such as the one referenced above, often did not address the foundational understandings of identity. To elaborate upon the above excerpt from the meeting minutes, while the Coalition players discussed the meaning of partner operationally (i.e., manifestation of identity), they did not discuss the actual base assumptions underlying the meaning of partnership, such as collaborative framework versus a task oriented one, of which there were very different understandings and

preferences. Different understandings also abounded, for example, where the meaning of homelessness was concerned. Many communicated to me that the focus of the organization was always to primarily address those who are chronically homeless while some others felt that the Coalition was trying to grapple with a much larger group of people since the beginning.

Second Executive Director – In 2010, she assumed her role during a time when the Coalition was continuing to find its footing in terms of building relationships with key stakeholders, reviewing and making tweaks to the governance structure, etc. Many described the second Executive Director as very relationship oriented. One former Management Committee member described her management style in terms of "operating the Coalition as a coalition", meaning that she was very collaborative by nature, and that she was focused on obtaining the input and opinions of involved players. Many felt actively included and valued under her leadership. Others, though, while emphasizing her very charismatic and charming personality, noted that "she was a bit in the weeds" and very program focused (i.e., on the manifestations of the Coalition's identity) rather than shepherding everyone around a shared identity and associated vision of the organization.

Under the second Executive Director's tenure, similarly to the first, players described the formal Coalition meetings as being focused on active, open discussion among those present. At the same time, players discussed the notion that they also often felt like people approached the Coalition with different foundational understandings in regards to the Coalition's identity, such as the meaning of homelessness, and that there was often not a resolution. When I asked one former Leadership Council member about

her perception of the meaning of homelessness and how this played out at the Coalition table, the below was her response:

> "Well in terms of well that was really a struggle in terms of what should be the priority given our limited resources. And they're valid arguments for focusing on youth, families, or the chronic or and then the housing first – what does that really mean in terms of is it just housing or supported housing and all of that. And then looking at shelters and should we even have shelters or is that – and I didn't – I don't know if that's ever – I don't know if we really ever resolved that."

Third Executive Director - In 2012, he took the helm during a time when the social partnership was trying to better leverage its relationships and bring stronger strategic clarity and focus to the Coalition. One Management Committee member put it this way:

> "I think (the third Executive Direct) brought more of a governmental/organizational kind of a strategic approach to things and I think it was good timing for that. And that the relationships were already there, some of the structures were in place. And we needed a bit more of a strategic plan, something that would…start to describe how we're gonna develop and what we really need and be more concrete – less talking and relationship building and I think he's tried really hard to do that."

During the third Executive Director's three and a half year tenure in the organization, many players talked about how he brought a level of energy and focus to the organization's efforts. He, for instance, restructured the strategic plan from a plethora of different strategic priorities down to a handful with action plans and deadlines. On several occasions, players described to me his ability to "shepherd cats toward a shared vision".

Some players, particularly the Executive Director himself and those at the executive leadership level (i.e., Leadership Council, co-chairs) described to me how they felt the organization had achieved much greater clarity in terms of its mandate (i.e.,

ending homelessness in Greater Victoria) in a way it had not in the past. As one of the former Leadership Council co-chairs put it:

> "He has helped to really bring a lot more clarity about how the Coalition helps to end homelessness…and it's really around the kind of the stewardship, what's that community visually look like. What are the pieces underneath that from both a research perspective, the housing procurement piece, you know how much…. so shepherding the cats toward some sort of shared vision and really kind of building that vision. Which I think ultimately is like what the – where the coalition really found its stride is because it brings together all of these different stakeholders and it does it in a way that doesn't say just because you're here means you have to go do these things but be here and be part of this discussion and then together let's talk about what ending homelessness looks like in our community. And let's get detailed about that."

Others, though, were less enthused, particularly concerning the more structured planning approach that the third Executive Director worked to implement, where players were often mobilized around particular projects and action items and meetings were highly structured with more limited time for open discussion (in comparison to meeting structures under the former two Executive Directors). As the following example quote illustrates, some players involved felt that this approach did not actively include the stakeholders in the discussion.

> "Maybe it's one of the things as I speak with you is a bit clear to me is there's not a whole lot of disagreement or a really good discussion at that table. If anything I would say that probably what happens is if people don't agree they don't – maybe they might say a little something but if it's not thoughtfully picked up and brought I think they might go away or, I think, they might not think it matters."
>
> - current Leadership Council director

In this regard, many participants expressed frustration concerning what they perceived to be a lack of stakeholder engagement. They felt that players should be actively and meaningfully involved as Coalition members and that their engagement had been reduced

to that of peripheral advisors under the third Executive Director's leadership. This underlying tension stemmed from differing tacit assumptions in regards to the meaning of partnership, with the Executive Director emphasizing task orientation while many involved partners believed a collaboration approach was more appropriate. What's more, even the increased clarity that some players felt was achieved in the past three and a half years in regards to the Coalition's identity (i.e., partnership to end homelessness in Greater Victoria) was focused around particular priority areas and projects (i.e., manifestations of the Coalition's identity). At the same time, players continued to express different foundational understandings of the Coalition's identity in regards to partnership, homelessness and ending homelessness.

In summary, the Executive Directors exhibited different management styles, which affected the partnership models enacted by the Coalition over time, and, in turn, how players negotiated multiple understandings of identity in a formal capacity. More often than not, though, from the Coalition's conception to present, the formal discussions and debates around the Coalition table (e.g., in meetings and strategic planning sessions) centered on strategic priority areas and initiatives for the Coalition to focus its efforts upon (i.e., manifestations of the Coalition's identity) rather than explicitly discussing differing underlying understandings of the Coalition's identity.

Influencing Resources Used by Coalition Players

At the same time that the Coalition, as an organization, enacted strategies in an effort to formally manage different perspectives, largely latent in nature, around a shared identity in regards to ending homelessness in Greater Victoria, players utilized a variety of resources in everyday interactions to continually influence the Coalition's identity

and/or manifestations of identity. These strategies enacted by players are particularly important to consider in the Coalition context as authority is very distributed and sensegiving initiatives (see Gioia and Chittipeddi, 1991, for example), such as those described above and facilitated largely by the organizational leaders, only represent one side of the story in regards to how different understandings of identity were negotiated over time. While resources were often enacted during formal planning processes, players also utilized them in everyday interactions after priorities for a given timeframe were finalized to influence the Coalition's identity and/or manifestations of its identity over time. Four key resources – research, finances, "on the ground" experiences and communications – were the most salient in the data. Table 5.4 provides a description of each resource, examples of how each was mobilized in interaction among players as well as a summary of how each resource ultimately influenced the Coalition's identity and/or manifestations of identity over time. Below I also provide an overview of each resource and how players mobilized them to influence the Coalition's identity.

Table 5.4: Influencing Resources Used by Coalition Players

Resource Description	Examples of Resource Mobilization	Influences on Coalition's Identity and/or Manifestations of Identity Over Time
Research – players utilized data, facts and figures in organized meetings as well as in informal discussions. The Coalition as a partnership also produced a variety of research reports, which varied in emphasis, depending upon which players authored the deliverables. These reports were often used to guide future planning processes	*To influence conception of homelessness* "I think personally the motivation was to end street homelessness. But the more that the Coalition has matured and we've done more research the idea of homelessness has expanded and it's broader, right?" - current Management Committee member Creating Homes, Enhancing Communities is a plan to house individuals experiencing chronic homelessness in the Greater Victoria Region. Using existing analysis of patterns of shelter use, it estimates the number of individuals in the region who require support services in order to remain housed. - 2015 Creating Homes, Enhancing Communities report *To guide Coalition initiatives and priority areas* "Streets to Homes was our first major pilot project…(the first Executive Director) started that and that was based on research that they'd done community wide not just even B.C. or Canada. They looked into the States for programs that were successful in terms of dealing with homelessness."	The Coalition grew out of the Mayor's 2007 Task Force to primarily deal with chronic homelessness in the region. Players utilized research since the conception to help broaden the definition of homelessness to include those who are provisionally housed and at risk of homelessness in addition to those currently roofless. Community and academic researchers as well as service providers were key actors attempting to expand the focus of the Coalition in regards to homelessness. At the same time, in the Coalition's housing procurement plans calling for governmental agencies to commit to new housing units and associated supports, the primary focus was on chronic homelessness. Research was generally an influential resource in terms of bringing new projects and initiatives on stream, particularly during planning cycles. This was especially true for initiatives that did not require significant capital resources on behalf of partners to implement.

	- Secretariat staff member Recommendations from report: - Increase the number of Homeless Outreach Program rental supplements available - Revisit the criteria for rental assistance programs to broaden their reach - Increase the number of subsidized housing units in our community - Undertake specific assessments of the needs of youth and families, including Aboriginal peoples experiencing homelessness - 2012-2013 Greater Victoria Report on Housing & Supports	
Finances – the Coalition relied on funding from partners to carry out its work – primarily governmental agencies and community nonprofits. Some of the core funders held regular funding contracts with the Coalition while others funded particular projects or initiatives. As well, some of the governmental agencies involved were responsible for provincial and/or regional services associated with homelessness such as	*To stipulate the parameters of funding promised* Funding agreement between (governmental agency) and (the Coalition) dated March 21, 2008: It clearly states - "The purpose of the one-time grant is to provide capacity for the agency to facilitate community commitment to meet action plan targets. The (Coalition) agrees to use the one-time grant only for the intended purpose." - 2008 Leadership Council Meeting Minutes "I manage a service contract with the Coalition for their core funding. So each year I sit down with the Executive Director and the Leadership Council co-chairs and we talk about the strategic direction of the organization and the priorities for the upcoming year and the intended outcomes and the goal of (our governmental agency) in terms of us wanting to influence the direction of the Coalition" - Current Management Committee member	Funders leveraging financial resources were generally effective in terms of influencing particular initiatives for the Coalition to focus on during planning cycles when specifying how funding promised would be used. At the same time, though, there were a variety of funders at the table and no one funder held the ultimate influence, which many felt contributed to a lack of focus within the organization overall.

social housing or health services for addictions and mental health challenges.	*To generate additional discussion about proposed initiatives* Discussion around application to the (community nonprofit) to fund a pilot project. The grant asked did not include all aspects, such as rent supplements. (Community nonprofit) has not approved the grant yet, expressing concern that the (Coalition) not be a service provider, but remain in a coordinating role - 2008 Leadership Council Meeting Minutes (Governmental agency) expressed concern over a number of issues, detailed in a letter to the LC Co-chair. They specifically stated that they did not believe they had been consulted properly. This letter was provided to directors as a handout at this meeting. Issues raised included accounting for the 'flow' as well as consideration of the hardest to house. - 2015 Leadership Council Meeting Minutes	Since partners providing financial resources to support the Coalition's work ultimately determined funding provided, they were able to facilitate additional discussion about proposed projects they felt uncomfortable with and/or needed to be discussed further prior to committing. Additional discussions would result in proposed initiatives moving forward as suggested after funders had a chance to hear alternative perspectives, alterations being made or proposed projects being halted altogether.
"On the Ground" experiences with Homelessness – partners discussed their own professional and personal encounters with the homelessness situation in Victoria in formal meetings as well as in informal discussions with other players.	*To influence conception of homelessness* (Leadership Council director) went to the extreme weather protocol shelter and recognized that many people taking advantage were actually housed but there to have some food. Our perceptions of homelessness are not necessarily the same as the reality. - 2009 Leadership Council Meeting Minutes "We just feel that you are better able to manage expectations when your numbers are more reflective of what we see on the ground. So I think it's a little harder for people who are removed from the issue…people working in offices like you and I to really understand what's going on and the real needs of people"	Players working regularly with people experiencing homelessness in Victoria such as service providers or the faith community as well as local elected officials would bring up personal stories about those experiencing and/or at risk of homelessness, which helped to expand the Coalition's conception of homelessness over time. Yet, at the same time that many service providers pushed for the homelessness targets to be larger, simultaneously other players such as funders wanted the numbers to be lower, resulting in middle ground estimates as

	- Working group member and Service provider employee *To influence the creation of new initiatives and projects* The Leadership Council co-chair then cut in and asked where the direction from this program came from as she was looking through the business plan currently and did not see it. (The Secretariat staff member) hesitated momentarily and then said that (the former Executive Director) had identified through conversations with individual service providers that this was something that was necessary to address. The Leadership Council co-chair then said she was concerned about shifting priorities. - field notes from Leadership Council meeting Storage facility for people who are experiencing homelessness to store their belongings, e.g. shopping cart storage. The City of Victoria is looking at a property to be used for this purpose, free of rent. The cost of infrastructure and 2 full time staff 7 days a week needs to be covered – by donors, agencies or funders - 2015 Management Committee Meeting Minutes	well as relying more heavily upon evidence based research New proposed initiatives would often surface even after the priorities for a given timeframe had been formally determined. These would often be proposed by those working "on the ground" in the homelessness arena such as service providers or municipal elected officials in regular conversations with constituents. This was generally an effective way to introduce new possible projects within the Coalition. However, if they required significant financial resources to enact, they would be stalled until possible funding streams could be determined, which would involve funders' discretion.
Communications – players utilized media outlets such as radio or print communication mediums to express their viewpoints concerning the issue of homelessness and/or the Coalition's role in solving this	*Expressing opinions about homelessness situation via public channels* Victoria's planned micro-housing pilot project is no silver bullet that will end tenting in city parks, says the head of the Coalition to End Homelessness. "I think people will be camping in parks for a while. I don't think there's a quick win, at least not at this time of year," said Coalition Executive Director. Victoria councilors recently approved a $350,000 action plan for housing	By and large, players expressing viewpoints via public channels such as local media outlets primarily served to demonstrate that there were different viewpoints within the Coalition in regards to solving the homelessness issue that were not united. Particularly in regards to the recent example concerning proposed micro-housing in Victoria

complex challenge indirectly	supports that included looking at creating a small community of garden-shed-sized houses in a local park yet to be chosen. While applauding the city for a wide range of options in the report, (the Executive Director) said the micro-housing proposal has received a disproportionate amount of media attention but would have an extremely limited impact…(The Executive Director) said the "crisis solutions" are only temporary and they "shouldn't take resources from more permanent long-term solutions," such as more housing or greater access to housing through rent supplements… (Victoria mayor and Co-Chair of the Coalition Leadership Council) agreed that micro-housing is only a small piece of the plan. The goal, she said, is long-term, sustainable, affordable housing. "But we don't have the luxury right now of only thinking long-term when we get hundreds of emails a week from people who are camping in parks and from people who live next to parks where people are camping. So we cannot sit back and do nothing…it's a creative gateway to a whole series of possibilities. So to shut it down by saying it's a bad idea before we've even tried [it] I think is completely unacceptable and small-minded" - Times Colonist article – June 23rd, 2015	whether the former Executive Director and the Leadership Council Co-Chair were communicating different messages, some involved players expressed concern that the leaders of the organization were not aligned in terms of the future direction of the Coalition.

Research – a common resource mobilized by players in an effort to influence the conception of homelessness within the Coalition. Players cited research reports, in conversation with other players as well as in organized meetings, in regards to the importance of focusing on a particular aspect of homelessness. Those who believed a primary emphasis on those experiencing chronic homelessness was important would cite Canadian reports highlighting the significance of focusing on housing first initiatives for this core group in an effort to combat homelessness. Others, though, pointed to research highlighting the importance of considering homelessness from a more holistic and inclusive point of view. In regards to the latter, consider the following statement made by one of the initial Leadership Council members:

> "I wrote actually a paper for the Coalition in the beginning that really was kind of like a briefing note in a way to talk about different ways of defining homelessness and then making some suggestions about how we can define it in a way that looks at it from the perspective of the social determinants of health as opposed to this problem of individuals misbehaving or something in our streets."

As well, the social partnership published a variety of research reports, written by involved players, which emphasized different aspects of homelessness. For example, one recent Coalition housing procurement plan report written by the Secretariat staff emphasized those experiencing chronic homelessness while another recent report on housing and supports, written by Coalition research partners, emphasized the significance of focusing on homelessness from a systemic perspective versus honing in simply on those who are hardest to house.

Overall, research helped to broaden the definition of homelessness in regards to the Coalition's organizational identity over time. While the Coalition grew out of the 2007 Mayor's Task Force, primarily to combat those who were most vulnerable (i.e.,

chronic homelessness), players utilized research to help expand the Coalition's focus (i.e., manifestations of identity) to include those who were insufficiently housed and at risk of homelessness in addition to those 'visibly' homeless on the street. Key players who helped to expand the definition of homelessness over time by utilizing research were service providers and community and academic researchers. At the same time, many of the Coalition's official reports, particularly those focused on housing procurement plans calling for key governmental players to commit to new capital housing projects and associated supports primarily focused on chronic homelessness, resulting in multiple messages in regards to the Coalition's key focus areas (i.e., manifestations of identity).

Players also utilized research to guide Coalition initiatives and priority areas over time. In doing so, players would bring best practices in regards to homelessness initiatives in other parts of North America. For instance, many of the major initiatives that the Coalition enacted were a result of players bringing exemplary practices utilized by social partnerships focused on homelessness in other regions to the table. As well, players responsible for Coalition reports, such as community and academic researchers, would include practical recommendations for the Coalition to consider in carrying out its future work. Generally speaking, research was a persuasive resource as it relates to influencing manifestations of the Coalition's identity concerning the creation of new projects and initiatives, particularly during formal planning processes, and for initiatives that did not require significant financial investments on behalf of the Coalition partners to bring to fruition.

Finances – The Coalition, as a voluntary partnership involving players from a variety of different sectors, relied on financial support from involved partners to carry out

its work. The partners providing financial assistance and associated supportive resources (e.g., health supports to keep vulnerable populations housed) were primarily governmental agencies and community nonprofits. While some funding partners had annual, renewable funding contracts with the Coalition, namely some of the involved governmental players, others, such as community nonprofits, tended to fund particular projects. One of the primary ways that players mobilized financial resources was to stipulate the parameters of funding promised. For example, in my conversations with actors representing funding organizations at the table, representatives shared with me how they sought to influence the Coalition's priorities and programs via the annual funding contracts between their organizations and the social partnership. One Leadership Council director, who also represented a key funder of the Coalition, talked about how she made prevention initiatives a part of a recent funding contract between her own organization and the social partnership.

> "Another difference is that at least back in September of 2012 when I joined the Coalition…there was very, very little interest in working with youth. It just wasn't on their radar. And my background being in maternal/child and working with youth quite a bit there was the recognition that you need to start earlier on or you're just feeding the issue right? And when you look at what's been published about what feeds homelessness it's youth. Often it's youth coming out of foster care. So I just said you…if we're going to fund the organization how do we help to focus their attention. So, that's one thing we've done is when we crafted deliverables for a contract last year we said we need to get a focus on prevention."

As well, players representing funding bodies would also clearly specify the confines of particular grants or funding promised for Coalition initiatives. Leveraging financial resources for this purpose was usually effective in influencing particular Coalition initiatives, or manifestations of the Coalition's identity, especially during planning cycles

when funders articulated how they wanted their financial commitments to be utilized. Yet, because there were a variety of organizations leveraging financial resources and no one funder held definite influence, many felt this aspect contributed to a lack of focus within the organization's identity overall. As one funding representative and Management Committee member put it:

> "One of the challenges is: how do you have all the funders at the table but not have any one particular funder over there influencing the direction of the organization?"

Funding partners also leveraged financial resources to generate additional discussion about proposed initiatives that they felt uncomfortable with and/or required additional input and discussion before a final decision as to a possible commitment was made. For example, in early 2015 a proposed housing procurement plan was put forward which detailed the housing and support needs in Greater Victoria and spelled out the commitments required from major partners, namely key governmental agencies. One major governmental agency at the table expressed concern that it had not been properly consulted in the development of the proposed plan, resulting in additional discussions with the given organization and other Coalition members as well as tweaks being made to the proposed plan. These additional discussions generated by funding bodies would usually result in one of three ways: 1) suggested plans moving forward as proposed once funders had a chance to listen to alternative viewpoints, 2) alterations being made as requested by funders or 3) proposed projects coming to a halt.

"On the Ground" experiences – many players brought particular items or feedback they felt the Coalition needed to hear to formal meetings in efforts to influence the conception of homelessness in the social partnership and/or influence manifestations

of the Coalition's identity such as the creation of new initiatives and projects. This feedback usually emanated from players own professional and personal encounters, or "on the ground" experiences, with the homelessness situation in Victoria such as conversations with key stakeholders, including community residents and/or those experiencing homelessness. Common actors mobilizing this resource were players working closely with people experiencing homelessness in Victoria, particularly service providers and the faith community as well as local elected officials in regular conversations with constituents. Consider the following meeting minute excerpt made by a local elected official:

> (The Leadership Council director) reported that she has met with residents of the Pandora Green area and the Burnside Gorge Community Centre (BGCC). The Pandora residents were happy to see fewer people on the street and more people being housed. BGCC expressed concern that problems associated with the street community seem to have moved from downtown to the Burnside Gorge area, possibly due to the number of service agencies that have relocated into the neighborhood.

Statements such as these were quite commonly found in the meeting minutes documentation. I also frequently observed these "on the ground" statements being made in Coalition meetings I attended. Not only would involved players attempt to shape the Coalition's conception of homelessness and corresponding activities and initiatives by bringing professional and personal experiences to bear, but, in doing so, they often attempted to influence other players at the Coalition table such as governmental funding bodies to provide more financial resources. The following excerpt from a Leadership Council meeting minutes document is reflective of this statement:

> (The Downtown Churches Association representative) reported seeing more working poor than homeless...There are more questions about the longer-term resolution to homelessness. Churches are now expressing concern about who is holding all the money for homelessness and what is

> being done about it? Is the Coalition leading the provincial and federal governments to change the situation?

Actors utilizing "on the ground" experiences as a resource were effective in terms of helping to expand the Coalition's conception of homelessness over time. However, at the same time that many players, particularly service providers, advocated for the homelessness targets to be larger, other players such as funders simultaneously wanted the targets to be lower and more focused. These competing perspectives often resulted in the Coalition taking up middle ground targets as well as depending more heavily upon evidence-based research. This resource was also generally effective in terms of introducing new proposed initiatives to the Coalition. Often these suggested initiatives would surface after priorities for a given time had been formally determined via planning processes. However, if these proposed initiatives required substantial financial resources in order to implement, they would be tabled until possible funding resources could be garnered, which was often left to funders' discretion.

Communications - Communications was another common resource used by actors, such as publishing an opinion editorial in a local newspaper or being interviewed in regards to the homelessness situation in Victoria by a media outlet, in order to indirectly shape the Coalition's identity via public channels. One recent example concerns responses by Coalition players in regards to the increased public concern this past summer that upwards of 100 people experiencing homelessness were regularly sleeping in Victoria parks and the city was spending $600,000 a year on policing and parks clean up (Meissner, 2015). The current co-chair of the Leadership Council and the Victoria mayor took the position that short-term initiatives were needed to minimize the impact of homelessness today. She mentioned that "creative short-term solutions" were

needed to deal with the impact on city parks and that a focus could not simply be on long-term solutions alone (Cleverley, 2015). In contrast, the former Coalition Executive Director spoke out publically in an interview with a local news outlet that short-term solutions such as micro-housing were not the answer and that efforts needed to be put toward long-term solutions, such as housing first initiatives (Reynolds, 2015).

In many cases players expressing viewpoints via public channels such as newspapers and radio served to primarily demonstrate that there were differing viewpoints among the Coalition players as to the social partnership's identity. Specifically as it concerns the proposed micro-housing initiatives that sprung up in summer 2015 where the former Executive Director and the Leadership Council co-chair were publically talking about different directions in regards to homelessness, some players expressed to me their concern that leaders of the social partnership were not on the same page in terms of the Coalition's identity. Consider the following excerpt from an interview with a Coalition working group member:

> "I think that probably the biggest challenge is having a (Leadership Council) co-chair that's off completely doing something independent and almost non-aligned with what the Coalition believes. I mean it's odd to hear (the Executive Director) on the radio talking about micro-housing and how it's not the solution but the mayor says that it is and the mayor's running around saying that it is. So it's very disconcerting… I guess I would say that the leadership council needs to reign everybody in and get everybody on the same page. I mean I think if you don't go forward with a clear message that isn't clearly articulated by everybody. I mean everybody's gotta be singing from the same song sheet otherwise you start to look fragmented and that's dangerous. I think that's where they're at right now."

Thus, at the same time that the Coalition formally strove to negotiate its organizational identity over time via formalized processes, players utilized four key resources to continually construct and reconstruct the social partnership's identity and/or

manifestations of identity over time. Elucidating these four key resources details how there were different sources of power at work within the Coalition that contributed to the dynamic and ongoing nature of the identity negotiation processes.

New Inputs to the Negotiation Context

Even as the negotiation of the Coalition's identity was continuous, involving formal and informal, subtle and overt strategies utilized among involved players, new inputs to the negotiation context served as catalysts to trigger new negotiations as it relates to the Coalition's organizational identity. Some of these new inputs were external. For instance, increased community concern for the homelessness situation in Victoria often triggered enhanced discussions about what the Coalition and the involved players could do to address the issue. Some players discussed the notion that they felt like renewed energy to address homelessness often stemmed from involved players' (such as elected officials or business owners) concerns that homelessness was impacting their respective stakeholder groups. One involved stakeholder, speaking of elected officials, put it this way:

> "But if it's in the media, if it's being reported, if it's visible, if it's impacting tourism, if it's impacting the quality of life of those that vote, then we'll start to see change. If they don't notice it, we're never going to do a better job of getting the resources to make a significant difference because why would they?"

Some even felt that the heightened concern among residents and city officials this past summer over those experiencing homelessness sleeping in parks sparked a renewed concern for the issue of homelessness in Greater Victoria that had not been experienced locally since the Coalition was first founded in 2008, also in response to the severity of the issue at the local level. Other inputs were of an internal nature, such as new people

entering the Coalition context or new proposed projects that were introduced for discussion.

Structural Characteristics

The identity negotiations within the Coalition context were contingent on several key structural characteristics, namely, the vast number of perspectives represented, the fluidity of players' involvement and the limited financial resources available to the multi-stakeholder organization. First, the Coalition was quite heterogeneous in that there were various representatives involved on behalf of organizations and associations from the public, private and nonprofit sectors. As well, as I highlighted earlier on in this chapter, each individual's perspective was unique, which I likened to that of a kaleidoscope. These perspectives served to make the negotiation context quite multi-faceted. One Leadership Council representative who served on several organization boards put it this way:

> "It's more complex. And I think it…in most of the other (board driven) organizations I've been a part of I've had a better understanding of how all the parts work with one another. Whereas I…there are so many diverse parts to this organization. It's really complicated. Most of the other organizations I belong to are more homogenous. This is very, very broad. And a lot…I don't know how long it takes to become really competent at understanding the structure and your place within it."

Even as the Coalition was very complex, involving a variety of different organizational facets and perspectives, players were constantly cycling in and out without a great deal of formal introduction or socialization into the social partnership. One former Management Committee described the multitude of perspectives and the lack of continuity in this way:

> "There was never ever a time in my two years on management that I felt that everybody sitting around the table was started from the same place.

> So, that people on the Management Committee came into it from lots of different places. There was a lot more turnover in Management Committee too, so, you know, all of a sudden the person who was representing the city or (a governmental agency involved) was a new person in the room and there was no – I don't think there was any preparation for people or at least in the more recent periods that I mean I don't even think the new people in the room had ever even sat down to read the annual reports. They were just kind of, I was sent here to be at this meeting, and there was no attempt to get people up to speed. And so they'd come in like back at step one that we had dealt with five years ago kind of thing."

Additionally, the Coalition as an organization was faced with limited financial resources at its disposal, meaning that the social partnership could not focus on all of the priorities and projects that the diverse membership, with varying beliefs of the organization's identity, wanted to implement simultaneously.

> "If you've got unlimited resources then you can – it's easier to look at the complexity of homelessness and address all the different groups. But then how do you with limited resources decide what is the best approach."
>
> - former Leadership Council director

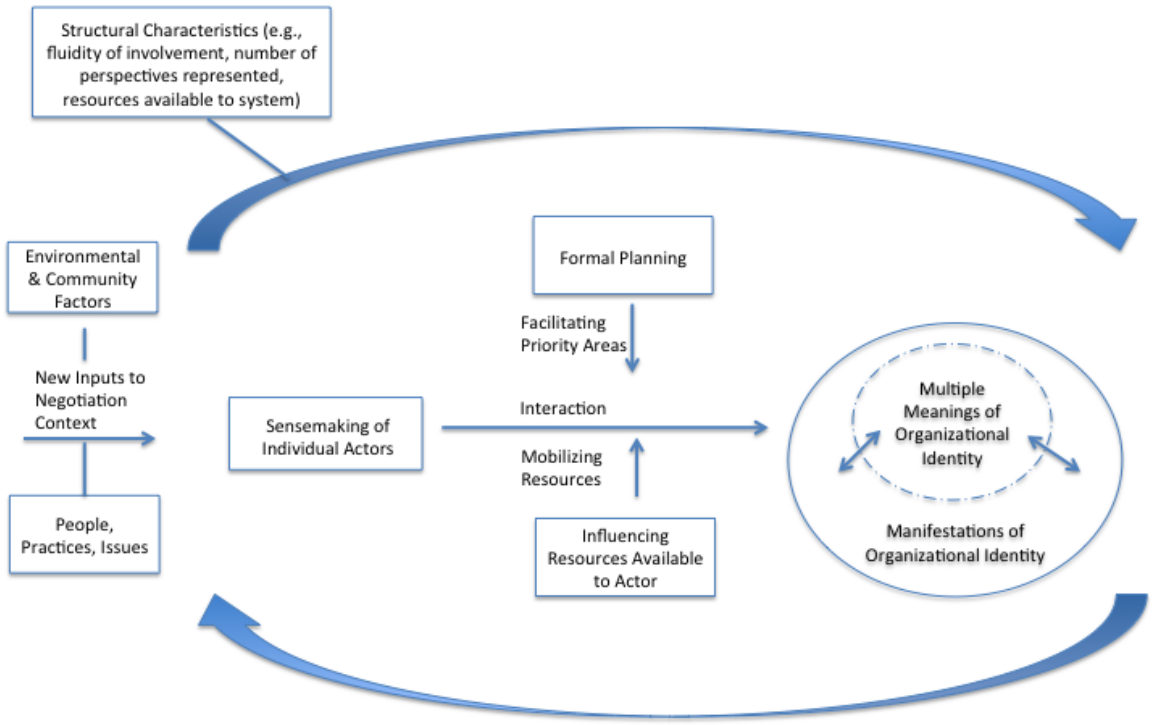
A Process Model of Identity-As-Negotiation

My process model emerged from this grounded theory study and elucidates how organizational identity is continuously negotiated by involved players in organizational settings characterized by permeable boundaries and distributed authority. At its core, my process model, which I coin 'identity-as-negotiation', captures how multiple meanings of organizational identity are negotiated by insider-outsider players in a cross sector partnership context, particularly those focusing on societal challenges (i.e., social partnerships). Players enact formal and informal strategies – both overt and covert – in everyday interactions to maintain, shape and/or alter the social partnership's organizational identity and/or manifestations of that identity over time. As well, identity negotiations are contextualized by a number of structural characteristics (e.g., number of

perspectives represented, fluidity of involvement) and new negotiations are triggered by inputs to the negotiation context, both external (e.g., community response) and internal (e.g., new players) in nature.

As shown in Figure 5.3, the continuous identity-as-negotiation process (as indicated by the circular arrows) begins with the actors who come together as a part of the social partnership and who make sense of the organization's identity (i.e., who the organization is and what it is becoming, in this case a cross sector partnership to end homelessness in the local area) in different ways. Actors draw upon such contextual factors as individual experiences with the social challenge at hand, the organizational identity and culture of their 'home' organizations and/or associations and macro level belief systems and associated practices in which they and/or their organizations are embedded (i.e., institutional logics). As well, as the organizational boundaries are very permeable and actors function as insider-outsiders, they hold images of other players involved, which can affect how everyday interactions between players takes place (e.g., one actor trying to influence another with financial resources to realize their understanding of the organization's identity). Through everyday interactions among actors, which include both formal (e.g., organized meetings) and informal (e.g., informal conversations) settings, players negotiate the organization's identity.

Figure 5.3: Organizational Identity (OI) Change in a Social Partnership: A Process Model of Identity-as-Negotiation



Since players in such multi-faceted contexts often make sense of the organization's identity in various ways, there are likely to be a multitude of meanings that those involved ascribe to it. How implicit or explicit the multiple meanings of organizational identity are is dependent, in part, upon how direct players are in the strategies utilized to maintain, alter and/or shape the organization's identity. As such, the multiple meanings of organizational identity are shown in the process model as a dotted circle that crosses over into the manifestations of organizational identity. Manifestations of organizational identity, such as particular programs, initiatives or priority areas are reflective of players' multiple, underlying understandings of organizational identity,

which motivates them in attempting to influence the organization's strategies and priority areas of focus.

As a part of everyday interactions to maintain, shape and/or alter the organization's identity, players utilize a number of key strategies. The main formalized strategy of the organization, carried out by the organization's leadership team (e.g., in this case the Executive Director in consultation with the Executive Team of the Leadership Council) is the formal planning process, which is used to facilitate priority areas for the organization to focus on. At the same time, though, as authority in a social partnership such as the Coalition is usually distributed and as senior leadership is responsible to and reports to the involved stakeholders, formalized strategies used to help focus and direct the organization only carry so much weight. Players also utilize a variety of resources, dependent upon those at their disposal, such as funding, research, "on the ground" experiences in the field and media communications to influence the direction of the organization. While the formal planning process seeks to serve as a stabilizing mechanism in order to help focus and maintain the organization's identity at a given point, the variety of influencing resources utilized by players serve to continually alter and shape the organization's identity and/or manifestations of identity over time. Thus, the identity-as-negotiation process is dynamic and iterative, involving both planned and unplanned identity changes.

New inputs to the negotiation context such as the community's increased awareness of the severity of the societal challenge being addressed by the social partnership (i.e., external inputs) or new people or proposed projects being introduced (i.e., internal inputs) serve as catalysts in triggering new identity negotiations (as

indicated on the left side of Figure 3). What's more, as negotiations are contingent on the structural conditions of a given organization (see Strauss, 1978), characteristics such as the fluidity of involvement among players, the number of perspectives represented and the resources available to the system play a role in the way that everyday interactions among actors play out over time.

Conclusion

In this chapter I argued that organizational identity in social partnerships characterized by ongoing blurred boundaries and shared authority will be continually negotiated by involved players and involve both planned and unplanned change efforts. To my knowledge, this is the first study of its kind to empirically explore identity work in tri-sector social partnerships at the group level and which captures the multitude of vantage points of involved stakeholders and their associated strategies utilized to form, alter, maintain and/or strengthen organizational identity and/or manifestations of identity over time. In elucidating these dynamic processes of identity construction and reconstruction in the Coalition over time, I have provided a more holistic understanding of negotiation processes at work within such complex organizational arrangements, involving both formal and informal, subtle and overt negotiation strategies rather than highlighting explicit tactics such as "arguments" or "discussions" only, as the extant organizational identity literature has mainly focused on in discussing negotiation to date. What's more, the findings detailed in this chapter demonstrate the importance of organizational identity even in loosely coupled organizational arrangements such as social partnerships, including those such as the Coalition that are time bounded in nature.

I also highlighted the complexity of sensemaking for players involved in settings that transcend the boundaries of a single organization and involve continual permeable borders. Specifically, I have shown that meaning systems emanating from micro, meso and macro levels affect how players make sense of a social partnership's identity and empirically demonstrated that both organizational culture and institutional logics play a role in shaping meanings of organizational identity, the result being a variety of meaning systems at play that are continually negotiated. I argued that focusing on applicable meaning systems residing at multiple levels, and which serve as key contextual factors in shaping how players make sense of organizational identity, provides a holistic account that is more reflective of such multi-faceted organizational realities, rather than honing in on factors at a single level only, such as focusing exclusively on organizational culture or institutional logics.

Whereas in this chapter I focused on the negotiation of multiple meaning systems at the group level of analysis, in the next chapter I consider how participants traversed the variety of meaning systems present in the Coalition at the individual level of analysis.

Chapter 6: Bridging Across Multiple Meaning Systems: Boundary Spanning in a Social Partnership

An Overview

> I then asked her about how individuals were able work across different organizations and sectors involved in the Coalition…I mentioned that I was curious if she saw key individuals at the table as being able to bridge across perspectives in a more formal sense (since she had already told me how she herself did this in her regular interactions with others involved). She thought about it for a moment and said that ideally the Executive Director (ED) would play that role and had to do that in some sense to be effective at the table. I thought it was interesting that she mentioned ideally and did not explicitly mention any of the three EDs involved in the Coalition. She did say that the social inclusion coordinator helped to bridge between the experiential community and others at the table. She mentioned that researchers have played that role (she hoped that she has helped to bridge across boundaries at the table). She specifically mentioned [another Leadership Council director] in terms of being able to bridge with the Aboriginal community. I thought her specific examples were interesting in that she gave instances of individuals being able to bridge across particular boundaries, which helps to support the notion that a multitude of boundary spanners are needed in order to bridge the boundaries in full in such a multi-faceted organizational arrangement
>
> - notes from meeting with former Leadership Council director

I began this dissertation study with the expectation that I would find evidence of formal boundary spanning[8] in the Coalition, since the literature hones in to a large extent on individuals who focus as bridges in a formal capacity (i.e., related specifically to their professional job description). This is particularly relevant in the case of multifaceted organizational arrangements that involve the presence of multiple boundaries. And, as I detailed in the previous chapter, the Coalition's organizational structure involves the coming together of individuals from a variety of organizations with unique cultures that

[8] In order to help ensure that I not did lead Coalition participants in discovering potential boundary spanning activities within the social partnership, I asked very general questions about how participants worked across sectoral, organization and individual differences in their interactions. In doing so, I probed for specific examples. I also asked whether or not they viewed others as being able to bridge across boundaries effectively in the Coalition. If they responded in the affirmative, I probed further about the name(s) offered and asked for examples as to how these particular individuals bridged across differences.

are situated in institutional spaces with different institutional logics, the result being a variety of organizational and sectoral boundaries that need to be bridged by involved individuals. I did, indeed, find evidence of boundary spanning in a professional capacity within the Coalition - particularly as it relates to the Executive Directors over time, the Leadership Council co-chairs and the Secretariat staff. Yet, I was surprised to discover that many of the salient examples of boundary spanning that surfaced in the Coalition related to individuals who enacted capabilities in an informal, or practice based (Levina & Vaast, 2005), sense via their everyday interactions as participants in the Coalition. In examining the individuals who surfaced as boundary spanners in the Coalition more closely, I was able to uncover key skill sets that these participants demonstrated to facilitate bridging activities, which I explicate in this chapter. This is significant as the capabilities that bridging agents possess remains an underexplored, yet significant area, particularly as it relates to multifaceted organizational arrangements (Schotter, Mudambi, Doz & Gaur, 2014)[9]. As well, I discovered that while there were few common characteristics present across all identified boundary spanners, the key common characteristic was that most were multicultural in an organizational and occupational sense (i.e., significant work experiences in multiple organizations in more than one sector).

Since boundary spanning within the Coalition played out differently than what I previously expected, in keeping with the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), I first review the relevant literature that was not covered in full within my

[9] While there are a number of research studies that point to some possible capabilities that boundary spanners possess, in both the international management (e.g. Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Fitzsimmons, 2013; Fitzsimmons et al., 2011) and cross sector partnership literatures (e.g., Manning & Roessler, 2014; Murphy et al., 2012; Rivera-Santos & Rufin, 2011; Selsky & Parker, 2010), very little *explicit* empirical focus has been given to examining this phenomenon.

literature review to better position my discoveries in this area. Then, I present my key findings related to formal and informal boundary spanning activity as well as the skill sets and key characteristics of the boundary spanners identified.

Relevant Literature

As detailed in my literature review in Chapter 2, for the purposes of this dissertation study, I define a boundary spanner as an individual that promotes partner interface across organizational, geographic and sectoral boundaries (Manning & Roessler, 2014; Murphy, 2012), involving both internal and external agents (Stadtler & Probst, 2012). In particular, I focus on boundary spanners within the confines of the social partnership. Much of the existing conceptual and empirical work in this area has focused on instances where individuals serve as boundary spanners in a formal capacity, meaning that is relates directly to their job function (e.g., Aldrich & Herker, 1977; Barner-Rasmussen, Ehrnrooth, Koveshnikov & Makela, 2014; Johnson & Duxbury, 2010; Kolk et al., 2010; Koveshnikov, Barner-Rasmussen, Ehrnrooth & Makela, 2012; Vora & Kostova, 2007). As the extant literature is synthesized by Barner- Rasmussen and colleagues, boundary spanners in formal roles such as MNC expatriates and/or subsidiary managers, function primarily in four identified key boundary spanning activities: exchanging information and knowledge across boundaries, establishing links by connecting previously unengaged actors via personal networks, facilitating cross-border interactions of others and intervening in inter-group activities to foster positive consequences (Barner-Rasmussen, Ehrnrooth, Koveshnikov & Makela, 2014: 888). More recently, though, a few studies have illustrated instances where individuals function informally as boundary spanners in ways that go beyond or even outside of their official

capacities (Manning & Roessler, 2014), or boundary spanning in practice (Levina & Vaast, 2005). However, our overall knowledge about boundary spanners in practice remains sparse.

While research points to the crucial roles that boundary spanners can play in helping players to bridge across complex organizational realities, either formally or informally, much still remains to be explored. More specifically, we still know very little about how boundary spanning in social partnerships plays out over time (Manning & Roessler, 2014) or the capabilities and characteristics of boundary spanners working within such multi-faceted organizational arrangements (Schotter et al., 2014). Particularly as it relates to social partnerships, very little explicit empirical focus has been given to examining boundary spanning, especially at the individual level of analysis. This is a notable gap as social partnerships often involve the coming together of multiple meaning systems at multiple levels. The Coalition is a prime example of this statement, as I illustrated in the previous chapter. Manning and Roessler (2014) is an exception in that the authors examine how bridging agents boundary span in the formation of public-private partnerships within development based initiatives, involving both external and internal players. Yet, the authors are focused on dyadic partnerships rather than tri-sector arrangements involving a multitude of players. Manning and Roessler (2014) also explicitly hone in on the formation phase of the partnership rather than examining how various groups and players involved in the partnership attempt to operate across multi-faceted boundaries in day-to-day dealings over time. In other words, there is a paucity of empirical exploration into the everyday practices that boundary spanners in general and

individuals in social partnerships in particular enact in order to traverse multiple meaning systems over time.

Findings

Evidence of Formal Boundary Spanning within the Coalition

In talking with Coalition players, observing meetings and reviewing archival documentation I discovered some evidence of individual-level boundary spanning in a formal capacity. In other words, I found some traces of boundary spanning tied directly to professional roles and job descriptions in the Coalition setting, particularly in the case of the Executive Directors and the Leadership Council Co-chairs. Table 6.1 below provides an overview of each formal position, his/her respective boundary spanning role(s), data examples of each role as well as the level of effectiveness of each role in promoting partner interfaces across organizational and/or sectoral boundaries.

First Executive Director – The first Executive Director of the Coalition was considered to be a *partnership builder*. She played a crucial role in marshaling the various individuals and organizations involved together toward a shared vision including facilitating the development of an overall initial strategy, determining additional players that needed to be at the table and working to develop a beginning governance structure. There were many examples of the first Executive Director functioning in this way within the archival meeting minutes from the first few years of the Coalition's operations, as the following two examples point to:

> [She] suggested that it may be beneficial to hold a full-day Leadership Council Retreat in January 2009 and extend invitation to Coordinating Committee and Working Group members

> [She] presented proposed committee composition for the Management Committee; (most partners have assigned their representative) and Working Groups (still need to find appropriate members)

Yet, for her ability to bring the different players together and work toward building the partnership, there were still signs of fragmentation and a silo mentality within the Coalition. For instance, I noted many cases in the archival meeting notes of players discussing the notion that the involved partners were functioning as individual players and organizations rather than as a cohesive partnership in the community.

Table 6.1: Evidence of Formal Boundary Spanning in the Coalition

Formal Position	**Boundary Spanning Roles**	**Examples in the Data**	**Level of Effectiveness in Promoting Partner Interface Across Boundaries**
First Executive Director	Partnership Builder – facilitated the initial development of the Coalition's work including overall strategy, key players involved and governance structure	[She] expressed concern that the committees are working in isolation and need to understand their roles as part of the broader strategic and operational framework. Meetings are underway to link the Data Working and the Research and Evaluation Working Groups. - excerpt from 2008 Leadership Council meeting [The first Executive Director] has had meetings with various groups/partners and there seems to be a lack of clarity as to the Coalition's mandate. There are some gaps at the LC table such as Federal and Aboriginal representation and new members will be sought in the next while. There will be several changes at the LC with changes in position such as Mayor Lowe stepping down. Governance structure is being looked at and changes may be imminent. - excerpt from 2008 Leadership Council meeting	The first Executive Director was instrumental in mobilizing the players in the Coalition in the early years, but there was still evidence of fragmentation, silo mentality and differences of opinion about the partnership focus among players
Second Executive Director	Relationship builder – skilled at developing solid relationships between the partners involved to foster	"And I think people do make a difference. I mean I think [the second ED] was a really big catalyst in bringing folks together in the beginning. I think [she] was responsible for	Players widely agreed that the second Executive Director excelled at building relationships and bringing

	long-term commitment to the partnership	people really getting engaged in the Coalition and so I think [the third ED] has been able to do a lot of what he's been able to do because of that. So I think [the second ED] was a big part of the success of the Coalition having her there in the earlier days to really get that solid foundation happening." - current Management Committee member "And [the second ED] had some really strong skills in building partnerships and so I would say during her tenure like the focus first was let's get this established…she had to create a whole organization and an infrastructure and figure out how the governance was gonna work and I think she was very good at bringing people together and actually listening to them" - former Leadership Council director	people together in the Coalition, but many, particularly business and governmental players, expressed the opinion that she was also often too narrowly focused, which did not help to foster overall partner interface
Third Executive Director	Visionary – directed players back to social partnership's focal purpose and/or the key social issue at hand	"I think what [the third ED] has done has helped to really bring a lot more clarity about how the Coalition helps to end homelessness…and it's really around the kind of the stewardship, what community visually look like, what are the pieces underneath…" - former Leadership Council Co-chair "[The third ED] provides a tremendous amount of clarity and focus and doesn't get kind of pulled around by the various musings	Many expressed that the third Executive Director was instrumental in terms of fostering a shared vision among players within the Coalition and mobilizing them in the same direction, yet there continued to be many differences in opinion among players as to the partnership's key purpose and focus

		of those of us who are on the committees…" - current Management Committee member	
	Viewpoint Translator – aided players in seeing issues from alternative perspectives	"He comes from the business community. He actually used to be a policy analyst for the BC chamber. So I've seen him in action. He's very smart. He's learnt how to bridge the gap between social agencies and the business community and government well. And it's hard to do that with all those – I talked about culture I think - it's really hard to do that. If you had somebody from the social service side they might not relate to the business community or government or you know they spend their whole life advocating against government for something. I mean this thing's wrought with conflict if you're not careful. The right person has gotta be in those roles or you get nowhere." - former Leadership Council director "I think some of the stuff is pretty much put on the table with you know people will speak their mind and if there's differences people will state very clearly I disagree and I think (the third Executive Director) does his best to arbitrate between them or walk the fine line between them all. I can't imagine it can't be an easy job for the executive director of the organization but he does a marvelous job it seems to me in navigating that." - current Management Committee member	Some frequently described the third Executive Director has being savvy at helping players to see the issues at hand from different vantage points, yet this attribute was only mentioned by some business and governmental players – the two areas in which he had previously professional experience

Leadership Council Co-Chairs	Visionary – directed players back to social partnership's focal purpose and/or the key social issue at hand	"I mean ultimately it's about doing the hard work to bring all the different groups or opinions within your community together to – and build you start from this simple concept of ending homelessness which is desired – people come with their own motivations of why they want to do that – and build that into a collective group and vision and start to develop the complexities around doing that." - former Leadership Council Co-chair "…sometimes he would just get really aggravated because it had just slowed right down almost to a standstill and he would you know forcefully say look this is why we've come together…" - former Leadership Council director	The Leadership Council co-chairs were sometimes helpful in terms of redirecting people back to the key purpose and issue of homelessness during meetings when individual players expressed differences, yet many described to me the continued disjunctures among players and the lack of clarity present within
	Facilitator – worked in include various perspectives in conversation	"And so for me I would meet once a week with the executive director and the other co-chair and then every second week we would meet with the five executives. And that was to make sure that we were always staying on track, moving forward, knowing the work that I needed to do to go help facilitate to move their goals forward so that's how it goes." - former Leadership Council co-chair "I was impressed with both of them actually	Some described how the co-chairs worked to include various voices in the discussions throughout meetings, yet many described to me feelings of disconnections

		and that's just such a key position…it's critical in terms of [the co-chairs] going to the agenda, setting an atmosphere of inviting people to talk, and both of them I think did a really good job, a very difficult job, but they created a sense of respect at the table - former Leadership Council Director	

Second Executive Director – This Executive Director played the boundary spanning role of a *relationship builder* in that she was considered to be very adept at developing solid connections with the Coalition partners, individually and as a collective group. In my one-on-one meetings with Coalition players, many talked fondly about her very warm and personable approach and her strong collaborative leadership style that allowed the players involved to perceive themselves as an active part of the social partnership. Many attributed her strong capability in building such relationships to be a critical success factor in the Coalition's development. As one Management Committee member, who has been actively involved in the Coalition since 2009, stated: "…the second ED was a big part of the success of the Coalition; having her there in the earlier days was important to really get that solid foundation happening." Despite her aptitude for building relationships, though, many expressed to me that she was too narrowly focused in her approach, which did not serve to actively engage all of the various players and promote overall partner interface in the Coalition.

Third Executive Director – Some described this Executive Director as being able to direct the various partners, each who approached the Coalition table with their own goals and objectives, toward the partnership's focal purpose of working to end homelessness in the local area. This was particularly the case when they would lose sight of this collective goal. As the third Executive Director himself put it:

> "If you're not clear about what the role of the organization is then…elements of the organization that have agendas that kind of fall within but aspects that will pull you out can really drag you in places you don't necessarily want to go. So, I mean, for me, if you go back for example to when I was working with [my previous organization] and membership there are all of the local [chapters]. And they would send me issues that they wanted us, the provincial organization, to take on, on their behalf. And sometimes they were local issues, which were really not our

> business. So, really that was a really critical piece to me to understand that if we go diving down every rabbit hole on whether or not the snow is being properly cleared on a [local] highway…it's going to use too many resources of our organization and we want to work on province-wide issues. So, that was a really critical learning for me – understanding and being able to tell groups who have perfectly legitimate issues that's not our job."

In this sense, he functioned in a *visionary* boundary spanning role to help ensure that individual and/or organizational goals or agendas did not trump the key focus of the social partnership. At the same time, though, I encountered many differences in opinion among the participants as to the Coalition's overall purpose and target focus as I detailed in the previous chapter.

The third Executive Director also functioned in the boundary spanning role of *viewpoint translator* in that he was considered by many to be savvy at helping players to see the issues being discussed from alternative perspectives and to successfully navigate across them. As one current Leadership Council director, who was situated in a business climate, put it:

> At the end of the discussion, [he] said he thought [the third Executive Director] was an excellent [one] as he is able to help mitigate across different perspectives, due to his experience in both business and policy settings. [The Leadership Council director] thought he has learned how to bridge the gap between the service providers, the business community and the government

Interestingly, though, this boundary spanning role was only mentioned by some involved business and governmental players – two arenas in which the Executive Director had previously worked in a professional capacity. In contrast, some representatives of organizations and/or sectors outside of the business and governmental spaces did not view the third Executive Director as being able to see or position the issues at hand outside of these two realms.

Leadership Council Co-Chairs – In a similar boundary spanning role as the third Executive Director, some described the co-chairs over time as functioning as *visionaries* at the Leadership Council table. More specifically, Leadership Council directors, past and present, described how they would, at times, help to redirect conversations back to the key focus of the Coalition when it would sway from the overall mission of the partnership. However, at the same time, many also relayed to me the continued differences in opinion among players and the lack of clarity within the Coalition as it related to the partnership's key focus when it came to the issue of homelessness.

Some others described how the co-chairs served in the boundary spanning role of *facilitator* in working to ensure that some voices did not trump others at the Coalition table and that all were actively included.

> "What went well? I just think the meetings, many of the meetings themselves and the co-chairs did a really good job of facilitating those meetings and the climate that we had in terms of discussion"
> - former Leadership Council director

In spite of their efforts, though, many Leadership Council directors relayed to me that they felt disconnected and that their voices were not actively considered at the table. Consider the following example from a current Leadership Council director:

> "Some people are more engaged than others…I think that many of the people around the table need to talk about roles and responsibilities a little bit. There are some people that sit there and don't say anything…I think they need to – the co-chairs need to take time to create more dialogue between the members to have a more open discussion on roles and responsibilities."

Secretariat staff – In addition to the above-discussed formal boundary spanning roles within the Coalition, many players mentioned Secretariat staff members as being able to bridge in their functional roles across the organizations and/or sectors represented

at the table, primarily in *facilitating* roles. One long-time Management Committee member relayed to me the following:

> [He] mentioned [a Secretariat employee] for his organization in particular as he is able to speak the language of [his organization] in terms of referencing relevant literature and data in conversations and that he seems to be able to understand and navigate across multiple partners' perspectives. [This Management Committee member] also mentioned that there are different approaches to housing and that [this particular Secretariat employee] stimulates helpful conversations around this and explains why certain initiatives or decisions are being made. [The Management Committee member] also said that [the employee] was very helpful in connecting [his organization] with a private developer (who is situated in a different world in comparison to [his provincially based organization]. [This member] also felt like [another Secretariat employee] had been very competent and was effective at communicating across the partners in the Coalition. He specifically mentioned navigating across a bureaucratic health system and the passionate, not-for-profit community - notes from meeting with Management Committee member

Evidence of Informal Boundary Spanning within the Coalition

Yet, for the boundary spanning roles that individuals were able to play within the Coalition in formal functional positions, these roles only went so far in promoting partner interfaces across boundaries as evidenced by the preceding discussion. I realized that these individuals were only able to bridge across *some* boundaries within the Coalition and certain individuals involved did not view these players as being effective boundary spanners. Consider, for example, the third Executive Director who functioned in a *viewpoint translating* boundary spanning role, where only some business and governmental players viewed him in this capacity. In other words, formal boundary spanning in this context was not sufficient, in and of itself, in promoting partner interface across the various organizational and sectoral boundaries present within the Coalition.

Much of the evidence of boundary spanning I discovered in the social partnership via interviews, meeting observations and archival records related to participants in the

Coalition's various committees and groups who enacted bridging capabilities in their everyday interactions. Put differently, much of the boundary spanning activities identified related to participants who functioned in ways that extended and/or transcended beyond the bounds of their official roles as representatives of various organizations and associations within the Coalition, in an informal or practice based sense. Interestingly, as opposed to a few individuals surfacing as key boundary spanners in practice across the various boundaries associated with the social partnership, I found much more evidence of pockets of bridging activity across select organizations and/or sectors. As illustrated in the opening field note excerpt of this chapter, Coalition players would often describe to me specific instances of individuals boundary spanning across certain organizational and/or sectoral boundaries. Examples include: a community researcher bridging between the academic community and the general public; an academic with experience in Aboriginal relations and nonprofits serving as a bridge between the Aboriginal community and the Leadership Council; and a health professional, with experience in both the health and nonprofit service sectors, bridging between health organizations and community service providers. Table 6.2 below provides an overview of each informal boundary spanner's formal position in approaching the Coalition as an involved player, the specific boundaries he/she bridged and a data example for each[10].

[10] The informal boundary spanners identified related to *pockets* of boundary spanning activities, bridging particular groups within the Coalition, as opposed to a few individuals that a variety of participants viewed as boundary spanners throughout. As such, I have included one key data example for each as opposed to the two data examples I provided within Table 6.1. In the latter case, these individuals held formalized roles in the Coalition and thus there were more data validations as more participants tended to refer back to these key individuals and their designated positions in facilitating the social partnership's activities.

Table 6.2: Evidence of Informal Boundary Spanning in the Coalition

Formal Position	**Boundaries Bridged**	**Evidence in the Data**
Researcher for a community nonprofit	Academic community involved in the Coalition and the general public; researchers and community nonprofits	"…both of those things, the connection between community development work and community based research…they're not mutually exclusive when you're doing community based research and looking at social issues and how to address them and working with the community to come up with solutions, right? So, I think, for us, being able to bring that perspective to the Coalition. I think is really important because I think sometimes in the past it's been – research has been really kind of wrapped up in the academic work, right?" - current Management Committee member
University professor, with expertise in Aboriginal relations and nonprofit management	Aboriginal community and the Leadership Council	"Now [the third Executive Director] and I had this relationship before because he'd consulted with me around how the Coalition could do a better job of working with indigenous peoples. So I had met with him several times and his staff around helping the Coalition work with indigenous peoples. So he knew me in that context and then inviting me out to the Leadership Council. And I agreed with the - just being explicit with him that my primary intention was to further the Coalition's work with indigenous peoples. That's my priority and that's where my value added was going to be." - current Leadership Council director
Manager for a major governmental health agency, with experience in both direct service provision and health	Health organizations and community service providers; between governmental agencies involved	I asked [him] about his background prior to joining [his current organization] as he mentioned several times the tensions between health and community organizations. He mentioned that he had worked for many years in housing related community organizations before coming to the health area in a variety of roles, including as a case manager. Perhaps this is why he understands the natural tensions in this regard and also understands the importance of keeping the key issue and population of interest at the forefront of the Coalition's work - notes from meeting with current Management Committee member
Director of a faith-	Experiential	"So I have a saying in my life if it's about us it's with us and this is about the

based nonprofit agency that caters to the experiential community	community and the Coalition	homeless shelter it should really be with us but it should really be somehow struggling to find how do we really give power to the homeless around this table? Boy I'll tell you I've been around the table a lot. It is hard to have a banker or bureaucrat around this table when there's a homeless guy saying 'What in the f$%& is my place? I've been homeless.' Boy it's hard." - current Leadership Council director
Director at a community nonprofit with business based background	Business community and the Management Committee	"So I've always been on the business side until this job at [organization's name]. If you cannot put numbers in place and say this is the issue, here's the number, here's the timeline, here's what we think we can fix, here's what it means and have numbers in place, business will never pay attention. That's how they talk. They want numbers, they want it quick, they want it very crisp, so they get a sense of this is something they want to get involved with. They want to be able to answer: how could we position this internally? and how would we garner support internally? what stakeholders do we need? That's the way it works to get any type of action behind it. Otherwise it distracts from the business and the profitability." - current Management Committee member
Principal at a consulting firm that worked with private, public and nonprofit clients	Business community and the Leadership Council	"[He] has a lot of empathy and really speaks out well on these sorts of things too and you know it makes sense to have the funders and politicians and people from organizations working within the housing and stuff but somebody like [this business professional] who, his thing's tourism, so to find key people like that that make a difference too to sort of widen the circle of the participants is key" - current communications working group member
Housing manager at municipal government agency	Between different governmental agencies involved in the Coalition at various levels (e.g., municipal, city, provincial)	[He] mentioned that many things were up in the air…with [the housing manager] soon retiring. He seemed to really like [him] and said that [his provincial organization] and [the municipal governmental agency were the housing manager worked] have a very good working relationship - notes from meeting with current Management Committee member
Director of a major service provider to the experiential	Service provider community and the Management	[She] talked briefly about the federal election campaign on behalf of the Downtown Service Providers - notes from September 2015 Management Committee meeting

community	Committee	
Director for a major governmental health agency	Funding organizations involved and the Leadership Council; governmental agency and the Coalition	She said she has always tried to be diplomatic and as a representative for a major funder at the table. She has wanted to ensure that resources were being used in the more effective and efficient manner possible and to ask honest questions about how things are working as well as to give honest and transparent answers - notes from meeting with current Leadership Council director
University professor, with expertise in working with the experiential community and health services	Academic community and the Coalition; Coalition (in terms of research conducted) and the general public	[she] also mentioned that the work that [this university professor] has done has been really important in terms of education and research – translating the data into a narrative that makes sense to the wider public. - notes from meeting with current Management Committee member
Director of a downtown business organization	Business community and the Leadership Council	I said that my understanding was that [a major business association] had been very active at the formation of the Coalition and that they had provided funding for the Secretariat. I mentioned I was trying to figure out why the interest had waned over time and wondered if it had to do with the specific people involved as I understood [this director for a downtown business organization] had been very involved. He said this could be so [she] was very involved and passionate about the Coalition - notes from meeting with first Leadership Council co-chair
University professor, with expertise in nonprofit management and the experiential community	Nonprofit community and the Leadership Council; experiential community and the Leadership Council	"I was impressed with the range of views and some what I would call more progressive than others. And, from my point of view, the need to be patient with those I would say had less progressive views…. So it was just trying to get a more rounded picture of who the homeless are. And what has led to people being homeless. And being a little patient with that process of understanding." - former Leadership Council director

Taking the formal and informal boundary spanning activities as a whole highlights the constellation of individual boundary spanners present within the social partnership in order to bridge across the wide variety of organizational and sectoral boundaries present within such a multi-faceted organizational arrangement.

Boundary Spanning Skill Sets

After realizing that formal and informal boundary spanning activity was readily present within the Coalition, I was interested to see whether there were common skill sets that helped to facilitate these bridging activities. As such, I closely reviewed the activities of identified boundary spanners, as available via meeting observation notes and archival documentation, as well as interview transcripts and my own write ups from each interview. I specifically focused on cases where individuals themselves described their own boundary spanning activities and at least one other player described him or her as a bridge within the Coalition[11]. In total, I discovered 11 cases of formal boundary spanners and 12 cases of boundary spanners in practice[12].

Once I surfaced initial grounded themes as it relates to skill sets, I talked with select players in the Coalition about these possible themes, obtained their feedback and made adjustments, as necessary. Through this process, for example, I realized that many of the formal boundary spanners exhibited some of the skill sets identified, whereas initially I thought that these were primarily attributed to informal boundary spanning

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[11] There were only two exceptions to this statement: the first and second Executive Directors. In my conversations with current and former Coalition players these two individuals clearly surfaced as notable formal boundary spanners, yet they were not available to be interviewed for this research project.

[12] While I ensured that I talked with at least one individual from the various groups that comprise the Coalition (e.g., working groups, social inclusion advisory committee), my core focus, as detailed in my methodology chapter, was on the Leadership Council, Management Committee and Secretariat. Therefore, while most of the boundary spanners identified fall into one of these three categories, it is fully recognized that there could be other boundary spanners present within the social partnership.

activities. As a result, when I conducted a second round of coding in Atlas.ti after clarifying the initial themes with Coalition players, I looked closely at informal *and* formal cases of boundary spanners. Figure 6.1 below illustrates the analytic data structure from more specific, first-order categories that are grounded in the data to more general, induced second-order themes that I arrived at after closely considering relationships among first order categories and consulting the literature. The outcome was five aggregate skill sets that facilitated boundary spanning activity in the Coalition: partnership commitment, awareness of complexity, boundary crossing knowledge transfer, openness to alternative perspectives and relationship orientation[13]. Table 6.2 provides an overview of each skill set, including definition of each capability, as well as representative quotes, observations and archival entries for related first-order themes.

Partnership Commitment. Individuals who possessed this capability in the Coalition were able to keep their emphasis first and foremost on the focal goal and issue that brought the various partners together. This included concentrating on similarities between partners rather than disparate organizational and individual goals. Consider the following field note excerpt from one of my meetings with a current Leadership Council director:

> [She] kept going back to getting to the common ground in bringing together these different groups and organizations to work on the issue of homelessness. She really seemed to have a perspective of looking at what everyone has in common and trying to move forward to solve homelessness versus focusing on the differences that exist

[13] It is important to note that the five skill sets discussed within this chapter are the ones that were the most salient in the data. There were some other skill sets that surfaced among certain identified boundary spanners such as emotional resilience, but there were not as many validations within the data to support these surfaced skill sets as the ones discussed in the body of this chapter.

Figure 6.1: Analytic Data Structure of Boundary Spanning Skill Sets

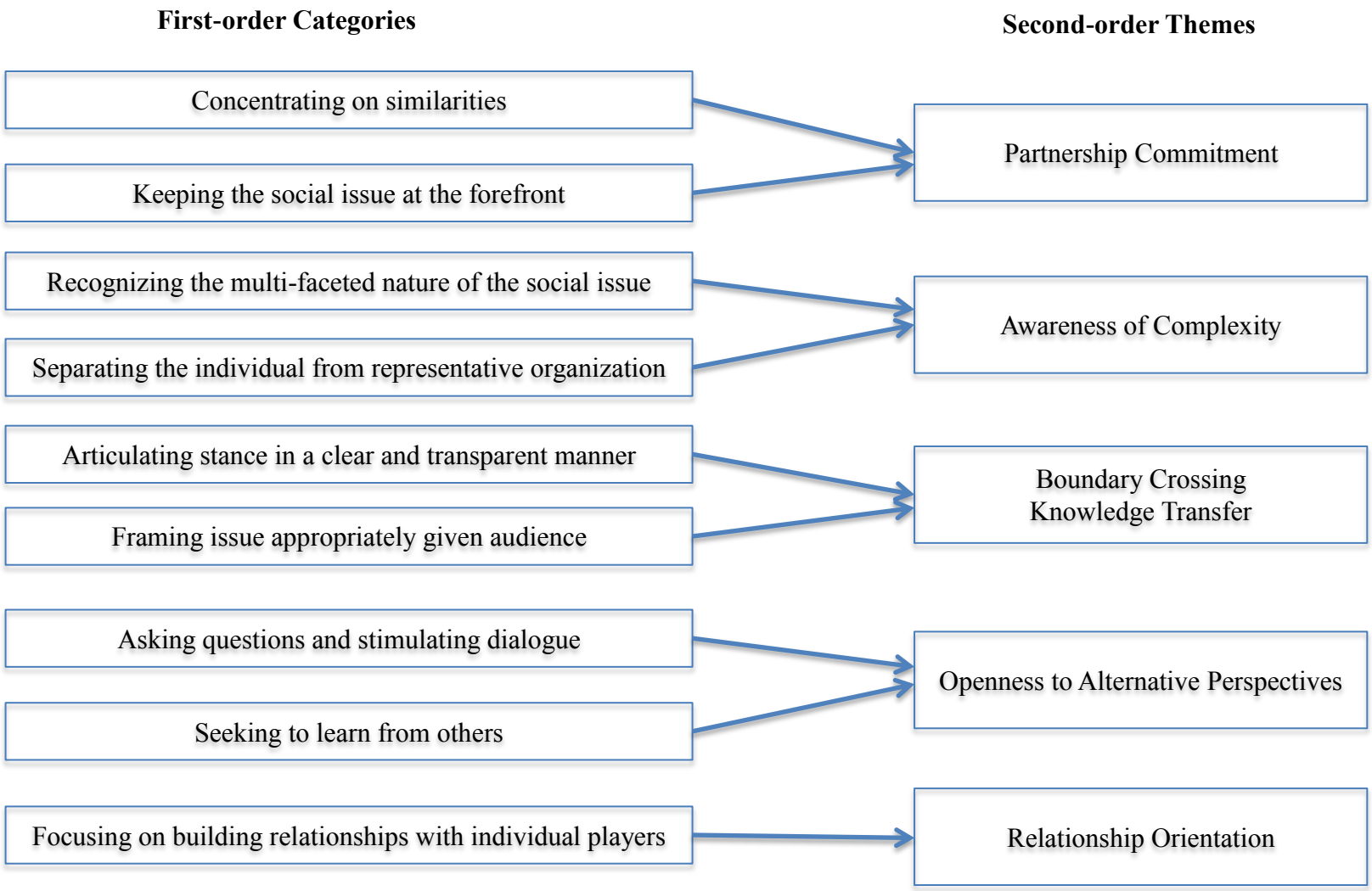

Table 6.3: Evidence of Skill Sets that Facilitate Boundary Spanning Activity in the Coalition

Skill Set: Partnership Commitment – ability to focus first and foremost on the aims of the partnership including the key social issue that the partners have come together to address rather than calling attention to organizational and/or sectoral differences between them	
Concentrating on similarities	"Well I think I go into those discussions and meetings with I think one really important assumption and that's that in the end it all comes down to a group of individuals we're trying to serve and I find if we can stay grounded there then a lot of the other issues around slightly competitive not for profit agencies, service provider, government, non-government, all of those things melt away a bit if we can stay grounded with that…" - current Management Committee member "I think, for me, it's always about getting to the common ground. So, what do we have in common first of all and trying to start there" - current Leadership Council director
Keeping the social issue at the forefront	She mentioned to me that in spite of her frustrations, she continues to stay at the table because she is passionate about the issue - notes from meeting with current Leadership Council director The Leadership Council director talked about affordable housing projects coming on stream in Victoria including one that was outside of the city limits and would be finished in 2016 and 2017. She mentioned that after the long hiatus of not seeing much housing being built that this was very exciting. She also then talked about some stories of homelessness that she encountered recently as she mentioned it is important to give face to the issue. - notes from October 2015 Leadership Council meeting
Skill Set: Awareness of Complexity – ability to realize that the social issue at hand is very multi-layered and will involve multiple organizations and sectors working together, each with their own sets of strengths and limitations, in order to solve it effectively rather than viewing the issue solely from his/her own vantage point	

Recognizing the multi-faceted nature of the social issue at hand	"Well we live in a complicated society so I believe that we could easily solve homelessness if it was the only issue confronting us as a society. We could solve almost any problem as long as we made that the focus and the priority. So the challenge is not everybody gives this issue the same level of priority. Not everybody sees the solution the same way" - current Leadership Council Co-chair "The reason why people experience homelessness is so multi-layered and complex that we can't just, that there can't just be really easy band-aid solutions to it." - current Management Committee member
Separating the individual from representative organization	"so it's never at a personal level it's always at okay yeah you are trying to do the best you can in an organization that has certain sets of values that aren't gonna allow you to necessarily move in this direction that I think you should move in" - former Leadership Council director "I think previously there would have been more hand-wringing you know, but [the third Executive Director] has been really good about also not letting us be attacked. By saying they're doing what they can." - former Leadership Council director
Skill Set: Boundary Crossing Knowledge Transfer – ability to coherently express one's own viewpoint, including underlying assumptions, and to effectively share information in a way that will be meaningful to individuals in other organizations and/or sectors rather than communicating opaquely and in the same manner regardless of the audience	
Articulating stance in a clear and transparent manner	[He] really communicated to me the significance of transparency in one's perspective in approaching the Coalition's table, particular the priorities of your given organization - notes from meeting with current Management Committee member "My background is in sociology and so I can't actually see things in vacuums and compartments…" - current Management Committee member
Framing issue appropriately given audience	"If you cannot put numbers in place and say this is the issue, here's the number, here's the timeline, here's what we think we can fix, here's what it means and have numbers in place business will never pay attention. That's how they talk. They want numbers, they want it quick, they want it very crisp so they get a sense of whether this is something they wanna get involved with, how they could position this internally

	and how they would garner support internally, what stakeholders do they need; that's the way it works to get any type of action behind it." - current Management Committee member "Translating the information, like translating the data, coming up with ways to tell the story without getting really bogged down into what researchers wanna get bogged down in which is the data and all the gritty details like I think she's done a really great job of advising around that…" - current Management Committee member
Skill Set: Openness to Alternative Perspectives – fully understands that his/her perspective is just one out of a plethora of perspectives and demonstrates a strong willingness to actively listen to and understand others' stances rather than viewing his/her own viewpoint as "the right one"	
Asking questions and stimulating dialogue	I then asked her about how she personally worked to bridge across the different perspectives at the table. She emphasized the need to ask a lot of questions and to understand the background of decisions - notes from meeting with current Management Committee member He then piped in and asked how big of a problem is this lack of coordination province wide. He went on to talk about how he felt that the Downtown Eastside did have more resources and seemed to be better coordinated, so he wondered if the lack of coordination was more of a local challenge rather than one across the province. He then wondered if it would be beneficial to look into their successes more and key factors so his organization and [another major governmental entity] could learn to work together more effectively - notes from October 2015 Management Committee meeting
Seeking to learn from others	[The Leadership Council Co-chair] said that after 7 years, he has absorbed a lot of knowledge and has even begun to take up that rhetoric and language and talk about the issues from a the vantage point of the actual homelessness challenges rather than just talking about the Coalition from his functional background - notes from meeting with current Leadership Council Co-chair "I think the biggest eye opening moment for me was spending a lot of time with the doctors and some other folks around the table that were in the system and to understand that it's not about choosing not to work; it's about 'I've had a mental health issue such as a brain injury'...So, it's a lot of that learning and the realization that these are people that didn't choose this per say, which is I think how a lot of people think

	about it…so there were a lot of a-ha moments for me" - former Leadership Council director
Skill Set: Relationship Orientation – Ability to foster strong social capital with other players involved in the cross sector partnership rather than seeking to move forward with one's agenda without regard for personal relationships	
Focusing on building relationships with individual players	"I think the relationships are probably the most important thing where you sort of you know there are people who you work with in a variety of different capacities maybe you negotiated contracts with, maybe you developed services with them, and just leveraging those relationships through meetings one-on-one or with the group to address issues that might be say challenging to address in a group format and do that maybe on your own." - current Management Committee member "I'm also very mindful that I want to always preserve the relationship so sometimes maybe I'm not as critical as I should be or could be in situations" - former Leadership Council director

As well, individuals who exemplified a partnership commitment were able to keep the key social issue as the central focal point, in this case, homelessness in the Greater Victoria area, as opposed to pushing one's own individual and/or organizational agenda.

> As we began the interview, [the Management Committee member] mentioned early on the importance of staying grounded in the group of individuals the Coalition is trying to serve as the most significant thing and then not letting the individual organizational mandates dictate the efforts
> - notes from meeting with current Management Committee member

Awareness of Complexity. Coalition players who demonstrated this skill set were able to recognize the multi-faceted nature of the key social issue, which required a multitude of organizations and individuals with various capabilities to work together, in order to effectively solve it, in this case homelessness. As I detailed in one of my field notes following a meeting with a Leadership Council director

> In talking about her own background, which informs how she approaches the Coalition, she mentioned that in her previous work she has always taken the approach of thinking about the collective impact and the variety of players involved versus just seeing it as one player or organization trying to serve underprivileged and/or vulnerable populations individually. [She] mentioned specifically that collective background is always greater than individual impact. [This Leadership Council director] really seemed to understand and emphasize the importance of looking at homelessness holistically and also to realize the variety of players that needed to be involved in order to effectively deal with the complex issue

This included separating the individuals at the Coalition table from their representative organizations and/or associations and recognizing that each player approached the partnership with certain organizational limitations as demonstrated by the following quote from a former Leadership Council director:

> "I think one thing that I do is I really always put it into the broader organizational perspective. I understand what the challenges are for them (speaking of involved governmental player) of working in a large organization that's not always clear on what their position is around

> something like harm reduction so I think that's one thing that I do…it's not a tension between me and the individual. It's a tension that I put into an organizational context."

By contrast, some players were unable to view the issue apart from their own perspectives and these individuals tended to express frustration that others could not see the issues at hand from their vantage point and/or were not catering to their requests.

Boundary Crossing Knowledge Transfer. Coalition participants who were able to share knowledge successfully with other players across organizational and/or sectoral boundaries possessed the ability to clearly articulate their perspectives in a transparent manner. This clear articulation of perspective included verbalizing underlying assumptions and reasons for certain viewpoints or opinions being expressed, such as, for example, tied to organizational policy or norms associated with working in a certain sector.

> "I do come from a specific perspective we serve people who have pretty serious health issues. So our area of attention is generally people who have considerable support needs and housing"
> - current Management Committee member

Individuals who possessed this skill set in the Coalition also were able to frame a given issue appropriately depending upon the audience rather than articulating viewpoints in the same manner regardless of the individuals involved. As a former Leadership Council co-chair relayed to me in talking about how to involve and mobilize the various players around the Leadership Council table:

> "And again the success is to help everybody else find their success and then help them find – if they can see their own personal success and aspirations within the larger vision then you can move things forward"

Openness to Alternative Perspectives. Coalition players who exhibited this skill set worked to actively listen to and understand the vantage points of others involved. A

current Management Committee member who had experience in a number of cross sector partnership initiatives in addition to the Coalition expressed the importance of this skill set to me as follows:

> I then asked her about her previous cross sectoral experiences in comparison to the Coalition and how perspectives are managed. Right away she talked about the importance of listening and hearing what others are saying

This included asking questions and stimulating dialogue as well as keenly seeking to learn from others. In contrast, I found much evidence of involved individuals who did not actively listen and seek to learn from others. Consider the following example:

> When I asked about natural tensions coming up, [the Leadership Council director] brought up [a recent discussion], which I have heard a lot about from a variety of different perspectives to date. From her perspective, it seemed like things were pushed forward, that her continual feedback was given and not heard and that there was not as much discussion leading up to the decision.

While there were certainly exceptions, in many cases, those who demonstrated a strong openness to alternative perspectives were those who had experience in multiple organizations and/or sectors and were thus familiar with multiple ways of doing things in a professional realm. By comparison, I found many examples of individuals involved who were seeped primarily in one particular meaning system associated with a given organizational culture and/or sector (and associated institutional logic) and who had great difficulty in seeing things from alternative perspectives. Consider the following two examples:

> As our conversation progressed, it became very clear to me that [this Management Committee member] saw things very much from [his organization's standpoint…he seemed to have a very [organizational] focus only rather than seeing how things function from other players' perspectives
> - notes from meeting with current Management Committee member

> In processing my conversation with [a former Leadership Council director] it is important for me to remember that her work experience has been within one realm…so she has not been well versed in other sectors, which may limit her ability to reach across perspectives to see things from other vantage points. Her perspective seemed quite different than, for example, [a Management Committee member I met with] who comes primarily from a private sector background but has experience in the nonprofit area and was able to see the Coalition and its operation from multiple vantage points not simply a business based perspective
> - notes from meeting with former Leadership Council director

Relationship Orientation. Those within the Coalition who possessed this skill set demonstrated the ability to nurture solid personal relationships with individual participants involved in the social partnership. One Management Committee member explained to me how building relationships with other players had been very beneficial in helping him to foster connections across different organizations and sectors as detailed in my field notes:

> When I asked [him] about how people are able to take off their organizational hats, so to speak, in order to try and see something from someone else's perspective and work together effectively, he mentioned that he really thought it was about having a strong network of colleagues from different organizations to work with. He said he has built up strong relationships with some of those at the table that has been particularly helpful. This reminded me of my conversation with [another former Leadership Council director] and the importance of building strong relationships

Many players relayed to me their personal experiences of how building solid relationships with others at the table had contributed to more effective working relationships within the Coalition across organizations and sectors. By comparison, I also heard accounts of individuals not being able to work together across differences due to a lack of development as it relates to individual relationships.

For some identified boundary spanners, I found evidence of enactment of all five surfaced skill sets, while in studying others I discovered evidence of only a few of them in practice. Possessing some of the skill sets was helpful to Coalition players in traversing multiple meaning systems across organizational and sectoral boundaries, yet there were certainly limitations. For example, the third Executive Director strongly exhibited partnership commitment, an awareness of complexity and boundary crossing knowledge transfer yet there was a lack of evidence in terms of the other two noted skill sets: openness to alternative perspectives and relationship orientation. As a result, many partners, particularly those outside of the governmental and business realms in which he had dedicated experience, detailed strong opinions about him pursuing his own agenda without sufficient regard for others' viewpoints and/or not showing regard for building relationships with players. Consider the following two quotes:

> When I asked her about something that could be improved, she described the strategic planning meeting where it seemed like [the third Executive Director] already had the exact plan he wanted in mind but he wanted the Leadership Council directors to feel involved and so he had them write their ideas on post it notes. I could tell that [she] did not think this was a good idea and that her opinion was not really being included, it was more for the sake of the process. She even said in kind of an exasperated manner that she 'hates this method' and that it seemed really fragmented and not cohesive
> - notes from meeting with former Leadership Council director

> "Things do not always turn out so well when people do not have strong personal relationships and they see things differently". [This Secretariat employee] gave the example of [the third Executive Director and the current Leadership Council co-chair], as not having a healthy productive relationship and seeing things differently, which caused a lot of friction.
> - notes from meeting with Secretariat employee

It is important to note that the identified boundary spanning skill sets detailed above are not simply innate psychological characteristics but rather behavioral traits that can be

learned and developed over time. Indeed, in interviewing participants within the Coalition this theme surfaced repeatedly. For example, some players relayed to me how their opinions about homelessness had been altered over time due to their involvement within the Coalition.

> "Well I really enjoyed being involved in the Coalition. I think it does open your eyes. For me, the Coalition has been impactful in helping me be more empathetic towards that community to not hold them as accountable."
> - Leadership Council co-chair

Others talked about how they were gradually able to see the issues at hand from alternative perspectives over time. This even occurred in cases where individuals did not have direct experience in a different professional realm, such as a business professional learning and understanding a social work perspective concerning the issue of homelessness after seeking to learn from this alternative viewpoint.

Characteristics of Boundary Spanners

After discovering the presence of formal and informal boundary spanning activity in the Coalition and surfacing key skill sets that facilitated these bridging activities, I was curious to see whether or not common characteristics existed across the identified boundary spanners. I was surprised to realize that there were not as many similarities between identified players as one might expect. There was approximately an even mix of men and women that surfaced as boundary spanners – 12 women and 11 men. In terms of age, most of the individuals were in their 40s and 50s, which was not surprising to me given that the key groups I focused on in the Coalition (i.e., the Leadership Council and Management Committee) are comprised of senior and mid level professionals in their respective fields.

What was very interesting to me, though, is that all of the identified boundary spanners were of Canadian descent[14]. I was somewhat surprised by this given that much of the boundary spanning literature has focused on individuals that are multicultural in the sense that they have internalized more than one national culture (as I discussed in more detail within Chapter 2 of my literature review chapter; see, for example, Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Fitzsimmons, 2013). One explanation for this might be that even though the individuals were monocultural in a national sense, most were multicultural organizationally and sectorally speaking (see Ashforth et al., 2008). In other words, most of these individuals had worked in multiple organizations in a variety of sectors. Thus, they were highly familiar with more than one way of operating in a professional manner and were able to navigate across the Coalition's complex organizational arrangement involving the coming together of multiple organizations and sectors, each with their own respective meaning systems in place.

I did, however, discover four exceptions to the notion that most boundary spanners were multicultural in an organizational or occupational sense. These four individuals had primarily worked within one sector, either the nonprofit and/or business sectors. Yet, in their professional roles they still had opportunities to regularly interact with individuals in organizations situated in other sectors as a part of their functional responsibilities. As well, all of these individuals were very strong in the openness to alternative perspectives skill set and actively worked to learn from other perspectives in the Coalition.

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[14] This characteristic was not unique to those identified as boundary spanners. All of the participants involved in this study were of Canadian descent. Perhaps this is due to the geographic location of the social partnership located in a smaller city on an island in Western Canada as opposed to a major metropolitan city.

Overall, the fact that there were not a multitude of common characteristics across identified boundary spanners further supports the notion that skill sets to facilitate bridging activities can be learned and developed over time.

Conclusion

In this chapter I argued that bridging across all of the boundaries associated with a multi-faceted social partnership necessitates a constellation of formal and informal boundary spanning activity. In fact, I discovered that there were not any identified boundary spanners who could bridge across all of the meaning systems present, involving a variety of organizational cultures and institutional logics, within the tri-sector social partnership. Rather, while some formal boundary spanners in the Coalition bridged across select organizational cultures and institutional logics involved, informal boundary spanners served as bridges across other select boundaries. This finding builds upon recent research conceptualizing bridging across boundaries in social partnerships as a collective process involving multiple agents (Manning & Roessler, 2014) and speaks to the need for a multitude of individuals involved in social partnerships to utilize boundary spanning capabilities in order to traverse the multiple meaning systems present in a holistic manner. This is particularly relevant for complex tri-sector partnerships, such as the Coalition, characterized by a variety of meaning related boundaries, culturally and institutionally speaking, that any one given individual will only be able to bridge in part. Indeed, as relayed in the previous chapter, each player involved in the Coalition demonstrated a slightly different perspective to that of another, even those situated within the same sector or organization. As well, each identified boundary spanner demonstrated

a different set of professional and personal experiences to her counterparts that enabled him to serve as a bridge across particular boundaries within the Coalition.

Additionally, I detailed the skill sets and characteristics that facilitate formal and informal boundary spanning activities. In doing so, I argued that rather than being characterized as innate psychological traits, boundary spanning skill sets are behavioral in nature and can be learned and developed over time. Given that today's organizations are increasingly complex and involve the coming together of multiple meaning systems at multiple levels, even in a single country context, as is the case with the Coalition, this offers positive implications for fostering boundary spanning in the workplace.

In the next chapter, I build upon the empirical link that was developed between organizational culture and institutional logics in chapter 5 as well as in this chapter. Specifically, I consider how institutional logics and negotiated culture (a branch of organizational culture research in the international management field) can be used as complementary, yet distinct theoretical lenses to better understand today's complex organizational realities, with a particular focus on social partnership.

Chapter 7: The Promise of Integrating Institutional Logics and Negotiated Culture Perspectives for Social Partnership Research[15]

An Overview

As I have illustrated within the previous two empirically based chapters, partnerships that cross differentiated boundaries often bring together a variety of meaning systems with different assumptions about work values and practices at multiple levels. While I used institutional logics and organizational culture as starting lenses in this exploratory, grounded theory investigation, my methodological approach allowed for flexibility depending upon what emerged in the empirical setting. In order words, I was open to other theoretical lenses that might be more relevant in explaining my grounded, emergent findings. Yet, I discovered that taking up a synthetic theoretical approach, utilizing both institutional logics and organizational culture lenses in concert, was needed in order for me to holistically capture the multiple meaning systems emanating from different sources and levels at work within the Coalition.

In this chapter I theoretically explore the empirical link between institutional logics and organizational culture that I developed in the previous two chapters. As it relates to organizational culture, specifically, since this literature base is wide reaching and is composed of many different streams, I focus on the negotiated culture stream of research in the international management field (e.g., Brannen & Salk, 2000). My overall argument is that utilizing institutional logics and negotiated culture perspectives as complementary, yet distinct, lenses can result in richer and more complete analyses of social partnerships, especially when the phenomenon under investigation involves

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[15] This chapter ties directly to an accepted paper proposal that was written with Mary Yoko Brannen and Patricia Thornton for the *Academy of Management Perspectives* and is currently being developed as a full manuscript in preparation for submission.

gaining deeper understanding of multiple meaning systems in action at multiple levels of analysis. It is important for me to emphasis that while this exercise is focused to a large extent on how these two theoretical lenses can be used in concert to offer a more complete view of multi-level, meaning based phenomena, I also fully recognize the differences between perspectives (see Schultz & Hatch, 1996). As well, this approach aligns with my paradigmatic lens in favor of integrating perspectives, where appropriate, in order to offer a holistic picture of the phenomenon under investigation as opposed to viewing different theoretical perspectives as inevitably incommensurable (as articulated within Chapter 2 in discussing paradigmatic views of culture).

In Chapter 2, I detailed the benefits and challenges of utilizing organizational culture and institutional logics perspectives. I argued that using each theoretical lens, when in isolation, provides a partial, yet incomplete, picture of the multiple meaning systems at play in a social partnership setting. By exploring synergistic intersections between perspectives in this chapter, I hope to catalyze integrative theoretical and empirical research to better understand social partnerships. As a part of this discussion, I consider the distinctions of each perspective, focusing in particular on the following key dimensions: analytical focus, levels of analysis, contextual influences and methodological emphasis. In doing so, I also consider the synergistic intersections at the juncture of each dimension discussed and utilize examples from this dissertation study, where relevant, in order to illustrate how these perspectives can be utilized in concert to more fully capture meaning-based phenomena in the context of social partnerships.

Distinctions and Synergies Between Perspectives

As I mentioned in Chapter 2 of my literature review, I viewed the most significant challenge in attempting to utilize both perspectives concurrently to be the treatment of culture in the institutional logics perspective. To summarize, in my view, Thornton and colleagues (Thornton et al. 2012) seem to define institutional logics in terms similar to those taken up by organizational culture scholars: socially constructed assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals organize time and space and provide meaning to their social reality (drawing on Jackall, 1988; Friedland & Alford, 1991: 243). By comparison, in similar terms, the negotiated culture perspective conceptualizes culture as a socially constructed set of symbols and patterns of meaning and interpretations that are shared, at least in part, by a given group of people (Brannen & Salk, 2000; Yagi & Kleinberg, 2011: 632). After continuing to explore and attempt to tease apart the distinctions between these two perspectives as I engaged in this dissertation work, I still view these lenses as having messy overlap in this regard. In spite of these blurred boundaries, though, both emphasize the possibilities of heterogeneous meaning systems operating, which are socially constructed and dynamic in nature (e.g., Brannen & Salk, 2000; Thornton et al., 2012). What's more, when considering each perspective in regards to the dimensions of analytical focus, levels of analysis, contextual influences and methodological emphasis, which I explore below, I believe the distinctions as well as the opportunities to utilize both perspectives in concert becomes much more clear. Table 7.1 provides an overview of the key dimensions in regards to each perspective, which I expand upon below.

Table 7.1: Distinctions and Synergies between Perspectives

	Distinctions between Perspectives		Synergistic Intersections
Dimension	Negotiated Culture	Institutional Logics	
Analytical Focus	**Process orientation**: How individuals from distinct cultures with different meaning systems are able to interact in a shared work environments	**Categorical orientation**: A meta-theory by which to categorize the variety of meaning systems within a given individual's and organization's environment	Concretely classify macro-level meaning systems at work while analytically examining the processes by which these meanings are formed, shared and negotiated over time
Levels of Analysis (primary emphasis)	**Meso and micro levels**: Effects of multiple cultures on organizations	**Macro level**: Macro-meso level view (organization and field-level change occurs through conflicts and contradictions between logics); more recent view of macro-micro level view (orders shape logics at lower levels of analysis)	More complete picture of multiple meaning systems at work at multiple levels
Contextual Influences on Individual & Organizational Action	**Intra-and extra-organizational influences**: Contextual factors that will influence organizational action, involving the coming together of distinct cultures in conjoined working arrangements	**Institutional influences**: Macro institutional forces at work in given individual's and organization's environment	More holistic view of contextual influences at work in given social partnership
Methodologial emphasis	**Difference**: Traces how day to day activities evolve within a given organization over time	**Similarity**: Accounts for macro level belief systems and associated practices within a given institutional sphere	Better understand the variety of assumptions about work and associated practices in a given social partnership setting by teasing apart similarities and differences

Analytical Focus

Distinctions. The negotiated culture perspective focuses on how people from distinct national and organizational cultures with different meaning systems are able to interact in shared work environments such as international joint ventures and M&As (e.g., Brannen & Salk, 2000). Building on the concept of negotiated orders developed by Strauss (1978) and further elaborated by Fine (1984), this perspective provides the researcher with a lens by which to obtain an understanding of how diverse meaning systems interact within complex cultural organizations over time (e.g., Strauss & Brannen, 1999). In other words, this perspective takes up a process orientation and is concerned with *how* individuals from distinct cultures are able to interact over time in a given shared work environment. For example, Brannen and Salk (2000) capture how two distinct national culture groups in a German-Japanese joint venture interact to form and

shape a new negotiated culture over time. By comparison, the institutional logics perspective, by and large, takes up a categorical orientation. It is considered to be a meta-theory by which to categorize the variety of meaning systems within a given individual's and organization's environment (Thornton et al., 2012). For instance, Goodrick and Reay (2011) detail the ideal types of institutional logics – professional logic, corporate logic, market logic and state logic – in pharmacy work and how they were instantiated in a particular context, namely the US pharmaceutical industry, over time.

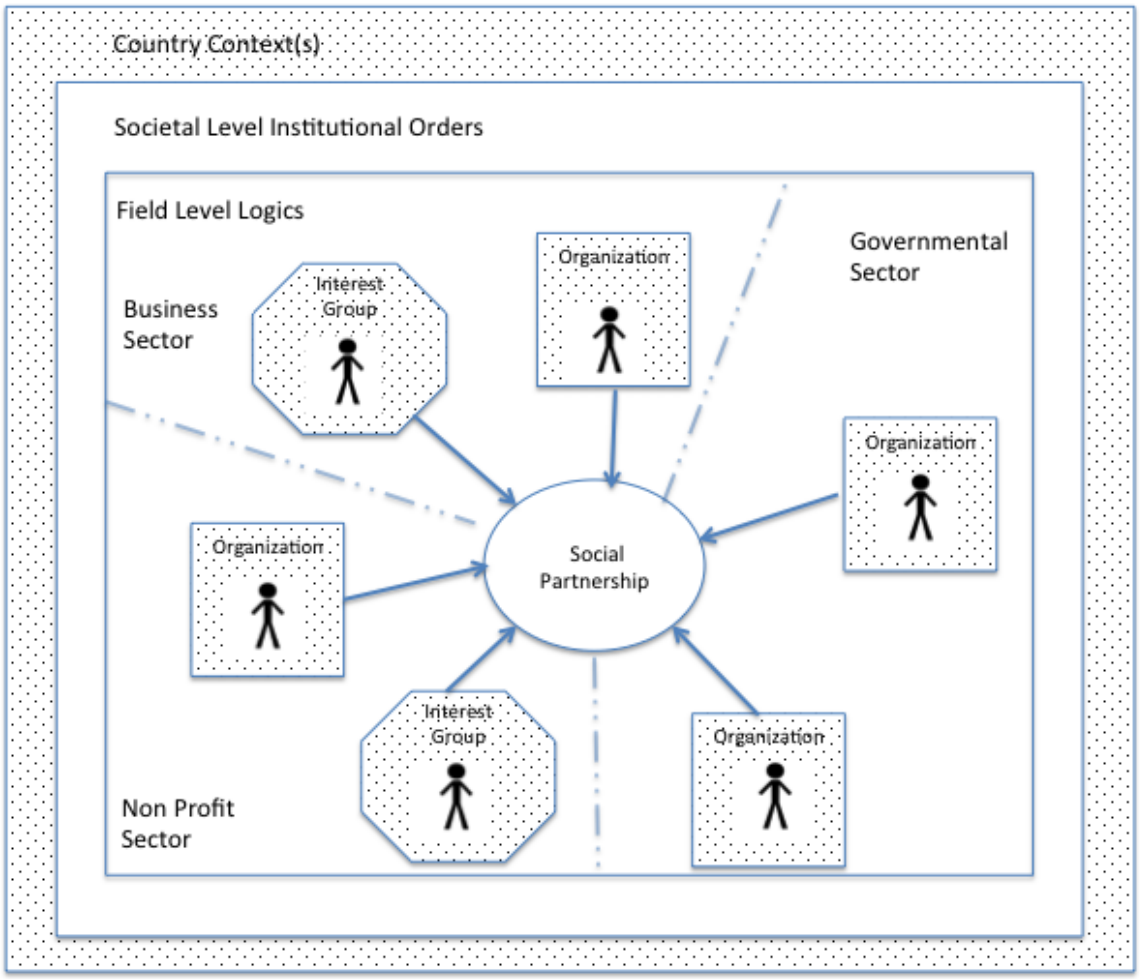
Synergies. Utilizing both perspectives in concert allows the researcher to more fully capture the meaning systems at work, categorically speaking, while simultaneously examining the processes by which meanings are formed, shared and negotiated over time. In my own dissertation work, for instance, I utilized the institutional logics perspective to capture the macro-level meaning systems that manifested themselves in the Coalition context, namely the logic of social justice, the logic of efficient action, the logic of planning, the logic of community accountability and the logic of root causes. The negotiated culture perspective helped me to better understand how the Coalition players, who made sense of the Coalition's identity and/or manifestations of identity based upon meaning systems at multiple levels, including institutional logics, interacted over time to shape and alter the partnership's identity.

Levels of Analysis

Distinctions. Negotiated culture scholars have tended to explore phenomena centered on a plurality of meaning systems at the meso and micro levels (e.g., Brannen, Liker, & Fruin, 1999; Yagi & Kleinberg, 2011). Applying sociological and anthropological approaches (predominantly ethnography) to international business

phenomena, these scholars have focused on understanding the effects of multiple cultures on organizations, with a particular emphasis on national cultural differences (e.g., Brannen, 1994; Brannen & Salk, 2000). As the global environment of business has resulted in increasingly culturally complex organizations, these scholars have concentrated their efforts on documenting the nature and effects of misalignments in meaning systems and how they are managed over time, considering cultural interactions at organizational, group and individual levels of analysis. Brannen (1994), for example, elucidates how culture is negotiated at the meso and micro levels of analysis in a Japanese takeover of a US paper manufacturer. In applying this perspective where it concerns social partnerships specifically, the highlighted portions in the below illustrative diagram (of the multiple levels of meaning systems in a social partnership) represent the primary levels of analysis that the researcher is able to capture. Namely, this includes the distinct national cultures that are brought together in a given organizational arrangement as well as the intercultural interactions that occur among individuals and groups situated within them.

Figure 7.1 Primary Levels of Analysis Emphasized in Negotiated Culture Perspective



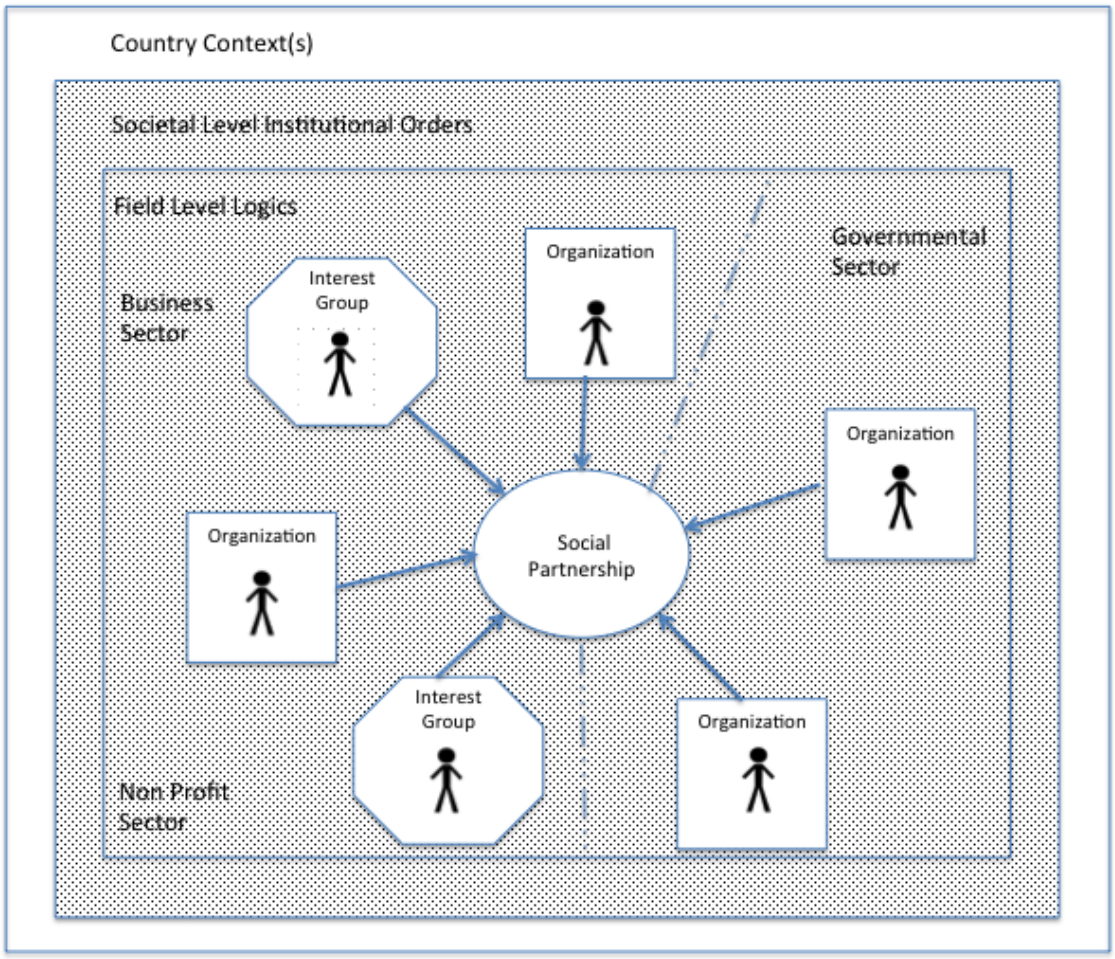
By contrast, institutional logics scholars can be represented by two ideal-typical views designed to address different research questions at different levels of analysis. The first conceptualizes institutional logics as macro structures associated with societal-level institutional orders. In this macro-meso-level view, organization and field-level change occurs through conflicts and contradictions between logics. Institutional change occurs through resource dependencies relative to external institutional pressures associated with multiple institutional logics and a tool kit view (Swidler, 1986) of institutional logics as sources of action (e.g., Thornton, 2004). As Besharvo and Smith (2014) point out the

focus of this research is on multiple meaning systems, even when they are instantiated within a single organization. The more recently developing second view incorporates the micro level by conceptualizing institutional logics as emergent properties of communication (language and symbols) and material practices and artifacts shaped by both higher-level institutional orders and by organizational and field-level variations and adaptations (Thornton et al., 2012; Ocasio, Lowenstein, & Nigam, 2015). In the more micro view, institutional orders of society shape logics at lower levels of analysis, but the relationship may be quite indirect and not directly apparent to actors. A key point is that managers involved in multi-cultural joint ventures in global organizations need to realize that practices may be recontextualized by individuals who draw upon different institutional logics (Vaerlander, Hinds, Thomason, Pearce & Altman, 2016). To spur development of the micro-macro linkage, scholars working in the institutional logics perspective (meta-theory) have integrated dynamic constructivism which explains how culture shapes cognition and action in studies of bicultural individuals (Hong and Mallorie. 2004; Morris & Gelfand, 2004); and as noted work on language and vocabularies (Lowenstein, Ocasio, & Jones, 2012).

In spite of this second emerging view, which more readily incorporates the micro level of analysis, though, the primary emphasis is still on how individuals and/or organizations are shaped by these macro-level meaning systems. The extant literature to date has stopped short of elucidating how logics are experienced in the everyday lives of organizational actors, at the meso and micro levels (see Chapter 2 of literature review for a fuller discussion in this regard). Thus, in applying this perspective to social partnerships, the highlighted portions of the below illustrative diagram represent the

primary levels of analysis the researcher is able to capture, in particular the institutional orders and field logics in which a given social partnership and its associated players are embedded.

Figure 7.2 Primary Levels of Analysis Emphasized in Institutional Logics Perspective



Synergies. In comparing the two diagrams above, one can begin to see how utilizing both perspectives in concert allows the researcher to more fully capture the meaning systems present within a given social partnership at multiple levels of analysis. In my own dissertation research, by drawing on both institutional logics and negotiated culture lenses, I was able to more holistically account for the various factors that affected

how each Coalition player made sense of the social partnership's organizational identity and/or manifestations of identity. Specifically, the three most salient factors that affected the sensemaking of each Coalition player were: individual connection to homelessness (micro level), organizational culture and identity of each participant's 'home' organization (macro level) and institutional logics (macro level).

Contextual Influences on Individual and Organizational Action

Distinctions. The negotiated culture perspective accounts for various contextual factors that will influence organizational action in shared working arrangements involving the coming together of distinct cultures. While much of the extant literature has focused on national culture interactions (e.g., Brannen, 1994; Brannen & Salk, 2000), Yagi and Kleinberg (2011) note that this perspective opens the way for examining cultural interactions based upon profession, organization work units, industry, hierarchy, etc. Further, integral to this perspective are the notions of recontextualization (e.g., Brannen, 2004) and multicultural boundary spanning (e.g., Fitzsimmons, 2013). The former refers to the process by which organizational meaning systems are transformed when transplanted into new contexts (see Brannen 2004). The latter refers to the cross-context bridging skillsets that people who have been deeply socialized in more than one cultural context bring to the workplace (see Caprar 2011 for an empirical example). Contextual influences (both intra- and extra-organizational) have thus been taken up in the negotiated culture perspective. However, a direct link with institutional logics research in order to more holistically capture contextual influences within the organization has not been made.

By comparison, the institutional logics perspective focuses on how institutions, via logics, shape stability, heterogeneity and change in individuals and organizations (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). In other words, the focal factor emphasized by this perspective is macro level belief systems and how they influence individual and organizational action. Quirke (2013), for example, examines the private school field in Toronto, Canada and elucidates how it is characterized by segmentation where individual private schools respond to institutional pressures in different ways. Another instance can be seen in Pache and Santos' (2013) examination of social enterprises and how these organizational forms internally manage competing social welfare and commercial logics.

Synergies. While the negotiated culture and institutional logics perspectives tend to focus on different factors that influence individual and organizational action, they share a common emphasis on the interplay between individual agency and structure. To elaborate further, as I detailed in my literature review chapter, one important component of the negotiated culture perspective, which has its roots in the negotiated order lens, is that there is a relationship between the structural conditions of the organization and the negotiation process. Strauss (1978) argues that specific negotiations are contingent on the structural conditions of a given organization. These include such structural properties as the balance of power among parties and the number and complexity of the issues involved (see Brannen & Salk, 2000 for an empirical example). Similarly, the material practices and symbolic systems that make up a given institutional logic are available to individuals, groups and organizations to further elaborate, manipulate and utilize to their own advantage (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008), referred to as embedded agency (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006, see above two mentioned examples: Quirke, 2013; Pache & Santos,

2013). Thus, both perspectives account for structural components (whether they be at a macro or meso level) as both constraining and enabling mechanisms in shaping organizational and individual action.

In my own dissertation work, the Coalition players' sensemaking of the social partnership was affected by three key factors: institutional logics, the culture and identity of their own organizations/associations and their individual perspectives on homelessness. Yet, rather than influence all involved actors in the same way, I found that each actor's sensemaking was slightly different to that of other players. In other words, these factors served as both constraining and enabling factors simultaneously for involved players. By utilizing institutional logics and negotiated culture perspectives in concert I was able to better capture the key factors that influenced actors' views of the Coalition. Had I focused primarily on one type of influencing factor, my understanding of the meaning systems at work would have been partial and incomplete.

Methodological Emphasis

Distinctions. Institutional logics account for macro level belief systems and associated practices within a given institutional sphere (e.g., McPherson & Sauder, 2013). Put differently, this perspective hones in on *similarities* regarding assumptions about work and associated practices within a given institutional sphere. For example, Reay and Hinings (2009) detail how governmental players who subscribed to a business logic (with similar assumptions about work and associated practices in this given institutional sphere) collaborated over time with medical professionals who subscribed to a medical professional logic (also with similar work assumptions and associated practices in this given sphere) in the context of the Alberta health care system. By contrast, the negotiated

culture perspective focuses on how organizations develop unique webs of meaning as cultures are negotiated in an idiosyncratic way within each given organizational arrangement (e.g., Brannen & Salk, 2000). In other words, scholars utilizing this lens look at *differences* in a given organizational arrangement. Salk and Shenkar (2001), for instance, examine the unique, emergent culture that forms in a British-Italian management joint venture. (See Schultz, 2012 for similar comments in regards to institutional theory and organizational culture, more generally speaking)

Synergies. Focusing on both similarities and differences in meaning systems simultaneously offers an avenue to utilize both perspectives in concert to better understand the variety of assumptions about work and associated practices in a given social partnership setting. Indeed, in my own work, I utilized the notions that institutional logics account for similarities of meaning in a given institutional space and negotiated culture accounts for differences within a given organizational arrangement to tease apart meaning systems at different levels. For example, in talking with many governmental players involved in the Coalition, there was a common emphasis on the need for structured planning processes and the importance of sufficient information and discussion before proceeding with decision-making. By looking at these similarities expressed between players and reviewing relevant documentation written by involved governmental agencies, I was able to develop the logic of planning. In looking at the differences in these players' responses, closely examining my participant observation notes and viewing the relevant documentation for each given governmental organization, I was able to articulate the unique meaning system of each given organizational entity within this institutional space.

Conclusion

In this chapter I argued that utilizing the negotiated culture and institutional logics perspectives as complementary, yet distinct lenses can result in a more complete understanding of the meaning systems at work in complex organizational arrangements, with a particular focus on social partnership contexts. To substantiate this argument, I teased apart the perspectives in regards to the dimensions of analytical focus, levels of analysis, contextual influences and methodological emphasis - highlighting both the distinctions as well as the synergistic overlaps as it relates to each one. In doing so, I detailed empirical examples from this dissertation study. Indeed, utilizing both perspectives in concert allowed me to more holistically capture the meaning systems present in the Coalition at multiple levels; the result was a deeper understanding as to how this social partnership negotiated different assumptions about work and associated practices, at the group (Chapter 5) and individual levels (Chapter 6) of analysis.

In the next and final chapter of this dissertation, I discuss what I have learned throughout this longitudinal study and how these key learnings contribute to our shared understanding of social partnerships and the meaning systems at work in such complex arrangements (culturally and institutionally speaking), including a discussion on organizational identity and boundary spanning. As well, I offer suggestions for future research in these areas.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

An Overview

This dissertation was driven by a desire to understand how organizations and individuals negotiate meaning-related differences when they join together to address a complex societal issue such as homelessness. As detailed throughout this study, I used the term "negotiated" intentionally as one of the possible means of "getting things accomplished" when players must deal with one another (Strauss, 1978:2) to account for the variety of ways in which players work through meaning-related differences. By conducting an ethnographic, grounded theory investigation of this phenomenon in the empirical context of the Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness (Coalition), I was able to understand how this social partnership negotiates different assumptions about work and associated practices as the group and individual levels of analysis in a very nuanced manner. In doing so, I developed a process model that elucidates how players negotiate multiple meanings of organizational identity over time in a social partnership setting characterized by shared authority and permeable boundaries, at the group level of analysis (Chapter 5). I also detailed how individual players, formally and informally, are able to bridge across multiple meaning systems in a social partnership over time, including explicating key skill sets and characteristics associated with such boundary spanning activities (Chapter 6). As well, this empirical exercise allowed me to better tease apart and understand the distinctions and overlaps between organizational culture and institutional logics lenses and, thus, how they can be utilized in concert to provide a more holistic understanding of the meaning-related systems at work in social partnership settings (Chapter 7).

It is fully noted that this dissertation is based on an in-depth, longitudinal study of one social partnership and additional research is certainly warranted to determine how applicable the findings are to other social partnership settings (although many efforts were made methodologically to triangulate the findings in a variety of ways – see Chapter 3). At the same time, though, I believe the findings, abstracted from the empirical setting, offer important implications for a number of literature streams, namely, social partnerships, organizational identity, boundary spanning and focal meaning-related lenses (i.e., organizational culture and institutional logics). I discuss the implications for each of the above-mentioned literature streams, in turn, followed by reflections on my own personal learning process throughout this research journey.

Implications for Social Partnerships

This work is one of the first of its kind to empirically explore tri-sector collaborations – involving players from the public, private and nonprofit sectors – that are more integrative and interconnected in nature (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a) and that employs a process based perspective to understand how such collaborations unfold over time. Specifically, it provides a deep contextualized account of the variety of meaning systems at work in a particular tri-sector social partnership seeking to tackle a multi-faceted societal challenge. While previous literature has focused on particular elements of meaning systems present in social partnerships (for examples, see Hardy et al. 2006; Le Ber & Branzei, 2010b), to my knowledge, this is the first study of its kind to offer a holistic account of the variety of meaning systems present at macro, meso and micro levels of analysis. As well, it documents *how* various involved players seek to navigate across and between these different ways of working over time at group and individual levels. By elucidating how players traverse across heterogeneous meaning systems, I detailed how players involved

in a social partnership at the group level work through different understandings of organizational identity over time. This is significant as we know little about how identity plays out in such multi-faceted organizational settings with continual blurred boundaries even as research has indicated that such arrangements are likely to surface identity issues among players (Maguire & Hardy, 2005). I also offer a longitudinal account as to how individual players bridge across meaning-related boundaries, answering the call for more research concerning the role of individuals and their interactions with organizations in the collaboration process over time (e.g., Kolk, 2014; Manning & Roessler, 2014), as the extant social partnership literature has tended to focus on the macro and meso levels of analysis. Future research should be undertaken to explore how these emergent findings can be applied to other types of social partnership contexts. For example, it would be interesting to investigate how the surfaced skill sets in regards to facilitating boundary spanning activities play out in other partnership settings. It would also be interesting to explore constellations of formal and informal boundary spanning activities present in different types of social partnership settings.

The findings of this study also offer important implications for the notion of organizational fit within social partnership research (e.g., Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a). As I mentioned previously within my literature review chapter, scholars have noted that the more closely aligned the partners (in terms of values, goals, etc.), the greater the potential for value creation (e.g., Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a; van Tulder & Pfisterer, 2014). My findings, though, challenge the notion that higher levels of collaboration result in more congruence between partners' missions, values and strategies. To elaborate, the Coalition can be considered a transformational (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a), or social issues

platform (Selsky & Parker, 2010), partnership in that the involved players agree on the focal social issue to be addressed, homelessness, and the aim of the partnership to eradicate homelessness in the local area. As well, the direct beneficiaries, the homeless themselves, take an active role in the process (Le Ber & Branzei, 2010a). Yet, while all of the Coalition players viewed the focal social issue the partnership was seeking to address as homelessness, they all also viewed the notion of homelessness in different ways based upon a variety of contextual factors at multiple levels that influenced their sensemaking. This suggests that in even in a highly collaborative social partnership, conflicting interests and goals can be present and at work in negotiating how the collaborative process plays out over time, even as it may be more covert in nature. This finding builds on Murphy and colleagues' (Murphy et al., 2014) survey-based study where the researchers found that organizations from different sectors may be able to successfully collaborate even in the face of differing values and provides a deeper, contextualized understanding as to how this might play out in practice. Future research is needed which further explores organizational fit and how mechanisms of collaboration and conflict can play out together in concert in social partnership settings over time.

Implications for Organizational Identity

To my knowledge, this is the first study of its kind to document how organizational identity plays out at the group level of analysis over time when more than two organizational boundaries conjoin, even as each involved organization retains its own distinct organizational identity (see Maguire and Hardy, 2005 for one study investigating identity and collective strategy at the individual level of analysis). By documenting how different understandings of organizational identity, held by the involved players, were

negotiated over time in a social partnership setting, this study causes us to reconsider basic assumptions about identity change. This includes revisiting how image and authority shape identity changes in different ways in comparison to that of single organizations, the latter being where much of the organizational identity literature has focused. As it relates to image, for example, in a social partnership setting there are not clearly defined boundaries between external and internal players. Rather, the boundaries are much more permeable. In the case of the Coalition, involved players functioned as participants of the social partnership even as they represented their own organizations and/or associations through their involvement. Honing in on these insider-outsider players in the Coalition illustrated how their everyday actions worked to continually and iteratively shape the social partnership's identity over time. The complexity resulting from blurred boundaries in this social partnership setting, which affected organizational identity change, was further compounded by a distributed authority structure. Even as the Coalition executive leadership team worked to make planned changes to its organizational identity and/or manifestations of identity, members of the Leadership Council utilized a variety of resources in attempts to continually shape the organization based upon their own understandings of its organizational identity. More research is needed which examines how the everyday activities of such insider-outsider actors in multi-faceted social partnerships, with a distributed authority structure, affects organizational identity change over time.

The extant organizational identity literature has tended to focus on negotiation in an overt sense, highlighting explicit tactics such as "arguments" or "discussions" (e.g., Gioia et al., 2010; Ybema, 2010). By actively incorporating Strauss' (1978:2) notion of

negotiation as one of the possible means of "getting something accomplished" in this study, I was able to more fully account for the variety of negotiations taking place within the Coalition, involving both formal and informal, subtle and overt strategies. Further, this dissertation study provides an empirical investigation as to how organizational identity is negotiated over time in the presence of *multiple* understandings of identity. This is significant as scholars note (e.g., Corley, 2004; Gioia et al., 2000) that today's complex organizations are likely dealing with environmental settings and involved players that support multiple conceptions of organizational identity, even as the literature has remained fairly silent in this regard (Gioia et al., 2013). More research is needed which takes up a more holistic understanding of negotiation and investigates how multiple conceptions of identity play out over time in complex organizational arrangements. While this dissertation has focused on social partnerships, this type of empirical investigation would be highly relevant and valuable in other types of settings with permeable boundaries and shared authority such as multinationals involving headquarter-subsidiary networks.

Another implication of this study to the organizational identity literature relates to the concept of time. The emergent stream of research emphasizing temporality in organizational identity studies has focused on organizational contexts that have rich collective histories to draw from in reconstructing organizational identities for the future (e.g., Schultz & Hernes, 2013; Ybema, 2010). By contrast, this study demonstrates the importance of organizational identity even in a case where the organization is time bounded in nature, as perceptions of identity held by the Coalition players guided the social partnership's future direction and who the organization was hoping to become in

the future. This finding builds upon Gioia and colleagues' (Gioia et al., 2000) observation that even time- bounded organizations can have distinct identities. It also points to the importance of future research to investigate how such time-bounded identities develop, particularly in the formation stage in social partnership settings, in the absence of a collective history to draw from where players approach the organization from a variety of different backgrounds (e.g., representatives from different organizations situated in a variety of sectors).

Implications for Boundary Spanning

In regards to the boundary spanning literature, the central contributions of this study lie in the elucidation of key skill sets and characteristics associated with facilitating formal and informal boundary spanning activities. Indeed, even as the extant literature has *indirectly* pointed to skill sets that boundary spanners might possess, research to date has stopped short of expressly investigating boundary spanning capabilities (Schotter et al., 2014). In detailing how boundary spanning plays out in a particular social partnership setting, I also highlighted the multitude of boundary spanners needed to bridge across the variety of meaning-related boundaries present in such a multi-faceted organizational arrangement. While these discoveries were made in the context of a specific social partnership setting, I believe they hold wider implications for the alliance management and expatriation literatures more generally. In these cross-boundary contexts, players must closely interface with more than one organization simultaneously. In other words, they must function as "dual citizens" (see Berry, 1980). Thus, these dual citizens need to be able to effectively bridge between organizational, and sometimes even sectoral, boundaries. Future research should investigate how these skill sets play out in other

settings apart from social partnership contexts as well as examine additional skill sets that might exist in these settings. As well, future research could examine how the boundary spanning skill sets identified relate to similar concepts in other literature streams, such as Fligstein and McAdam's social skill concept (Fligstein, 1997; Fligstein & McAdam, 2011).

This study also offers implications for the related research stream of multiculturalism. Specifically, it provides an empirical exploration of individuals that are multicultural in an occupational or organizational sense (Ashforth et al., 2008). In contrast, much of the research in this area to date has focused on individuals who are multicultural in a national cultural sense (e.g., Fitzsimmons, 2013). While some work has surfaced examining subsidiary managers who are able to bridge between a multinational's headquarters and a given subsidiary as a result of their deep understanding of both contexts (e.g., Vora & Kostova, 2007; Vora et al., 2007), these have been conceptual in nature. As well, this emerging literature stream of other types of multiculturals has been situated in the context of multinationals. To my knowledge, this is the first study of its kind to empirically examine multiculturals, in an occupational or organizational sense, in a social partnership setting. More work is needed to further tease apart the nuances of these boundary spanning activities and associated capabilities and characteristics in bridging within diverse organizational contexts, such as other social partnerships and multinational settings.

Implications for Focal Meaning Related Literature Streams

To my knowledge, this is the first study of its kind to explore the interactions and intersections of multiple cultures and institutional logics at work within social partnership

settings, empirically speaking. In doing so, this dissertation provides a more holistic understanding as to how involved actors negotiate meaning systems emanating at multiple levels – macro, meso and micro, collectively as well as individually. It also begins to tease apart some of the distinctions and synergistic overlaps between the two perspectives, theoretically, in spite of the blurred boundaries between the two, particularly where it concerns definitional ambiguity in regards to culture. Future empirical research should consider utilizing these lenses in concert when the phenomenon under investigation calls for an examination of meaning systems within and between organizations at multiple levels. This approach is likely to be highly relevant in other types of complex organizational arrangements such as multinationals, international joint ventures and alliances.

In this study, while organizational identity served as a bridging construct between organizational culture and institutional logics, future research could explore the impact of these meaning systems on other types of meso-level organizational filters, such as organizational design and governance arrangements. As well, in this study, I considered how institutional logics and organizational culture (with a particular focus on the negotiated culture stream in international management) served as contextual factors in shaping individual's sensemaking of the social partnership under investigation. Future research could examine the impact that the negotiated meaning systems within the social partnership setting has on the involved organizations and associated as well as the larger meaning systems in which the social partnership is embedded. For example, it would be interesting to investigate how social partnerships, which bring together a variety of

organizations to address a significant societal challenge, impact the larger cultural and institutional environments in which they are embedded.

Personal Reflections and Key Takeaways

As I took up an ethnographic approach in this study, in which case I served as the primary tool for gathering and analyzing information through my own experiences (see Moore, 2011), this journey was as much of a personal one as it was a professional exercise. Similar to the Coalition participants whose views of the social partnership were shaped by meaning systems emanating at multiple levels (e.g., organizational environments in which they had worked, personal experiences with homelessness), my own viewpoint of the Coalition was inherently shaped by my own professional and personal experiences to date. As such, throughout the iterative process of data gathering and analysis I tried to continually be as reflexive as possible as to how my own presence and viewpoints shaped the research study. This included reflecting upon what was familiar, surprising and what I wanted to learn more about (see Brannen et al. 2013) along the way in my participant observation field notes and research journals.

In teasing apart my own reflections of the research experience over time, I realized that not only had I made research discoveries (as articulated in Chapters 4-7), but that I had also learned a great deal personally. This was particularly so as it relates to my thinking around social partnership work and homelessness. As it relates to the former, at the beginning of this study, I truly believed that bringing together diverse groups and organizations to address pressing issues such as homelessness can serve as a breeding ground for true societal transformation to occur. I still strongly believe this and, indeed, was continually encouraged and inspired by how many of the participants I talked to

believed in the power of collective impact and the mission that the Coalition was attempting to undertake in spite of the many involved challenges[16]. Taking such a deep look into one social partnership, though, helped me to more fully comprehend the incredible challenges facing such a multi-faceted organization. Not only did each involved player see the identity of the organization focused on the focal issue of homelessness in a different manner (which was explored throughout this dissertation study), but there were also a variety of other challenges not directly related to the variety of meaning systems at work. These included: a lack of funding for the social partnership (although many partners particularly governmental players had their own funding sources); a lack of legitimate authority (although they had moral authority) to govern the involved players as it relates housing and homelessness issues in the local region; and a lack of ability to affect many of the related systemic challenges associated with homelessness (such as lower wages and job availability).

In talking with others about the Coalition, including some participants themselves, many have asked me whether or not I think this social partnership has been/will be effective at addressing homelessness in the Greater Victoria area. My academic training, and particularly this dissertation study, has certainly taught me that giving a simple "yes" or "no" would not at all suffice in capturing the incredible complexities facing such a social partnership, including a myriad of opportunities and challenges. As well, I have had to remind others, and myself at times, that my primary purpose in undertaking this study was as a researcher, even as this research had inherently normative undertones (see

[16] All Coalition participants that I interviewed except for one believed that Victoria was better equipped to tackle the issue of homelessness regionally with the Coalition in place than if the social partnership had never existed. They strongly voiced their opinion that the Coalition should remain as a coordinating body among the variety of different players seeking to address homelessness in some manner even past the 2018 initial ending date.

Margolis & Walsh, 2003). Nevertheless, I do believe that the Coalition has been effective in bringing a variety of individuals from different arenas to work together toward collective impact where it concerns homelessness in the local area. Many participants talked to me about how the Coalition has brought the relevant groups together to develop a shared agenda in addressing homelessness in ways that were simply not present in Victoria prior to the forming of this social partnership. At the same time, though, I now better understand the many governance challenges involved, which has fueled my desire to conduct future research in this area. Particularly, I am interested in conducting a comparative study that examines social partnerships seeking to address a common societal challenge, but with different governance and organizing arrangements. For example, while the Coalition was formed and grew primarily out of municipal government, similar types of social partnerships in other regions have grown out of the business and non-profit sectors and have involved governmental players at a later date. Some Coalition players, for instance, talked about how they felt that the governance arrangement of this particular partnership has been an impediment to making significant progress in regards to eradicating homelessness in the local area, although future research is certainly needed to unravel these notions further.

This exercise was also one in learning how to bridge across meaning-related boundaries myself. As I began this study, I was strongly aware of my own lenses, which were strongly shaped by my professional experiences – having previously worked in US-based business organizations as well as a social enterprise in Vietnam. These professional experiences combined with my experiences in academia to date and my training in a community based approach meant that I was more prone to viewing and understanding

the instantiated logics of root causes, efficient action and community accountability and the unique organizational cultures in these realms that surfaced in the Coalition context (see Chapter 5). Yet, by truly being open to learning about the perspective of each and every individual I interacted with during the course of this study – including practicing active listening, being respectful and trying to understand where others were coming from – I feel that I now better understand and can relate to the variety of viewpoints expressed by the involved individuals, even if they all do not resonate with me personally.

As it relates to homelessness, I confess that I was at first a bit hesitant about engaging directly with the experiential community. While I have had experience during my time in Vietnam interfacing with vulnerable populations, particularly those with disabilities, I wondered how the experiential community would respond to an upper-middle class, female researcher trying to understand how the homeless themselves has been incorporated into the Coalition. I was very pleasantly surprised to learn that all of those I interacted with formally in an interview setting as well as informally during regular encounters throughout many visits to the Coalition headquarters (situated right in the thick of Victoria's homelessness situation) were incredibly open to talking about their experiences and quite friendly. This experience helped me to confront some of my own personal biases concerning those experiencing homelessness and to realize that, at the end of the day, we are all people. Showing concern, respect and kindness can go a long way toward bridging these socio-economic divides.

This research experience also caused me to reflect on how I personally respond to homelessness, such as when I encounter homelessness when walking down the street or

exiting a grocery store. Two experiences, in particular, during this research journey have really stuck with me and I have gone back to them many times in processing how I believe I should personally respond to homelessness. In the first case, I was attending a community forum on homelessness in March 2015 held at the University of Victoria and a young university student asked how he should personally address homelessness in his daily encounters. A man experiencing homelessness responded that those on the street simply did not want to feel invisible and that they wanted to be appreciated and loved, just like everyone else. Second, I recall walking down Pandora avenue (where many of those experiencing homelessness congregate) to a Coalition meeting in the summer of 2015 and I smiled over at some of the individuals sitting on the sidewalk. At first, they seemed surprised that I was acknowledging them, but then they responded with wide, friendly smiles. They told me that I was the first one to greet them out of the many passersby that day – it was 2 pm in the afternoon on a weekday and this particular street experiences a great deal of foot traffic. These two experiences, in particular, as well as my overall collective experience in the field caused me to reflect on how I respond when confronted with homelessness, such as those panhandling etc. around Victoria. Even in situations where I do not feel in a place to donate spare change, I now try to connect with those individuals in some shape or form, even if it is as simple as offering a smile, rather than viewing them as invisible, the latter of which I might have done in the past.

Finally, this research has allowed me to better understand what an engaged scholarship approach looks like in practice (Van de Ven, 2007). This dissertation is truly a product of my engagement with the Coalition participants, other practitioners, and the scholarly research community. My ongoing interactions with involved academics and

practitioners throughout this process has deepened my understanding of the phenomenon under investigation, challenged some of my preconceived ideas and assumptions, provided me with opportunities to improve my arguments and offered thought provoking questions, all of which has served to deepen my discoveries. It is true that enacting an engaged scholarship approach can be more 'messy'. I have often been faced with a variety of opinions, sometimes that conflict, and it certainly takes significantly more time to move forward with the research process. Yet, this approach has served to significantly strengthen this study, and my own development as a researcher, and it is a practice I aim to continue as I progress as a budding scholar.

Glossary of Terms

Abduction: involves using induction and deduction in concert (Van de Ven, 2007)

Collaboration: interorganizational relationships that are cooperative in nature and do not rely upon the market or hierarchical structural controls in order to cooperate (Heide, 1994; Lawrence et al., 2002; Milne, Iyer, & Gooding-Williams, 1996; Phillips et al., 2000; Powell, 1990; in Hardy, Lawrence & Grant, 2005: 58)

Effective collaboration: "collaboration that (1) leverages the differences among participants to produce innovative, synergistic solutions and (2) balances divergent stake holder concerns" (Hardy et al., 2005: 58)

Community based: entity that is, by and large, owned, managed and governed by members of a geographically based community (Nwankwo, Phillips and Tracey, 2007; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006)

Cultural schema: socially constructed cognitive system that represents the knowledge, beliefs, values, norms, attitudes and behavioral assumptions of a given culture as well as the relations among these cultural elements (Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Fitzsimmons, 2013)

Ethnography: an experiential data collection approach, with the researcher him/herself serving as a tool for gathering information and analysis through his/her own experiences (Moore, 2011)

Grounded theory: an iterative methodological process involving utilizing six key tenets - constant comparative method, theoretical coding, theoretical sampling, theoretical saturation and theoretical sensitivity – until theoretical saturation is achieved (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; O'Reilly, Paper & Marz, 2012)

Holistic ethnography: ethnographic approach that recognizes and incorporates the distinct groups and perspectives involved in developing an overall narrative of a given situation (Moore, 2011)

Institutional logic: the macro-level meaning systems that shape thoughts and influence decision-making processes in organizational fields (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Ocasio, 1997; McPherson & Sauder, 2013)

Organizational culture: meanings and associated practices within a given organization, or how things are done within an organization (Brannen, 1994; Van Maanen, 1988)

Organizational fit: the compatibility between organizations involved in a given partnership, taking into account their unique values, beliefs, missions, strategies, processes and administration systems (van Tulder & Pfisterer, 2014: 105; Murphy et al., 2014)

Organizational identity: expressed identity claims and associated understandings or meanings (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006), which develop, unfold and are altered over time based upon continuous interactions among all involved organizational stakeholders (Schultz et al., 2012)

Organizational image: the way individuals will "see" other organizations as having a particular identity (Corley, 2002; Hatch & Schultz, 1998, 2002)

Multicultural actor: someone who has internalized two or more cultural schemas (Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Fitzsimmons, 2013)

Negotiation: one of the possible ways of "getting things accomplished" when organizations and/or actors need to become involved in order to achieve something (Strauss, 1978:2)

Paradigm: the basic theoretical assumptions, which underwrite the frame of reference and theorizing as well as operating modes of social theorists who operate within them (Burrell & Morgan, 1979)

Social partnership: coming together of organizations from different sectors to deal with social challenges (Crane & Seitanidi, 2014)

***Tripartite partnerships*:** alliances between players from the public, private and nonprofit sectors (Selsky & Parker, 2005)

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Appendix A

Informed Consent Form

Qualitative Interview about the Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness

Dear Prospective Participant,

Greetings! I am inviting you to take part in my dissertation research exploring how tri-sector partnerships (i.e., public, private and nonprofit players) tackling a complex social issue, such as homelessness, interact and work together over time, using the Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness (Coalition) as my field research site. Based upon your involvement in the Coalition's work to date, I'd like to invite you to participate in this study. The purpose of this email and form is to provide you with the necessary information you need to make an informed decision regarding consenting to participate in this research study.

Research Purposes & Benefits
This research project is intended to explore and understand the processes by which partnerships involving a variety of organizations and individuals from diverse sectors collaborate over time. This dissertation research is taking place in conjunction with my graduate studies at the University of Victoria, under the supervision of professor Mary Yoko Brannen. This study offers many direct benefits to the Coalition, such as in-depth research related to the operations priority of the Coalition, a better understanding of how the Coalition has developed and grown over time and an enhanced sense of the level of alignment or fit between partner organizations and individuals within the Coalition. As well, this research will offer more general benefits to society and the state of knowledge in cross sector partnership research, including detailing how processes of collaboration unfold over time and identifying critical success factors necessary for effective collaboration.

Involvement
If you consent to participate in this study, your involvement would consist of **a semi-structured interview that will take approximately 45-60 minutes** to conduct. I will ask you about your experiences working with the Coalition to date. With your permission, interviews will be recorded in an audio format so that I can transcribe them and create an accurate record of your answers. As well, I plan to take notes following the completion of the interview in order to have a complete record of the interaction, such as noting your demeanor and the physical surroundings where the interview takes place.

Risks

There are some risks associated with loss of privacy due to the small sample size of possible participants and the public record of all involved in the Coalition. However, results will only be identifiable down to the group level (i.e., government representatives, business members). I will make every effort to ensure that your information is treated in the manner you desire.

Voluntary Participation and Right to Withdraw

Your participation must be completely voluntary and you have the right to withdraw at any time without any explanation or any consequences. If you do end the interview or withdraw from the project, you can decide at that time if I can use any of the information you have provided. If you do not want me to use the interview material, I will destroy the interview notes and tapes.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

It is my goal and responsibility to use the information you share responsibly. After you have completed the interview, I will give you the opportunity to provide me with feedback concerning how you would prefer to have your data handled via a follow-up confidentiality form. The following options will be available; your decision will be completely respected:

- The information can be shared as you have provided it. No details need to be changed and your real name may be used when using the input you shared for publications or presentations.
- The information can be shared as you provided it; however, your real name will not be used. You realize that others might identify you based on the data, even though your name will not be used.
- The information can be shared as you provided it; however, your real name and details will be changed that might make you easily identifiable to others. In particular, you will have the opportunity to share specific pieces of data that you wish to be altered first to make you unidentifiable.
- The information you share will be completely confidential and anonymous. The only people aware of your participation will be myself and the third Executive Directr (as I consulted with him regarding possible participants to include in this study). Transcriptions and detailed notes will be anonymized (all identifying information will be removed, including the specific names of associations or companies you refer to) in order to protect your confidentiality.

Please note, though, that while I will make every effort to ensure that your information is treated in the manner you desire, there are some limits to protecting confidentiality due to the small sample size of possible participants.

Dissemination of Results

Beyond being used as a part of my dissertation research, the results of this study could be shared with others in the following ways: presentations at scholarly meetings such as conferences, in published articles, chapters, or books and directly with the participants and groups involved. In the future, a research report may be produced and a presentation

organized to share the findings with the Coalition. Your name and identity will be handled respectfully in accordance with your preferences as outlined in the Anonymity and Confidentiality section above.

Protection and Disposal Data

Your input will be handled in accordance with your specific confidentially request, as detailed in the Anonymity and Confidentiality section. If you desire complete confidentiality, transcriptions and detailed notes will be completely anonymized and kept in a password-protected computer in possession by me, the researcher, only at all times. Non-anonymous data will be destroyed five years after the close of this research project. All paper files will be shredded and computer files destroyed. Anonymous transcripts and other data of the research results will be kept on file and may be used for future use. I will seek your permission to use interview data for future research.

Contact Information

You may contact me to learn more about the project – Sarah Easter, PhD candidate at the Gustavson School of Business. If you wish to contact my dissertation supervisor directly, for whatever reason, please do so by contacting my supervisor. This research has received ethics clearance through the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria.

I, _____ understand the above conditions of participating in this dissertation study being carried out in conjunction with the researcher's graduate studies at the University of Victoria and agree to participate.

I agree _____ do not agree _____ to be audio taped throughout the interview, and I understand that I may ask to have the audio recorder turned off at any point.

Participant's Name (please print): _____
Participant's Signature and Date: _____
_____
Researcher's Signature and Date: _____
_____

Please keep a copy of this consent form and return a copy to the researcher.

Follow Up Anonymity and Confidentiality Form

Qualitative Interview about the Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness

Follow Up Anonymity and Confidentiality Form

It is my goal and responsibility to use the information you share responsibly. Please circle the option below that suits your preference for how you would like your data to be handled. Your decision will be completely respected.

- The information can be shared as you have provided it. No details need to be changed and your real name may be used when using the input you shared for publications or presentations.
- The information can be shared as you provided it; however, your real name will not be used. You realize that others might identify you based on the data, even though your name will not be used.
- The information can be shared as you provided it; however, your real name and details will be changed that might make you easily identifiable to others. In particular, you will have the opportunity to share specific pieces of data that you wish to be altered first to make you unidentifiable.
- The information you share will be completely confidential and anonymous. The only people aware of your participation will be myself and the third Executive Director. Transcriptions and detailed notes will be anonymized (all identifying information will be removed, including the specific names of associations or companies you refer to) in order to protect your confidentiality.

Please note, though, that while I will make every effort to ensure that your information is treated in the manner you desire, there are some limits to protecting confidentiality due to the small sample size of possible participants.

Participant's Name (please print): _____
Participant's Signature and Date: _____
_____
Researcher's Signature and Date: _____
_____

Please keep a copy of this consent form and return a copy to the researcher.

Appendix B

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Introduction: Begin by providing participant with a brief overview of my motivation for this current research project and the key purpose of this study (i.e., how diverse individuals and organizations work together over time to solve significant societal challenges)

Interview Items
Below are the key items to address in the interview, but specific questions will be ad libbed from what's been discussed previously in order to make this more of a conversation

Experience in Current Organization

- Description of current work position
- Description of organization
- Nature of experience to date

Experience and Interactions within Coalition

- Description of the Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness
- Motivation for organizational involvement
- Description of organizational and individual role in the Coalition
- Nature of experience working in Coalition to date
    - (If involved in the partnership for more than one year, ask them to elaborate on changes over time)

- Description of the beliefs and values of the Coalition
    - Similarities/differences to own and those of organization
- Discussion of discussion making processes in the Coalition
    - Similarities/differences to decision making in organization

- Opinion regarding having such a multitude of partners involved in the Coalition

- Recall of an experience during involvement in the Coalition that particularly sticks out participant's mind

- Description of the level of effectiveness of the Coalition in terms of its operational structure

- Factors helpful in the Coalition's operations to date

- Advice for the Coalition going forward

Appendix C

Dissertation Study Summary:
Prepared for the Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness

Key Research Purpose

Research has shown that cross sector partnerships are often necessary in order to effectively address pressing societal issues such as poverty[17] [18]. Yet, in these complex organizational contexts there are often significant differences within and between organizations as it relates to ways of working, missions, goals, etc. Accordingly, the purpose of this dissertation was to understand how tri-sector partnerships (i.e., public, private and nonprofit players) tackling a complex social issue, such as homelessness, interact and work together over time in the face of sectoral, organizational and individual differences.

Methodological Overview

I used an inductive ethnographic research approach[19] [20], involving in-depth interviews and participant observation to carry out this exploratory investigation of the focal tri-sector partnership: the Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness Society (Coalition) located in Victoria, British Columbia. The Coalition, founded in 2008, is a partnership involving all levels of government, service providers, business members, the faith community, post-secondary institutions, private citizens and the homeless themselves focused upon effectively ending homelessness in the Greater Victoria area by 2018. Throughout this study, I conducted 58 interviews with 47 distinct informants. I focused in particular on those at the "core" of the tri-sector partnership, namely players involved in the Leadership Council, Management Committee and Secretariat, involving both current and past players in order to capture participants' perspectives over time. Of the current players involved, 48% of the Leadership Council and 67% of Management Committee agreed to participate. At the conclusion of each interview, I asked participants about other individuals they would recommend that I contact for possible inclusion in this study, which helped me to capture a breadth of perspectives over time, in addition to those currently involved in the Coalition's work. As well, I consulted with the Secretariat employees regarding potential participants to contact from the other groups involved in the Coalition, in order to capture representative perspectives from each of the tri-sector partnership's various working bodies, to gain a more holistic understanding of the variety of viewpoints at work in the Coalition. Additionally, I observed many Coalition meetings and related community events and obtained a variety of archival documents, from the

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[17] Crane, A. & Seitanidi, M.M. (2014). Social partnerships and responsible business: what, why and how? In M.M. Seitanidi & A. Crane (Eds.), *Social partnerships and responsible business: a research handbook*: 1-12. New York: Routledge.

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[20] Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A.L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Chicago, IL: Adline.

Coalition's formation in 2008 to present. In total, I collected over 2,500 pages of data that were analyzed using the Atlas.ti qualitative software program as a supporting tool.

Summary of Findings

Overall findings included:

1) Surfacing of different understandings of the Coalition's identity (i.e., its focal purpose and goals) among involved players emanating from key contextual factors (e.g., organizations/stakeholder groups that individuals represented within the partnership)

2) A process model detailing how the Coalition's identity is continually changing over time

3) Capabilities that individuals possess who are savvy at navigating across different perspectives within the Coalition

Key Recommendations for the Coalition

As a result of this study, I make the following recommendations:

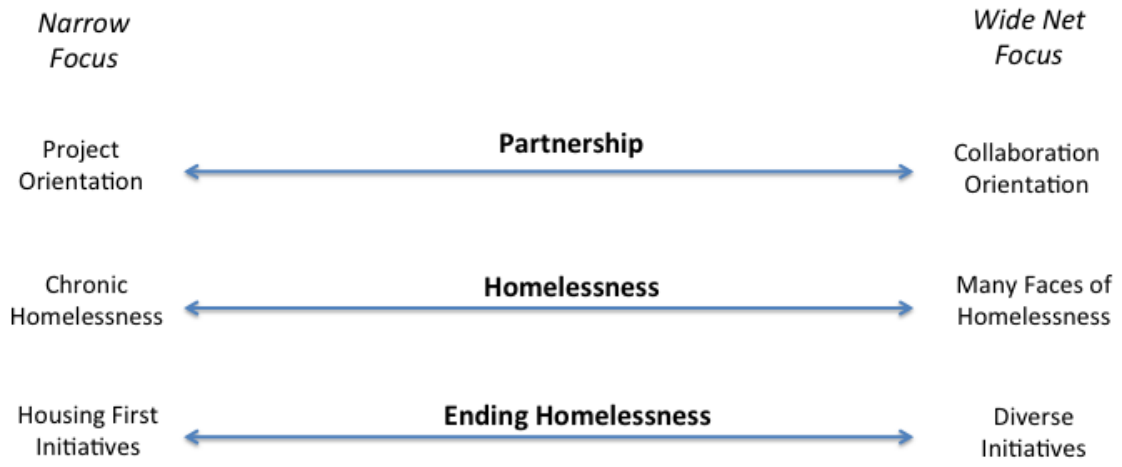
- Determine the key vision of the organization, involving active collaboration with all relevant stakeholders followed by ongoing discussions and check in points to ensure that all participants are able to clearly articulate the direction of the partnership, particularly as participants are continually cycling in and out
- Consider making explicit communications with current and incoming partners an active and ongoing priority (e.g., communicate exactly what is meant by the term partnership, homelessness, etc.) as this study revealed that players held many different perspectives on the Coalition's focal mission even as they were regularly reminded of that mission
- That a formalized socialization process be considered for Leadership Council and Management Committee participants (beyond a one-hour sit down with the Executive Director) as the Coalition represents a very complex organizational arrangement
- Review the governance of the Coalition and consider a smaller, more focused Leadership Council to help ensure that the partnership continues to move forward in addressing its goals
- As the Executive Director plays a crucial role in setting the culture of the partnership and mobilizing the involved players, it is strongly recommended that consideration be given to the following key attributes: experience in marshaling players residing in different organizations and sectors together toward a shared vision as well as a strong affinity for collaborative based work
- Clarify the roles of the Leadership Council directors in comparison to the Management Committee members. Many Management Committee members I talked with expressed frustration that their role in the Coalition had been reduced to that of peripheral advisory players with little or no influence in the partnership
- Recruit participants who already exemplify skill sets needed to navigate across different organizational and sectoral perspectives

Explanation of Key Findings

Finding # 1 – Different Understandings of the Coalition's Identity Emanating from Key Contextual Factors

Many participants described the Coalition's identity (it's overall vision and mission) as being "well understood", "clear" and that "players were on the same page". As well, the written documentation of the Coalition's identity as a partnership focused on ending homelessness in Greater Victoria has remained relatively unchanged since its founding in 2008. Yet, I discovered that there were actually a variety of different meanings that involved players attributed to partnership, homelessness and ending homelessness.

Figure 1: Continuum of Identity Understandings Among Coalition Players



As Figure 1 shows, these various meanings ascribed to partnership, homelessness and ending homelessness tended to fall on a continuum ranging from a narrow to a wide net focus or approach. For instance, as it relates to the meaning of homelessness, some players indicated that it was important for the Coalition to focus specifically on those experiencing chronic homelessness (i.e., those with long-term or repeated episodes of homelessness) since this group is the most vulnerable. Those who held this view concerning the meaning of homelessness when it came to the Coalition's identity tended to focus on housing related initiatives as the primary vehicle for ending homelessness. Consider the following statement made by the third Executive Director:

> "So the focus of the organization has almost always been chronic homelessness, right, and the and how many people are experiencing chronic homelessness and what the definition of chronic homelessness is. That has almost from the get go been the focus of our organization and it remains our top priority"

Others, though, believed that an inclusive approach needed to be taken that addressed the many faces that homelessness can take, including those who are couchsurfing, do not have access to affordable housing, etc. alongside those who are 'visibly' experiencing homelessness. The latter group tended to emphasize a wider array of initiatives in addition to focusing primarily on housing related efforts, such as prevention related activities and/or initiatives to minimize the effects of homelessness, as one involved partner emphatically put it:

> "I really get hot under the collar when people say we should prioritize those that are chronically homeless. Well, no bloody wonder, okay so that's almost a useless statement in one way…they're flooding in like massive amounts. You're never gonna take care of just those chronically homeless. If you just focus on that you're gonna lose the war…You're never gonna resolve the problem if you just focus on that part of the society."

In tracing the various meanings that involved participants ascribed to the Coalition's identity, I began to see that these different understandings were not simply a current day challenge, but rather dated back to the very conception of the multi-stakeholder partnership. Of the individuals I interviewed who were involved in the early stages of the Coalition, while many described the organization's central focus on chronic homelessness (from the beginning) a few others felt that chronic homelessness was just one piece of a much larger puzzle in which the Coalition was grappling. In recognition of these various perspectives, one former Leadership Council director involved during the initial founding of the organization put it this way:

> "One of the challenges I think from the very beginning was defining what is the goal of the Coalition and when we say our goal is to end homelessness what is it that we mean by that?"

Key Contextual Factors Shaping How Individuals Viewed the Coalition

Each individual in the Coalition made sense of his/her involvement, processing and interpreting information about the Coalition as well as determining action[21], in a different manner. These perspectives colored how members viewed the Coalition's very identity, the result being a multitude of meanings related to its organizational identity, which were, more often than not, implicit in nature. Differences in perspectives stemmed from each individual involved approaching the Coalition table with multiple "hats" simultaneously, including, but not limited to, the organization and/or stakeholder group he/she represented and the sector(s) in which his/her organization was situated (e.g., nonprofit, governmental, business). As well, each involved player held an individual stance on the Coalition and the issue of homelessness, which may or may not have aligned with the group and/or organization he/she represented. Throughout my time in the field, players

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[21] Weick, K. E. (1993). The collapse of sensemaking in organizations: The Mann Gulch disaster. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 628-652.

referred to this balancing act of holding multiple perspectives concurrently as "juggling a variety of different hats".

While there are certainly a multitude of different contextual factors that influenced how Coalition players made sense of the organization's identity, resulting in a variety of different understandings as to what partnership, homelessness and ending homelessness truly means, there are three factors that emerged in the data as being the most salient. These factors are: an individual's connection to homelessness, the identity and culture of the organization and/or stakeholder group he/she represented in approaching the Coalition table and the macro beliefs and associated practices of the institutional spaces in which involved organizations and individuals were embedded (i.e., institutional logics).

Particularly related to institutional logics, as my time in the field progressed, I slowly began to realize that there were macro level belief systems and associated practices, or institutional logics[22], which served as additional contextual factors in shaping individuals' perceptions of the Coalition and ultimately how they viewed its organizational identity. I found that five distinct institutional logics were the most salient in the Coalition setting: the logic of social justice, the logic of root causes, the logic of efficient action, the logic of planning and the logic of community accountability. Table 1 below provides an overview of the identified logics and how each served as a contextual factor in framing participants' perceptions of the Coalition's identity. While each logic represents a distinct set of belief systems and associated practices in a particular institutional sphere, often I found that individuals identified with multiple institutional logics simultaneously. This could be due to the fact that many involved participants boasted work experience in a variety of different institutional spheres (e.g., an individual with work experience in both a service provider and a health organization) and worked in organizational settings where they frequently crossed organizational and sectoral boundaries in carrying out their respective job functions.

It is important to note that this chart simply represents the ideal types of distinct institutional logics present within the Coalition. In actually, individuals involved demonstrated different levels of identification with them. What's more, since the Coalition is made up of a variety of individuals situated in and embedded within different institutional spheres, the organization itself contains traces of all five of these institutional logics in some shape or form at any given time. The extent to which these five logics enacted by individuals shaped the Coalition's identity and/or manifestations of that identity, though, shifted over time depending upon the ongoing everyday interactions among involved players. Below I briefly outline the five logics.

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[22] Reay, T. & Hinings, C.R. (2005). The recomposition of an organizational field: Health care in Alberta. *Organization Studies*, 26(3): 351-384.

Table 5.2: Instantiated Logics within the Coalition

	Logic of Social Justice	Logic of Root Causes	Logic of Efficient Action
Characteristic			
Basis of attention	Human element of issue, focus on those who are actually experiencing homelessness today, value of every single individual experiencing homelessness	Systemic focus, root causes of homelessness, social change	Solutions orientation, emphasis on cost savings, project focused, concrete priorities and action plans
Identity framing of Coalition			
Partnership model	Work alongside experiential community and front line service providers to develop interim and long-term solutions to combat homelessness	Direct discussion of issues and challenges, transparent and open communication among partners	Engage partners to work on specific projects as needed, task orientation, efficiently manage different perspectives
Homelessness	Inclusive approach that acknowledges the many faces that homelessness can take	Inclusive approach to identifying homelessness that recognizes those who are about to fall into homelessness situation in order to holistically address issue, beyond an emphasis on housing	Specific targets, emphasis on chronically homeless
Ending Homelessness	Long-term tangible goals of building housing while also implementing short term priorities to minimize the effect of homelessness	Inclusive approach that addresses the root causes of homelesness	Emphasis on housing first initiatives
Basis of strategy	Human rights, moral imperative, emotionally charged commmunications and rhetoric, programs that directly engage the experiential community (e.g., Social Inclusion Advisory Committee)	Research outlining significance of systemic approach, emphasis on prevention based initiatives in addition to focusing on housing based priorities, social change advocacy	Identify specific long-term targets that Coalition has ability to address, business plans, task forces for specific projects as needed
Commonly associated actors	Experiential community, front line service providers, community advocates, faith community, municipal government, social workers	Researchers, health professionals	Business professionals, municipal government, community nonprofits

Table 5.2: Instantiated Logics within the Coalition (continued)

	Logic of Planning	Logic of Community Accountability
Characteristic		
Basis of attention	Structured planning approach, evidence based, need for significant information and discussion before moving forward	Focus on public commitment made by community and involved stakeholders
Identity framing of Coalition		
Partnership model	Engage partners in structured decision making and planning processes	Ongoing involvement that meaningfully and actively involves all stakeholders, players must be held accountable for commitment made
Homelessness	Specific targets, emphasis on chronically homeless	Direct emphasis on those who are currently roofless or houseless but strong recognition that Coalition needs to address those who are insecurely and inadequately housed as well
Ending Homelessness	Emphasis on housing first initiatives	Emphasis on housing first initiatives that can be addressed in 10 year window if all stakeholders participate fully
Basis of strategy	Highly structured meetings, evidenced based reports, policy-based advocacy, agreement on plans and projects	Relationship building, community accountability, strength in numbers, strong role of internal and external advocacy, official community plans
Commonly associated actors	Provincial and federal government	Cut across all stakeholders

Logic of social justice: The logic of social justice denotes a view of how those seeking to address complex social issues, such as homelessness, should keep the beneficiaries themselves as the focal point and actively engage them in determining solutions, in this case, those experiencing homelessness. This represents a field-level manifestation of the logic of profession[23] within the homelessness arena. An increasingly important emphasis, both in research and practice, as it relates to working to combat the multi-faceted challenge of homelessness focuses on the significance of actively involving those experiencing homelessness as being a part of the solution in an inclusive manner[24], as opposed to excluding them from the process. Individuals in this realm focused on the human element of homelessness, rather than simply viewing the issue in terms of a macro level systems challenge alone. Key words and phrasing commonly used include "human rights", "social inclusion", "direction connection to homelessness", "homelessness is unacceptable", "moral imperative" and "social change".

Many of the individuals who identified with this logic actively worked with those experiencing homelessness in an "on the ground" sense, such as social workers, frontline service providers, the faith community and the experiential community involved in the Coalition themselves. They believed it was important to remember the many different faces that homelessness can take, such as people couchsurfing and those at risk of experiencing homelessness, in addition to working to address visible homelessness, such as those sleeping rough outside. While individuals who ascribed to this logic believed it was important to focus on long-term solutions to homelessness such as building housing, they also felt it was crucial to deal with the challenges that those experiencing homelessness are faced with in the short-term to minimize the impact of homelessness, such as ensuring there are enough emergency shelter beds and that individuals have temporary storage lockers for their belongings.

Logic of root causes: The logic of root causes represents a view of systems thinking and a recognition of the root causes of homelessness. This logic is another field-level manifestation of the logic of profession in the homelessness arena. It emphasizes the structural factors that contribute to individuals falling into homelessness such as a lack of affordable housing and living-wage incomes[25], in addition to addressing the building of more housing units. Key phrases commonly used in relation to this logic include "structural factors", "prevention", "holistic approach", "poverty" and "economic and social inequality".

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[23] Thornton, P.H. Ocasio, W. & Lounsbury, M. (2012). *The institutional logics perspective: A new approach to culture, structure and process*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

[24] Norman, T., & Pauly, B. (2013). Including people who experience homelessness: a scoping review of the literature. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, *33*(3/4), 136-151

[25] Pauly, B., Cross, G., Vallance, K., Wynn-Williams, A. & Stiles, K. (2013). Facing homelessness: Greater Victoria report on housing & supports 2012/13. Produced by Centre for Addictions Research of BC and Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness.

Individuals who ascribed to this logic, commonly researchers (many who focused specifically on homelessness related research) and health professionals, talked about homelessness in an inclusive sense, recognizing individuals who are about to fall into homelessness alongside those who are experiencing abject poverty and visible forms of homelessness. As such, they were focused on incorporating preventative measures alongside housing focused priorities in order to attack homelessness from multiple angles, and thus enact a more holistic approach to solving the issue. Some were even quite critical of the notion of "ending homelessness" and felt that it would not be possible to do so unless major systemic changes were made in society to alter social and economic inequalities. One Management Committee member put it this way:

> "I think when the Coalition talks about ending homelessness they're talking about ending street homelessness. They're talking about ending the visual aspect of homelessness, abject poverty, which I actually don't truly believe we'll ever be able to end unless we change how we organize our economic systems and how we organize ourselves socially. I just don't think we'll ever really see an end to that kind of poverty until we really shift our priorities as a society."

Logic of efficient action: The logic of efficient action is a view that is solutions-oriented and focused on concrete priorities and action plans. This logic represents a field-level manifestation of the logic of the market[26] in the realm of homelessness. An increasingly popular approach to address homelessness in North America is the ten-year plan to end homelessness[27]. This model focuses particularly on ending chronic homelessness, those who experience long-term or repeated episodes of homelessness, with the key solution being to provide supportive housing units[28]. In a housing first, or supportive housing framework, individuals are placed in independent housing units as soon as possible, without any preconditions being met, after which they are provided with additional supports, as needed, to combat challenges such as addictions. The underlying assumption of this approach is that people will be able to move forward with their lives in a more successful manner if they are first housed[29].

One of the key arguments frequently made in enacting this approach is an economic one focused on the cost savings associated with providing this core group experiencing

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[26] Thornton, P.H. Ocasio, W. & Lounsbury, M. (2012). *The institutional logics perspective: A new approach to culture, structure and process*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

[27] Culhane, D. P. (2008). The cost of homelessness: A perspective from the United States. *European Journal of Homelessness*, 97-114. Retrieved from http://repository.upenn.edu/spp_papers/148

[28] Elliott, D. (2015). Creating homes, enhancing communities. Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness White Paper

[29] Gaetz, S., Scott, F. & Gulliver, T (Eds.) 2013. Housing First in Canada: Supporting communities to end homelessness. Toronto: Canadian Homelessness Research Network Press.

homelessness with housing[30]. As one former Leadership Council co-chair put it, "…it is at least as cost-effective or cheaper to provide supportive housing to people than to deal with them through the other systems that we have, which are primarily police, prison systems and the health system. So, the economic argument is quite sound." Key phrasing commonly used in conjunction with this logic includes: "efficiency", "solutions oriented", "action plans", "cost effective" and "quick turnaround". Those who ascribed to this logic – primarily business professionals, municipal government representatives and community nonprofits – emphasized the importance of having specific homelessness targets and associated action plans, with a particular focus on those who are experiencing chronic homelessness.

Logic of planning: This logic represents a field-level manifestation of the logic of the bureaucratic state[31] in the sphere of homelessness. The logic of planning focuses one's attention toward evidenced based, structured planning processes. The logic is similar to that of efficient action in that both frame the Coalition's identity in terms of those experiencing chronic homelessness via housing first initiatives. The Government of Canada has focused more readily on a housing first approach in recent years, including making this a focal point in its five-year renewal of the Homelessness Partnering Strategy (HPS), including a financial commitment of $119 million[32].

Its main point of departure from the logic of efficient action rests on its emphasis on planning based approaches in comparison to action orientation. Provincial and federal governmental representatives commonly identified with this logic and frequently used phrasing such as "planning", "policy", "procedures", "evidenced based reporting" and "structured decision making".

Logic of community accountability: The logic of accountability is oriented to the interests of the community at large. According to this manifestation of the community logic, or the community logic at the societal level[33], the Coalition, as a concerted group of stakeholders, is accountable to the public regarding its commitment made in 2008 to end homelessness in Greater Victoria within a ten-year window.

This logic stresses that not only has a public commitment been made to end homelessness in the ten-year window, but that it will not be possible to achieve without the community, and its many components, working together to address it. As one former Leadership Council director put it: "…the intention of the Coalition when it first began was very innovative in that we were recognizing the issue of homelessness in Victoria and realizing that that it was going to take a concerted effort of everybody to try and figure

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[30] Culhane, D. P. (2008). The cost of homelessness: A perspective from the United States. *European Journal of Homelessness*, 97-114. Retrieved from http://repository.upenn.edu/spp_papers/148

[31] Thornton, P.H. Ocasio, W. & Lounsbury, M. (2012). *The institutional logics perspective: A new approach to culture, structure and process*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

[32] Gaetz, S., Scott, F. & Gulliver, T (Eds.) 2013. Housing First in Canada: Supporting communities to end homelessness. Toronto: Canadian Homelessness Research Network Press.

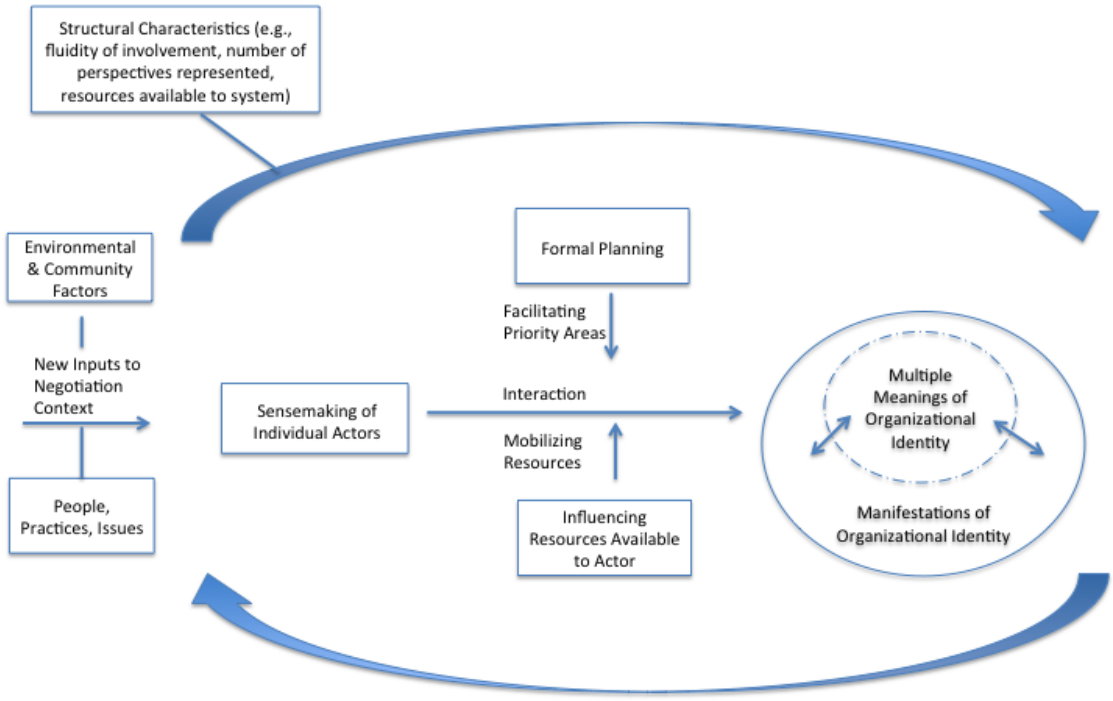
[33] Thornton, P.H. Ocasio, W. & Lounsbury, M. (2012). *The institutional logics perspective: A new approach to culture, structure and process*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

out what to do." Participants who identified with this logic, which cut across all stakeholders in the Coalition, commonly used phrasing such as "community approach", "concerted effort to solve homelessness", "accountability", "Victoria with the Coalition is better than Victoria without the Coalition" and "it takes a community to end homelessness".

Findings # 2: Process Model Detailing How the Coalition's Identity has Continually Changed Over Time

The following process model emerged from this qualitative study of the Coalition and elucidates how organizational identity is continuously negotiated by involved players in organizational settings characterized by permeable boundaries and distributed authority – of which the Coalition is a prime example. As shown in Figure 3 below, the continuous identity-as-negotiation process (as indicated by the circular arrows) begins with the actors who come together as a part of a cross sector partnership and who make sense of the organization's identity (i.e., purpose, goals, key characteristics) in different ways. Actors draw upon such contextual factors as individual experiences with the social challenge at hand, the organizational identity and culture of their 'home' organizations and/or associations and macro level belief systems and associated practices in which they and/or their organizations are embedded (i.e., institutional logics – as just described above). As well, as the organizational boundaries are very permeable and actors function as insider-outsiders (i.e., as Coalition participants as well as representatives for their involved organizations or associations), they hold images of other players involved, which can affect how everyday interactions between players takes place (e.g., one actor trying to influence another with financial resources to realize their understandings of the organization's identity). Through everyday interactions among actors, which include both formal (e.g., organized meetings) and informal (e.g., informal conversations) settings, players negotiate the organization's identity.

Figure 2: Organizational Identity (OI) Change in a Cross Sector Partnership:
A Process Model of Identity-As-Negotiation



Since players in such multi-faceted contexts often make sense of the organization's identity in various ways, there are likely to be a multitude of meanings that those involved ascribe to it, as played out within the Coalition. How implicit or explicit the multiple meanings of organizational identity are is dependent, in part, upon how direct players are in the strategies utilized to maintain, alter and/or shape the organization's identity (i.e., purpose, goals and key characteristics). As such, the multiple meanings of organizational identity are shown in the process model as a dotted circle that crosses over into the manifestations of organizational identity. Manifestations of organizational identity, such as particular programs, initiatives or priority areas are reflective of players' multiple, underlying understandings of organizational identity, which motivates them in attempting to influence the organization's strategies and priority areas of focus. Within the Coalition, specifically, much of the discussion within formal meetings related to discussion of priority areas and strategies while limited emphasis was given to discussing foundational understandings of the Coalition's identity (e.g., meaning of homelessness, meaning of partnership).

As a part of everyday interactions to maintain, shape and/or alter the organization's identity, players utilize a number of key strategies. The main formalized strategy of the organization, carried out by the organization's leadership team (e.g., in this case the Executive Director in consultation with the Executive Team of the Leadership Council) is the formal planning process, which is used to facilitate priority areas for the organization to focus on. At the same time, though, as authority in a cross sector partnership such as the Coalition is usually distributed and as senior leadership is responsible to and reports

to the involved stakeholders, formalized strategies used to help focus and direct the organization only carry so much weight. Players also utilize a variety of resources, dependent upon those at their disposal. In the case of the Coalition these key resources were as follows: funding, research, "on the ground" experiences in the field and media communications to influence the direction of the organization. While the formal planning process seeks to serve as a stabilizing mechanism in order to help focus and maintain the organization's identity at a given point, the variety of influencing resources utilized by players serve to continually alter and shape the organization's identity over time. Thus, the identity-as-negotiation process is dynamic and iterative, involving both planned and unplanned identity changes.

New inputs to the negotiation context such as the community's increased awareness of the severity of the societal challenge being addressed by the cross sector partnership (i.e., external inputs) or new people or proposed projects being introduced (i.e., internal inputs) serve as catalysts in triggering new identity negotiations (as indicated on the left side of Figure 3). What's more, as negotiations are contingent on the structural conditions of a given organization[34], characteristics such as the fluidity of involvement among players, the number of perspectives represented and the resources available to the system play a role in the way that everyday interactions among actors plays out over time.

Finding # 3: Capabilities That Individuals Possess Who are Savvy at Navigating across Different Perspectives within the Coalition

Research has shown that boundary spanners can play a crucial role in helping players to bridge across complex organizational realities. A boundary spanner is as an individual that promotes partner interface across organizational, geographic and/or sectoral boundaries[35]. By closely examining the individuals who surfaced as boundary spanners, I arrived at five key skill sets present within the Coalition, which facilitated boundary spanning activities: partnership commitment, awareness of complexity, boundary crossing knowledge transfer, openness to alternative perspectives and relationship orientation, which actively played out in this context. Table 2 provides an overview of each boundary spanning skill set, including definition of each capability, as well as representative quotes, observations and archival entries for each related first-order theme.

For some identified boundary spanners, I found evidence of enactment of all five surfaced skill sets, while in studying others I discovered evidence of only a few of them in practice. It is important to note that the identified boundary spanning skill sets detailed above are not simply innate psychological characteristics but rather behavioral traits that can be learned and developed over time. Indeed, in interviewing participants within the Coalition this theme surfaced repeatedly. For example, some players relayed to me how

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[34] Strauss, A. (1978). *Negotiations: varieties, contexts, processes and social order*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers

[35] Manning, S. & Roessler, D. (2013). The formation of cross-sector development partnerships: How bridging agents shape project agendas and longer-term alliances. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 123: 527-547.

their opinions about homelessness had been altered over time due to their involvement within the Coalition.

> Well I really enjoyed being involved in the Coalition. I think it does open your eyes. For me, Coalition me has been impactful in helping me be more empathetic towards that community to not hold them as accountable.
> - Leadership Council co-chair

Others talked about how they were gradually able to see the issues at hand from alternative perspectives over time. This even occurred in cases where individuals did not have direct experience in a different professional realm, such as a business professional learning and understanding a social work perspective concerning the issue of homelessness after seeking to learn from this alternative viewpoint.

Table 2: Evidence of Boundary Spanning Skill Sets in the Coalition

Skill Set: Partnership Commitment – ability to focus first and foremost on the aims of the partnership including the key social issue that the partners have come together to address rather than calling attention to organizational and/or sectoral differences between them	
Concentrating on similarities	"Well I think I go into those discussions and meetings with I think one really important assumption and that's that in the end it all comes down to a group of individuals we're trying to serve and I find if we can stay grounded there then a lot of the other issues around slightly competitive not for profit agencies, service provider, government, non-government, all of those things melt away a bit if we can stay grounded with that…" - current Management Committee member "I think, for me, it's always about getting to the common ground. So, what do we have in common first of all and trying to start there" - current Leadership Council director
Keeping the social issue at the forefront	She mentioned to me that in spite of her frustrations, she continues to stay at the table because she is passionate about the issue - notes from meeting with current Leadership Council director The Leadership Council director talked about affordable housing projects coming on stream in Victoria including one that was outside of the city limits and would be finished in 2016 and 2017. She mentioned that after the long hiatus of not seeing much housing being built that this was very exciting. She also then talked about some stories of homelessness that she encountered recently as she mentioned it is important to give face to the issue. - notes from October 2015 Leadership Council meeting
Skill Set: Awareness of Complexity – ability to realize that the social issue at hand is very multi-layered and will involve multiple organizations and sectors working together, each with their own sets of strengths and limitations, in order to solve it effectively rather than viewing the issue solely from his/her own vantage point	
Recognizing the multi-faceted nature of the social issue at hand	"Well we live in a complicated society so I believe that we could easily solve homelessness if it was the only issue confronting us as a society. We could solve almost any problem as long as we made that the focus and the priority. So the challenge is not everybody gives this issue the same level of priority. Not everybody sees the solution the same way"

	- current Leadership Council Co-chair "The reason why people experience homelessness is so multi-layered and complex that we can't just, that there can't just be really easy band-aid solutions to it." - current Management Committee member
Separating the individual from representative organization	"so it's never at a personal level it's always at okay yeah you are trying to do the best you can in an organization that has certain sets of values that aren't gonna allow you to necessarily move in this direction that I think you should move in" - former Leadership Council director "I think previously there would have been more hand-wringing you know, but [the third Executive Director] has been really good about also not letting us be attacked. By saying they're doing what they can." - former Leadership Council director
Skill Set: Boundary Crossing Knowledge Transfer – ability to coherently express one's own viewpoint, including underlying assumptions, and to effectively share information in a way that will be meaningful to individuals in other organizations and/or sectors rather than communicating opaquely and in the same manner regardless of the audience	
Articulating stance in a clear and transparent manner	[He] really communicated to me the significance of transparency in one's perspective in approaching the Coalition's table, particularly the priorities of your given organization - notes from meeting with current Management Committee member "My background is in sociology and so I can't actually see things in vacuums and compartments…" - current Management Committee member
Framing issue appropriately given audience	"If you cannot put numbers in place and say this is the issue, here's the number, here's the timeline, here's what we think we can fix, here's what it means and have numbers in place business will never pay attention. That's how they talk. They want numbers, they want it quick, they want it very crisp so they get a sense of whether this is something they wanna get involved with, how they could position this internally and how they would garner support internally, what stakeholders do they need; that's the way it works to get any type of action behind it." - current Management Committee member

	"Translating the information, like translating the data, coming up with ways to tell the story without getting really bogged down into what researchers wanna get bogged down in which is the data and all the gritty details like I think she's done a really great job of advising around that…" - current Management Committee member
Skill Set: Openness to Alternative Perspectives – fully understands that his/her perspective is just one out of a plethora of perspectives and demonstrates a strong willingness to actively listen to and understand others' stances rather than viewing his/her own viewpoint as "the right one"	
Asking questions and stimulating dialogue	I then asked her about how she personally worked to bridge across the different perspectives at the table. She emphasized the need to ask a lot of questions and to understand the background of decisions - notes from meeting with current Management Committee member He then piped in and asked how big of a problem is this lack of coordination province wide. He went on to talk about how he felt that the Downtown Eastside did have more resources and seemed to be better coordinated, so he wondered if the lack of coordination was more of a local challenge rather than one across the province. He then wondered if it would be beneficial to look into their successes more and key factors so his organization and [another major governmental entity] could learn to work together more effectively - notes from October 2015 Management Committee meeting
Seeking to learn from others	[The Leadership Council Co-chair] said that after 7 years, he has absorbed a lot of knowledge and has even begun to take up that rhetoric and language and talk about the issues from a the vantage point of the actual homelessness challenges rather than just talking about the Coalition from his functional background - notes from meeting with current Leadership Council Co-chair "I think the biggest eye opening moment for me was spending a lot of time with the doctors and some other folks around the table that were in the system and to understand that it's not about choosing not to work; it's about 'I've had a mental health issue such as a brain injury'...So, it's a lot of that learning and the realization that these are people that didn't choose this per say, which is I think how a lot of people think about it…so there were a lot of a-ha moments for me" - former Leadership Council director
Skill Set: Relationship Orientation – Ability to foster strong social capital with other players involved in the cross sector partnership rather than seeking to move forward with one's agenda without regard for personal relationships	

Focusing on building relationships with individual players	"I think the relationships are probably the most important thing where you sort of you know there are people who you work with in a variety of different capacities maybe you negotiated contracts with, maybe you developed services with them, and just leveraging those relationships through meetings one-on-one or with the group to address issues that might be say challenging to address in a group format and do that maybe on your own." - current Management Committee member "I'm also very mindful that I want to always preserve the relationship so sometimes maybe I'm not as critical as I should be or could be in situations" - former Leadership Council director