PREDICTORS OF HYBRID ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY: EVIDENCE FROM THE TURKISH THEATRE FIELD, 1923-1999

by

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Submitted to the Institute of Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Sabancı University
January 2013

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DATE OF APPROVAL: 23.01.2013

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PhD Dissertation, 2013

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Keywords: organizational identity, hybrid identity, institutional logics, cultural industries, Turkey

Being an essential concept in organization research for a long time, organizational identity has received a renewed interest both theoretically and empirically since it has increasingly been interpreted as contingent, dynamic and multiple. Although the notion of hybrid identity constitutes an important part of this interest, existing research mostly considers it as a starting assumption without investigating why there are such identities in the first place. By borrowing ideas from institutional and imprinting frameworks in organization theory, this study is an attempt to extend research by examining how particular field and organization-level factors may predict hybridity of organizational identities.

Focusing on the Turkish theatre field as the empirical setting, first the identity claim categories in the field were discovered via cluster analysis by using the dataset of plays performed by professional theatre companies in Istanbul and Ankara during the 1923-1999 period. Next, analyses were conducted by using multilevel (mixed effect) models in order to test study hypotheses. Hybrid identity was measured by Simpson diversity index weighted by category contrasts. Findings reveal that the degree of identity hybridization is largely enhanced by the identity hybridity of the organization at its birth, the transition in institutional logics and the strength of the mimetic mechanisms within the field. The results emphasize that diverse identity claims are combined more under specific institutional and founding conditions.

MELEZ ÖRGÜTSEL KİMLİKLERİN BELİRLEYİCİLERİ: TÜRKİYE TİYATRO ALANINDAN BULGULAR, 1923-1999

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Doktora Tezi, 2013

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Behlül Üsdiken

Anahtar Kelimeler: örgütsel kimlik, melez kimlik, kurumsal mantıklar, kültürel endüstriler, Türkiye

Örgüt araştırmalarında uzun zamandır önemli bir kavram olan örgütsel kimliğe yönelik ilgi şartlara göre değişen, dinamik ve çoklu kimliklerin ön plana çıkmasıyla beraber yenilenmiştir. Melez kimlik kavramı bu yeni ilginin önemli bir bölümünü oluşturmaktadır. Ancak, mevcut araştırmalar melez kimliği başlangıç varsayımı olarak ele almış ve bu tarz kimliklerin hangi sebeplerle ortaya çıktığını incelememiştir. Örgüt kuramının kurumsal mantıklar ve kuruluştaki damga etkisi bakış açılarından yararlanan bu çalışma, melez kimlikleri belirleyen alan ve örgüt düzeyindeki bir takım etkileri inceleyerek mevcut araştırmaları geliştirmek isteyen bir çabayı yansıtmaktadır.

Görgül ortam olarak Türk tiyatro alanına odaklanan bu çalışmada önce 1923-1999 yılları arasındaki dönemde İstanbul ve Ankara'da faaliyet göstermiş profesyonel tiyatroların sahnelediği oyunlar kümeleme analizine tabi tutularak alandaki kimlik kategorileri belirlenmiştir. Sonrasında, çalışma hipotezleri çok-düzeyli modelleme analizi kullanılarak sınanmıştır. Bulgular, örgütsel kimliklerde melezleşmenin, önemli ölçüde örgütün doğumundaki kimliği, alandaki kurumsal mantıklar arası geçişler ve alan içindeki öykünmeci mekanizmalarla şekillendiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Araştırma sonuçları, farklı kimlik iddialarının örgütler tarafından belirli kurumsal koşullar ve ilk kuruluş özellikleri altında daha fazla birleştirildiğini göstermektedir.

To my family,

for making me believe and fight

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Behlül Üsdiken, for his academic guidance, caring, patience, and providing me with excellent intellectual support for doing research and completing my dissertation. I learned so much from our every single conversation. I will always be grateful to him for his never-ending trust in me and generously sharing his time, experience and ideas. I also would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Özgecan Koçak, who let me experience the research of organizations in the most exciting way and help me with the essential methodological issues better than any textbook. Always answering my questions, giving her best suggestions and inspring me, she contributed to me no less than a second advisor. I am truly fortunate to have had the opportunity to work with them.

I would also like to thank Dr. Beyza Oba, Dr. Işın Güler and Dr. Çetin Önder for guiding my research by taking part as my committee members and helping me to develop the theoretical background and empirical rigor of my dissertation. Special thanks goes to Dr. Şükrü Özen and Dr. Mahmut Bayazıt, who evaluated my proposal and provided me valuable insights for developing it. My last special thank you is for Dr. S. Arzu Wasti who was willing to participate in my final defense committee at the last moment. She is one of the first scholars who introduced me to the spirit and challenging ways of being a researcher and for this, I will always be indebted to her.

I also take this opportunity to record my sincere thanks to Dr. Nakiye Boyacıgiller, the dean of School of Management at Sabancı University as well as all other academic and administrative staff of the School for providing me full support and making everything easier and available for me during my graduate studies.

I would never have been able to finish this dissertation without the help from my friends and support from my family. Selin and Okan, my two beautiful friends were always there for me, with their unconditional camaraderie. Finally, my parents Güler and Remzi Can, and my brother Özgün were continuously supporting and trusting me with all they have. They stood by me through the good times and bad times, making all barriers negligible.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CA	Cluster analysis
EM	Expectation maximization [algorithm]
DT	State Theatres [*Devlet Tiyatroları*]
GEE	Generalized estimating equations
GoM	Grade of membership
ICC	Intra-class correlation
İŞT	Istanbul City Theatre [*İstanbul Şehir Tiyatrosu*]
LR	Likelihood ratio [test]
MAR	Missing at random
MCA	Multiple correspondence analysis
MCAR	Missing completely at random
MNAR	Missing Not at Random
ML	Maximum likelihood [estimation]
MLM	Multi-level modeling
OLS	Ordinary least squares
RC	Random coefficient
REML	Restricted maximum likelihood [estimation]

1.

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Motivation and Research Questions

No concept is more essential to understanding the notion of "self" for organizations as it is for society than the idea of *identity*. Organizational identity is a flourishing domain among organizational theorists and researchers as it represents an essential concept relating to the collective acknowledgement of "who the organization is" as it is perceived by internal and external constituencies (e.g., Albert and Whetten, 1985; Gioia, Schultz and Corley, 2000). In the eyes of its members or other related parties, an organization's identity consists of a set of core, distinct values about what the organization is or can be, as well as what is expected of it (Albert and Whetten, 1985; Hannan, Polos and Carroll, 2007).

Through the years, different approaches for understanding organizational identity have been offered; such as *social constructivist* and *social actor* perspectives (see Section 2.1.1 in Chapter 2) which represent the two key approaches viewing identity as residing either in shared interpretive schemes of its members or in some explicitly stated social categories as perceived by external audiences. But regardless of whether an internal constituency or an external audience perspective is taken, or whether the focus is on organization's distinctive characteristics or the ones shared with others, organizational identity has always been put to the forefront by researchers in

terms of explaining essential organizational behaviors and outcomes. Identity has been found to serve as an important guide for many consequential organizational activities including strategic decision making, issue interpretation, organizational change and how organizations relate to external parties (e.g., Elsbach and Kramer, 1996; Gioia and Thomas, 1996; Glynn, 2000; Brickson, 2005).

Conceptual contributions on organizational identity have also proliferated and important progress has been made in understanding how identity is tied to organization members' perceptions, environmental contingency factors or already available social meaning categories (e.g., Corley, Harquail, Pratt, Glynn, Fiol, and Hatch, 2006; Gioia et al., 2000; Ravasi and Schultz, 2006; Whetten, 2006). All in all, issues centered on organizational identity have long been a major theme in organizational studies and it continues to attract much attention.

Perhaps the most striking theoretical position that has evolved over the last decade is that organizational identities are not singular or unitary structures determined by leadership but they are constructed by various constituencies of the organization (Coupland and Brown, 2004). As such, there has been a growing recognition that organizations can consist of multiple, fragmented or competing identities; that is, organizations have been conceptualized as having many "selves" (e.g., Ashforth and Mael, 1996, Foreman and Whetten, 2002; Gioia et al., 2000; Glynn, Barr and Dacin, 2000; Pratt and Rafaeli, 1997). According to this line of thinking, organizations have multiple sets of values that comprise "who they are" as collectives (Corley et al., 2006; Gioia et al., 2000). It has been stated that such multiplicity might be expressed as a heterogeneity (Coupland and Brown, 2004; Pratt and Foreman, 2000) or conflict (Albert and Whetten, 1985) among the collective claims, beliefs, and narratives.

Despite the significant accumulation of knowledge, however, majority of studies have considered multiple identities as a starting assumption. They acknowledge that, being socially constructed, organizations hold multiple identities; but this remains a supposition that is taken for granted and not actually investigated (Illia, 2010). Only a few studies have attempted to develop a systematic and rigorous assessment of multiplicity and provide a discussion of under what conditions such identities might emerge and be sustained by the organization.

At this point, the concept coined as *hybrid identity* (e.g., Albert and Whetten, 1985; Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Pedersen and Dobbin, 2006; Pratt and Rafaeli, 1997) can help us to understand how and why different identity claims are combined in an

organization, by possibly acting as mediating the relationship between different models of organizing, bridging different orientations or pressures and providing both sustainability and flexibility to the organization. Albert and Whetten (1985) define hybrid organizational identities as "those identities which are composed of two or more types that would not normally be expected to go together". They were first to note that central and potentially conflicting identity elements may coexist and, consequently, "hybridize". After this initial identification, other scholars also put forward that competing identities can exist simultaneously in the organization rather than in turns or in separate times (Pratt and Rafaeli, 1997) and that organizations can simultaneously maintain more than one identity claim given complex organizational systems and diverse goals (Ashforth and Mael, 1996). By "blending" different belief elements through hybrid identities, organizations might be able to evolve within the organizational field.

Although there has been considerable research theoretically examining such hybrid identity organizations, at least by noticing the possibility of more than one identity claim in an organization, empirical investigations (e.g., Foreman and Whetten, 2002; Golden-Biddle and Rao, 1997; Pedersen and Dobbin, 2006; Pratt and Rafaeli, 1997) have largely remained limited to qualitative descriptions or case studies (which belong to the social constructivist perspective) and manifestation of the existence of hybrid identities. On the other hand, researchers having a social actor perspective and conducting quantitative investigations with hypothesis testing are much more interested in the outcomes of hybrids rather than how or why they emerge or are adopted. Thus, while the conceptual literature on organizational identity has recognized the existence of hybrid type identities, empirical studies of the phenomenon have not followed where we can get useful insights about what characterizes a hybrid and differentiates it, and why hybrid identities are built or chosen in the first place.

The lack of such a focus can partly be attributed to a strong approach in the literature underlying the "pressures" on organizations for adopting purer identities. Especially in the literature on categories (see Sections 1.1.1 and 2.1.6), a trade-off is assumed between the level of identity hybridization and organization's capacity for performance or fitness (e.g., Hannan et al., 2007; Hsu, 2006). The underlying premise is that organizations must devote considerable time and resources for targeting a specific group of audience, and developing a particular identity claim (e.g., Carroll and Hannan, 2000; Podolny, Stuart and Hannan, 1996). If these claims multiply, it would become

more difficult for the organization to attend to the demands and requirements of the different identity categories. According to researchers supporting this argument, this presumably results in lowered appeal among targeted audiences for organizations with more hybrid identities (e.g., Hsu, Hannan and Koçak, 2009). Then, organizations would be forced to have a purer identity and one would see that hybrid identities are difficult to accept and are likely to be rare in a field. Yet, there is also a group of researchers (e.g., Brickson, 2005; Glynn, 2000; Golden-Biddle and Rao, 1997) suggesting the opposite regarding the extensiveness of hybrid identities in an industry or organizational field. They emphasize that hybrid identity profiles can in fact be common as different claims are available and combined by individual organizations.

Then, at this point, there is an important question that has remained unanswered regarding identity hybridization with respect to these opposite assertions: When and why do organizations in a field have different identity structures in terms of hybridity? In other words, what makes hybrid identity profiles possible and preferable for organizations? There is no satisfying answer to this question in the literature except the proposition that somehow internal and external conditions might let the organization to possess plural identities, and that such an identity structure is palpable and may influence certain outcomes. Hence, even though we find many debates on hybrids and hybridization, there is a lack of a systematic means of identifying hybrids and very little research on what are the possible factors producing hybrid identities.

Particularly, although it is claimed that organizations can simultaneously maintain more than one identity claim given complex organizational systems and diverse goals (Ashforth and Mael, 1996), what different factors may contribute to or weaken the choice or inclination for identity hybridity is far from obvious. Even though one thinks that complex identity forms are beneficial for the organization under a limited period of uncertainty and change, still the question remains with respect to what factors enable such arrangements to persist, and be no longer an exception but a rather permanent choice. What the motivations or conditions originating from the organization itself are; and what external factors are conducive to the formation of hybrid organizational identities are the questions waiting for an answer.

In addition to empirically identifying the content and structure of identity hybrids, the major aim of this study is to discover some likely determinants of hybrid identities. In line with calls to improve our understanding of the macro and micro forces promoting different types of organizational identities (e.g., Hsu and Hannan, 2005), this

study helps us to get closer to discovering which different forces and at levels of analysis influence multiple identity claims by organizations. While environmental factors possibly do play an important role in predicting hybrid identities, it is also important to notice that organizations have their own histories and birth characteristics. With all these factors likely to play a part, I propose, there is a need for assessment of the reasons behind the existence and persistence of hybrid organizational identities.

In terms of external factors, the *institutional environment* and the ways it affects the organization is likely to be one of the important predictors of hybrid identities. Considering the recent developments in the institutional literature, especially in the institutional logics perspective (e.g., Thornton and Ocasio, 2008; Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury,2012) as well as well-established ideas about mimetism (e.g., Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008; Haunschild and Miner, 1997; Kraatz and Zajac, 1996), we are much more aware that institutional influences on organizations might themselves be very strong and complicated and can drastically shape several organizational practices as well as identities (Thornton et al., 2012). Complexity of institutions in terms of contrasts, pluralities, shifts, transformations, and long-reaching impacts makes it a necessity to investigate what kind of a role they may have in shaping organizational identities regarding hybridity.

Institutional logics and other field-level institutional effects are not the only factor to consider though. As a second very likely determinant of hybrid identities, we should turn to the characteristics of the organization that comes from its history and experiences, particularly, from its very founding. The initial identity of the organization shaped by the kind of an environment it was born into as well as early orientations possibly constrains or enhances the possibilities for the organization to combine different values or beliefs as separate identity claims during its lifetime. In the literature, such externally or internally conditioned birth factors are well captured by the notion of *imprinting effects* (e.g., Boeker, 1989; Eisenhardt and Schoonhoven, 1990; Kimberly, 1975; Stinchcombe, 1965). By taking both field and organizational-level factors into consideration and exploring them together, I believe, we can better assess identity hybridization of an organization as a very important but poorly-examined organizational phenomenon.

In this respect, I will draw upon and combine the arguments of two theoretical frameworks, namely, *institutional* and *imprinting* perspectives for identifying and testing important field- and organizational-level predictors of hybrid identity. After the

next section lays out how the literature on categories can help us to refine the notion of hybrid identity and measure it, the two following sections will explain each perspectives' relevant arguments and my discussions and interpretations of them to provide a basis for the development of my hypotheses.

1.1.1. Contribution of the Categories Literature

The literature on social categories can contribute to the understanding of hybrid organizational identities in more than one way: First, the notions of *fuzzy sets* and *grade of membership* can give us a basis for identifying and empirically measuring what "hybrid identity" is and what it constitutes as opposed to a "pure identity". Second, arguments from this literature regarding the sanctions relevant to the violations which are induced by an organization's multiple category membership might let us think about what conditions could in fact make it possible and/or favorable for an organization to have such multiple claims and embrace a hybrid identity, and even more, maintain it for long periods.

Even though there has not been much discussion and research on the topic, there is still "evidence" in the literature that identity hybridity can be regarded as a matter of degree (e.g., Brickson, 2005). Accordingly, what I assume is that it is better to imagine hybridization as a sliding scale; at one extreme there is high degree of hybridization and at the other extreme actors stick with a single identity and are not willing to adopt cultural and cognitive matter from other identity categories, resulting in a pure identity profile. Then we would be able to identify various degrees of hybridization as well as instances where no hybridization takes place. Only afterwards, it may be possible to gain insights into the aspects which are conducive to a higher degree of hybridization.

Accordingly, there is need to conceptualize and measure identity hybridity in organizational research; that is, to understand what it actually entails. I suggest in this study that this can be achieved in terms of the collection of organization's memberships –its degree of involvement- in different categories each representing a distinct identity claim for the organization regarding "who it is" and "what purpose it serves" as an organization; which has been very well manifested in the concept of "grade of membership" in the categories framework. In simple terms, an organization's *grade of membership (GoM)* is a measure of its characteristics' degree of fit with an identity category and its typicality (Hannan et al., 2007; Hsu et al., 2009; Hsu, Hannan and

Polos, 2011). Certain categorizations of feature values might be associated with full-fledged membership, others with moderate standing as a member, others with low but nonzero standing and still others with zero grade of membership (Hannan et al., 2007). By calculating the degree of membership or the degree of commitment of an organization for each different identity claim (and the category representing it), the level of hybridity of the organization's identity can be measured.

In light of the above, I propose that the grade of membership concept can help to get a better understanding of hybrid identities in organizations as the conceptualization that membership in different identity categories is "a matter of degree" allows modeling for partiality and multiplicity of identities. To put it differently, if partial membership to multiple categories is available, then, the implication is that organizational identities might be fuzzy rather than being uniform. This leads the way to identifying hybrid identities with respect to the extent different identities come together, as the original definition of the phenomenon.

The categories perspective on organizational identities can also contribute to the debate regarding the prevalence of hybrid identities and provide insights for theorizing about them. Generally, researchers in this literature argue that multiple category membership has serious negative implications for the organization (Hannan et al., 2007; Hsu, 2006; Hsu et al., 2009; Zuckerman et al., 2003). What they claim is that multi-category members usually lack representativeness in any of their relevant categories. As such, membership in multiple categories is supposed to confuse the audience and makes an organization appear to fit poorly into any of the identity types that defines the categories (e.g., Hsu, 2006; Hsu et al., 2009). Then the organization is penalized by reduced appeal to the audience. Besides these probable sanctions, according to the same scholars, there are also important costs that come along with having a hybrid identity, including the resources that must be devoted to building engagement with several different identity positions/categories and developing appeal to the audience at each of these categories. In this case, engagement activities might be required such as learning about the audience at each category, devising methods for bringing the offering to their attention and fashioning the means to deliver it. The organization might even have to make new investments and build new units for providing offerings in line with these different identity claims that are made (Hannan et al., 2007).

Because of such important sanctions and the need for large and diverse resources and investments, organizations are supposed to avoid spreading over multiple identity

categories as much as possible. Then one should expect that at a given point of time in a field, organizations with hybrid identities will be lower than the ones with pure identities, those having engagement into only a single claim. Even if we assume that an organization has plural identity claims at one point in time or for a certain period, because of these punishments, huge requirements and the risk of losing legitimacy, it should eventually be forced to give up this stance or at least scale it down. This approach also coincides with the neo-institutional understanding that organizations pursue similarity to gain legitimacy. In an organizational field there is usually one route to legitimacy, suggesting similarity of organizational identities within a field (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Glynn and Abzug, 2002). If organizations leave this common path and the most prominent identity that is imposed, this will eventually harm them.

However, several empirical observations do not necessarily fit into this assertion regarding the existence of hybrid identities in an organizational field by claiming that different value systems or sets of key organizational features are frequently combined (e.g., Glynn, 2000; Lampel, Lant and Shamsie, 2000; Voss, Cable and Voss, 2000). Yet, there has been limited consideration in the organizational literature concerning what might be possible counter-effects which influence organizations towards embracing hybrid identities, and in a way, protect them from these possible negative consequences. These two opposite stances can also be viewed in terms of the debate regarding convergence versus divergence of organizational identity (see Section 2.1.3) where the following question still waits for an answer: Under what conditions organizations are more inclined to possess multiple identity claims that might weaken the advantages of having a purer identity?

The possible candidates for such "pro-hybrid" conditions could be organization's own characteristics in terms of its history, early influential experiences and founding conditions, and external institutional influences which can make the organization more persistent toward having multiple identity claims and keeping them. A possible way of thinking through which such effects could be identified is that, maybe the general audience already expects or is ready for accepting plural identity category memberships from the organization. This might be because of the abilities and capacities it already possesses for being in different identity categories coming from its early history or life path or some complex or unusual institutional conditions in the organizational field. Then, maybe instead of only focusing on how audiences get confused when an organization's degree of membership in a single identity category is

"low" or "not as desired", and how the organization gets punished accordingly, we should also explore how audiences sometimes already have confidence in them to pursue and manage plural identity memberships successfully. Hence, the recently expanding literature on categories and classifications within industries, markets or fields seems to be an appropriate and promising starting point to see hybrid organizational identity theoretically with a new light and empirically assess what it entails.

1.1.2. Institutional Effects on Hybrid Organizational Identities

Different organizational approaches including institutional theory underscore that the organization is located within an environment and this shapes its behavior. An organization's relationship with its environment also molds its identity (e.g. Albert and Whetten, 1985; Glynn and Abzug, 2002; Hsu and Hannan, 2005), affecting the very sense of "who we are" for the organization. Echoing the basic understanding of institutions as higher-order effects, I first consider how identities of organizational actors are likely to be influenced by such institutional effects.

One of the possible predictors of hybrid identities is the field-level *institutional logics*. First developed as a concept by Friedland and Alford (1991), institutional logics are "the socially constructed historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce their substance, organize time and space and provide meaning to their social reality" (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999, p.804). Before the institutional logics framework was introduced, there were only a limited number of studies which either took an implicit institutional approach on identity or explicitly adopted an institutional perspective (e.g., Elsbach and Kramer, 1996; LaBianca, Fairbank, Thomas, Gioia and Umphress, 2001). Most of this work approached institutional forces as isomorphic pressures pushing organizations towards conformity and constraining them. The institutional logics perspective, on the other hand, can integrate the study of identity at the organizational level with broader frames of meaning and structures at the field level. Logics can enable organizational identity construction by supplying a set of possible claims which give meaning to, and legitimize different identity elements and symbols (Glynn, 2008). Based on this, the institutional logics framework seems to be an appropriate viewpoint and analysis tool to discover how organizations creatively tinker with other identity elements from rival

categories (Campbell, 2005; Rao, Monin and Durand, 2003; 2005), thus enabling hybrid identities.

The institutional logics perspective, therefore, can account not only for organizations' embeddedness in institutional environments characterized by institutional plurality but also for how organizations actually build a plurality in themselves with respect to their identities. Although a number of studies have begun to explore the link between institutions and collective identities by showing organizational identities to be embedded in institutional contexts (Baron, 2004; Glynn and Abzug, 2002), researchers have recently called for further exploration of this link (Corley et al., 2006; Glynn, 2008; Pederson and Dobbin, 2006).

As one of the unknowns about how institutional logics have a connection with organizational identity hybridization, there is limited theorization and even less empirical knowledge about how shifts in institutional logics affects organizations with respect to blending multiple identity claims. Beyond the view that a particular logic dominates a field at a given time period, researchers increasingly acknowledge that plural logics can simultaneously exist in a field and this plurality may lead to important consequences regarding organizational identity.

The institutional logics framework gives us important reasons to explore this plural impact of institutions. Institutional scholars suggest that the previously influential logics are often only subdued rather than completely eliminated across time, thus, preparing an environment where diverse cultural elements presenting different logics remain (e.g., Seo and Creed, 2002). That is, previous dominant logics do not disappear easily, but are sedimented in ways making particular ideas or identity claims available for future use (Sgourev, 2011). Thus, it can be argued that the degree to which and how organizations manage identity blending should be related with institutional pressures and the extent of the diversity of these pressures in particular times.

This is likely to be most pronounced when these institutional orders or systems are shifting; that is, when a prevalent logic transforms into or is replaced by another. It has been largely acknowledged in the institutional logics perspective that field-level logics are not static; they change and evolve over time, and this results in the emergence of new institutional logics (e.g. Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Seo and Creed, 2002; Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006; Dunn and Jones, 2010). Regardless of the way such changes and shifts happen, several empirical studies show that organizational fields experience some particular periods in which there is high degree of ambiguity because

of the *transition* from a dominant logic to another (e.g., Murray, 2010; Purdy and Gray, 2009; Rao et al., 2003; Reay and Hinings, 2005; Scott, Ruef, Mandel and Caronna, 2000).

These transition periods are the times when the prevailing logic in the field begins to lose its strength in terms of providing organizations legitimacy whereas another logic begins to gain significance and impose stronger pressures on organization. If this is the case, the influence on organizational identities is likely to differ in times of logic transition compared to what happens in relatively stable times defined with a single prevailing logic. Generally, it can be expected that there will be larger contradictions, tensions and disputes in the field about what practices and behaviors are acceptable, desirable or preferable since different belief systems will be in competition. As existing symbolic and practical elements will be competing with some new symbols, narratives, frames and practices emerging, organizations will not be provided with a clear-cut path to follow. Nevertheless, there is no theoretical suggestion or empirical investigation in the literature about what happens to organizational identities in such transition periods with respect to organizations' likelihood and capability of blending different identity claims. To put it in a different way, at particular times when different logics begin to intensively compete with each other because of major transformations in the field, the bricolage capacity and activity of organizations might well be altered. Consequently, we can expect a difference in terms of the salience of hybrid identity organization types. Yet, there is no particular focus on these identity issues in relation with the emergence and evolution of field-level institutional logics.

A second way in which field-level institutional effects can play a role in the formation and persistence of hybrid organizational identities is the *mimetic processes* in the field, namely, how identity claims of similar organizations can shape a focal organization's likelihood to adopt a hybrid identity. Even though how imitation and emulation mechanisms work in an organizational field has been largely discussed and investigated in the institutional literature (e.g., DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Scott, 2008), there are only a few empirical studies explicitly addressing the impact of such mechanisms on organizational identity (e.g., Elsbach and Kramer, 1996; LaBianca et al. 2001; Rao et al., 2003), especially about the extent to which organizations blend multiple claims and involve in diverse identity categories (e.g., Rao et al., 2005). Additionally, such imitation or emulation effects have only been discussed as contributing to isomorphism in the field. Yet, organizations can emulate others' in terms

of the general practice of hybridization but still end up with diverse identities. With this respect, the question how field dynamics and mechanisms act as carriers of institutions and influence the salience of hybrid identities remains unanswered and calls for empirical attention.

Overall, despite the growing discussions on the relationship between institutional factors and organizational identities and the recent calls for more empirical studies to test this relationship (e.g., Glynn, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012), there are still large gaps in the literature in terms of differentiating between separate institutional factors and refining and measuring how each of them can be a determinant of identity hybridization. Thus, I believe that the issues that I set forth in this dissertation will contribute to clarify the largely discussed but rarely investigated impact of the institutional domain on organizational identities in particular directions.

1.1.3. Imprinting Effects on Hybrid Organizational Identities

Stinchcombe (1965) argues that important features of an organization are established early in an organization's history. In other words, events and situations surrounding the establishment of a new organization have a long-lasting effect on its future (Kimberly, 1975; Stinchcombe, 1965). Conditions of earlier development periods are imprinted on central organizational traits (Johnson, 2007).

Given the potentially powerful founding effects at the very early life of the organization as it is argued in the imprinting literature, an important predictor of an organization's current identity can be its early conditions and characteristics at founding. Indeed, organizations basically arise out of the close environment and from the attempts of identity claiming at the early times of organizing (King, Clemens and Frey, 2011). Yet, one observes a lack of theoretical as well as empirical interest on the effects of imprinting on organizations' current identities. There has only been some recent examples in the literature explicitly examining imprinting effects with connection to organizational identities (e.g., Hannan, Baron, Hsu and Koçak, 2006; Johnson, 2007; Kroezen and Heugens, 2012). Still, none of these studies have specifically dealt with hybrids and how they can be predicted by possible imprinting effects.

A review of the literature proposes multiple contributions that can be gained by integrating an imprinting framework for understanding the early motivators of an organization's hybrid identity. Therefore, in this dissertation I also investigate how early

conditions can create a set of expectations about appropriate behavior for a particular organization. I suggest that organizational identity at present time is likely to represent a certain identity profile with characteristics dependent on these founding conditions as well as early organizational characteristics. This study will also be testing whether this proposition is true.

In this respect, certain challenges can be brought to the existing organizational literature. First one should be concerned with the little attention paid to some of the aspects imprinted within organizations. Most of the existing studies have focused on the founding characteristics of the economic or the resource environment and focus on the effects on present economic outcomes (e.g., Boeker, 1989; Eisenhardt and Schoonhoven, 1990; Swaminathan, 1996; Tucker, Singh, and Meinhard, 1990). In fact, there has been very little research focusing on the impact of cognition, cultural frames, values and meaning systems in the early years of the organization on the organization's later life. While economic forces are certainly an important influence on organizations, they are only one part of the environment Stinchcombe (1965) theorized. There are also the social and cultural forces. Surprisingly, only a limited number of imprinting studies has considered the influence of the broader social environment (e.g., Kimberly, 1975; Meyer and Brown, 1979). Thus, any research that picks up where others left off concerning the impact of early identity formation seems promising.

Indeed, there is almost no research that takes the institutional environment at the organization's very founding into consideration regarding the possibility of organization's current identity stance. Yet, there is enough argument in the literature to predict that the institutional situation in the past may have some lingering effects on organizations and infuse their identity-related decisions and practices at the current time. This is also the reason why the level of institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011) in the field at organization's birth can significantly broaden our understanding of long-term institutional impacts on hybridization. At this point, organizational research lacks any empirical investigation with respect to what could be the effect of institutional complexity at its birth on later hybrid identities claims of the organization. Hence, I suggest it is worth examining the effects of field-level logics that may expand across years where organizations combine diverse identity claims infused by these logics most prevalent at their founding. Situating the organization within the early institutional context as such will be a good example of how Stinchcombe's imprinting theory can

help to understand the effect of early field conditions on organizations, particularly construction of their identities.

A second challenge that can be brought to the current state of the literature is about how these founding influences have always been theoretically framed as "constraints" or "limits" which prevent organizations from adopting alternative structures, strategies and practices. In fact, in organizational theory and strategic management, imprinting most often refers to an organization's initial investments – its "early history"- as constraints on its future behavior. Organizations set on a course at founding from which change may be costly and difficult, suggesting that early patterns of organizing may limit the range of future actions that organizations are likely to consider (Broeker, 1989). It is usually asserted that the extent to which consensus develops around the situation or choice at founding makes organizations less open to subsequent questioning or redirection by organizational participants. Drawing on the early arguments of Stinchcombe's (1965), ecologists assert that the difficulty of altering features of an organization leads to inertia.

However, imprinting does not always have to be negative and constraining and associated with inertia. If we think of it as the acquisition and embeddedness of certain capabilities, knowledge, values or other resources, it can also be defined as the organization's imprinted ability to utilize them when it is necessary or desirable. As such, its early history and experiences at birth can bring the organization capabilities for being flexible instead of being more inert and stable. But in order to consider such possibilities, there should be an assumption that an organization can be imprinted by a repertoire of choices or diversified capabilities and resources when it is founded.

The hybrid identity construct perfectly fits to this description since, by definition, it involves multiple claims in it, wherein the organization prepares and provides diverse offerings matching these distinct identity claims. According to these assumptions, if an organization is founded with a more hybrid identity, through imprinting processes, this will make it much more ready to maintain different identity claims in the future as well. But it would not be the same for an organization which began its life with a purer identity since it would not be equipped with the necessary frame of mind as well as the resources to combine different identity claims in its structure and offerings.

In this respect, one of the ignored aspects of imprinting mechanisms is how initial organizational identity is very likely to maintain historically imprinted patterns

and infuse its present identity. In the case of the organization which was born as a hybrid, there will be less difficulty for it to engage in multiple identity categories at the present time since it will already possess the necessary frame of mind, rhetoric and resources that are required to bring different identity claims together. This blending capacity developed at birth could enable the organization to have more choices or make it more ready for necessary changes in later periods of its life. I suppose that such line of thinking and assertions can open a new avenue for both grasping how hybrid identities are supported and how imprinting effects can be considered with a new perspective. That is why, in this dissertation I will be giving a special theoretical and empirical attention to the initial state of an organization at its birth shaped both by institutional conditions at the time of founding and the initial identity-related choices that have been made.

1.2. Research Propositions

In this study, I contend that hybridization of different identity claims do occur more often than it is assumed and particular field and organizational level factors all together stimulate members of a field to combine diverse identity claims. This study seeks not only to provide a conceptualization and measurement of the level of identity hybridization by organizations, but also to draw an encompassing picture of the factors leading to such hybridization, depicting that multiple identities do not occur in vacuum or randomly, but certain conditions help or restrain organizations to be able to or attempt to adopt such complex identities. Bearing in mind that there has been no similar attempt until today, it is very important to look at these factors at once and get an extended picture of what predicts hybrid identities.

First and foremost, I argue that blending of diverse organizational identity claims manifests itself in differing intensities. This is because besides a number of field-level institutional conditions, organizations' particular histories and experiences influence this intensity. While an organization can construct its identity on a single claim resulting in a pure identity, another can have commitments to multiple identity categories, resulting in a hybrid identity. Therefore, this study first intends to "map" the types of identity claims in the Turkish theatre field as the empirical setting chosen, and how the hybridity level of an organization's identity can be recognized through its

membership in (or the intensity of its claims to) different identity categories. Diverse identity profiles as purer (homogenous) or more hybrid (heterogeneous) will be manifested and visible in the repertoire decisions of the theatre companies as their choices of artistic output.

I suggest that exploring patterns of hybrid identities within a field and over time extends the reach of understanding identity hybridity to multiple and interrelated mechanisms: that of the field and organization level. In order to get a more compelling portrayal of the phenomenon, I seek to examine these different antecedents of hybrid identity patterns together. With respect to field level influences, I consider first the effects of 1) transitions in institutional logics and 2) the strength of mimetic mechanisms, in other words, how other organizations behave. Secondly and in relation to imprinting, I study (1) for field-level effects, the institutional complexity (or logic plurality) at the time of organizational founding and (2) at the organizational level, (a) the degree of identity hybridization and (b) the contrast level of the central identity claim at organization's birth. I will now briefly outline my research propositions for each of these possible predictors which can also clarify my prior theoretical arguments and questions in Section 1.1.

First, I propose that the level of identity hybridization by an organization will be in line with the field level changes or transformations of logics. Before anything else, organizational identities reflect the prevailing institutional setting at the field level, where identity claims and symbols likely mean different things to the organization at different times with respect to whether there is a single and unchallenged prevailing logic or, whether different and contrasting logics, one in decline and one on the rise, are competing with each other. At times of institutional transition, there will be competing cultural and material resources and higher ambiguity in the field, and thus, it would be more likely of organizations to avoid firm commitments; they will feel free to experiment and design hybrid identities. Thus I claim that whether the dominant logic in the field is in transition or not will be an important factor in the probability of a hybrid identity.

My other independent variable regarding current field-level effects concerns the mimetic processes within the field. Although the shift of institutional logics are expected to have important effects on an organization's likelihood of identity hybridization, there is another probable influence arising from the fact that an organization operates in a field composed of similar others: how other organizations in

the field behave in terms of blending different identity claims will have an impact on the focal organization's identity hybridity. As it will be discussed in Chapter 3, especially due to imitation (e.g., Haunschild and Miner, 1997; Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008; Scott, 2008) and boundary spanning mechanisms in a field (e.g., Hannan and Freeman, 1989; Negro et al., 2010; Rao et al., 2005), hybrid identities might appear as a "contagious" phenomenon through the focal organization's direct or indirect relationship with other members of its organizational form. To be more specific, when hybrid identities are more widespread across the organizational field, this will make the organization more ready and willing to integrate multiple claims, and therefore, more likely to have a hybrid identity.

As mentioned above, I expect that an organization's early years will play a distinctive role in determining the hybridity level of its present identity. I follow the idea that organizational identity has a path-dependent nature, which implies that once established it will be hard to change an initial identity as current choices of identity by the organization will be affected by it. Thus, it is an important question to what extent and in which ways an organization continues to follow the institutional logic(s) influential at the time and its own initial identity claims. My argument is these early conditions and organizational characteristics have a lasting influence on later identity construction. If this is so, they will affect organization's current position regarding integrating identity claims from diverse categories.

The imprinting effect of early years has to do both with the external institutional conditions in which an organization is founded and imbued with and the characteristics of the initial identity it is founded with. The former again places the institutional logics framework at the center but this time in a way that also integrates the imprinting perspective. I argue that there are strong reasons to expect that the degree of institutional complexity at the time when the organization is born will have a long-term influence on organization's level of identity hybridization. The degree of institutional complexity will change as the field evolves and different ideas and meanings in the shape of recognizable institutional demands accumulate, come into contact and compete. Hence, I test this proposition in my study, predicting that a hybrid identity is less likely in later years if institutional complexity at an organization's founding is low in the field.

In addition, I also consider two dimensions that capture early identity claims by the organization, namely, (a) the degree of identity hybridity and (b) the degree of the

contrast of the organization's central identity claim. I assert that these two imprinting dimensions will bring different types of explanations to the hybrid identity question early as organization-level factors. Theoretical arguments on all the proposed influences will be presented in detail in Chapter 3.

1.3. Empirical Setting: Turkish Theatre

As the empirical setting, I explore a cultural industry: The Turkish theatre field. I conduct a longitudinal analysis of theatre companies in Turkey which gave performances between the years 1923 and 1999 in Istanbul and Ankara as the two largest cities and artistic hubs in Turkey. I focus on the *plays* theatre companies performed as a key indicator of their identities. The observation period starts with the foundation of Turkish Republic in 1923 and ends in 1999. This 77-year observation window is divided into three major historical periods and the field dynamics and theatre organizations are analyzed in reference to this periodization.

Specifically, I measure different identity claims enacted by theatres by analyzing the aspects of the plays performed by a theatre company which provides a common identity conception perceived by the theatre's internal constituencies such as managers, founders, cast members, directors, other creative and technical people as well as external audiences such as spectators, supporting institutions, artists, writers, critics, the media and the state. Focusing on the plays as such can bring a better understanding regarding the core artistic thrusts of a theatre and the very reason why they exist. While the essential part of the data is composed of several play dimensions, the analyses are carried out at the organization-level. That is, the play data coded are aggregated at the organization level and an organization-year dataset is established (see Chapter 5 for further details).

Recently, there have been calls more than ever for studying dynamic, complex environments (Gioia et al., 2010; Hannan et al, 2007; King et al., 2011) and particularly for examining cultural or creative industries (e.g., Lampel et al., 2000). This is because, due to rapid transformations, specific contingencies and growing importance of social and cultural elements, such fields or industries can bring new ideas and theoretical perspectives to organizational studies as well as providing a fertile yet unexplored

setting for testing existing propositions. Organization identity and how it emerges, develops and affects several outcomes represents one of the most important domains scholars call attention for examination in these contexts. As Pratt and Foreman (2000) put it, relevance of identity might be magnified when organizations are embedded in environments that produce intangible products, ones that are difficult to quantify and assess. That is, organizations in complex environments with variation and multiple diverse audiences are more likely to be dealing with issues around hybrid identities. Glynn et al. (2000) make a similar suggestion that cultural complexity has become much more embedded in organizational life and this life is essentially a pluralistic world.

Following these ideas, I decided that the Turkish theatre field is an appropriate ground for observing the relative positions of hybrid and pure identities and which important organization- and field-based factors make them more likely. Firstly, whether theatres have different path-dependencies based on what kind of an identity is conceptualized and adopted at their founding must be a factor as well as the institutional environment they were born. Secondly, theatre companies, or art organizations in general, can never be atomistic entities; thus, they also build strong links with their environments, especially in terms of how they see themselves compared to other theatres' identities and positions in the field in terms of aesthetic outputs. Finally, examining theatre companies can help to illuminate how their aesthetic claims can be institutionally informed following the changes at the field-level. One can see how different institutional logics across several decades can affect and account for variations in the construction of their core artistic values as well as important resources and capabilities concerning hybridization.

To sum up, we can see both sides of identity convergence and divergence in theatre's identity in terms of how they present and explain themselves to their audience through the plays they stage. The recent heated points of discussion in organizational identity literature, especially ambiguity, blurring versus segregating mechanisms, different value systems, and relative memberships to different identity categories can gain impetus with the findings from cultural industries.

1.4. Dissertation Outline

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 investigates the concept of organizational identity and, as a distinct form, hybrid identity which is the focus of this study. In addition to the initial discussions and references to organizational identity literature and the debate on how to approach to the topic of "hybrid identity", the chapter mainly addresses the two key theoretical perspectives within organization theory as mentioned above: the institutional logics and imprinting frameworks.

Organizational identity literature with both the social constructivist (internal identity construction) and the social actor (external identity construction) view of identity documents several important ideas and discussions regarding what constitutes identity, who are the relevant parties taking roles in forming and interpreting it, what identity achieves for organizations and to what extent an organization's identity is complex and fragmented. After the review of this literature, the chapter introduces and defines hybrid identities (Section 2.1.5). Here, the existing empirical studies on hybrid identity organizations as well as how hybridity is conceptualized are introduced. In addition, a detailed discussion on how the literature on categories can contribute to the assessment of hybrid identities is provided. The categories literature indeed covers several essential points such as the perception of identity by different audience groups as well as useful conceptualizations such as fuzzy sets and grade of membership, important for understanding and empirically studying hybrid identities. All these major assumptions and conceptions are reviewed and discussed.

Next, the emphasis shifts to institutional effects on organizational identity, which serves as one of the two theoretical footings of the study. Within this approach and at the field level, I consider both the institutional logics framework and the role of mimetic processes. As mentioned above, imprinting theory constitutes the second key theoretical footing by providing refined assumptions on how organizational identities are formed on the basis of founding conditions and the initial identity of the organization. Here, I present some main arguments of imprinting effects which were first identified by Stinchcombe (1965) and since then, received a great deal of attention from organizational scholars from various perspectives. Chapter 2 ends with some specific assertions about how these arguments on imprinting effects can be utilized for studying the relevancy and underlying factors of hybrid identities.

Each part of Chapter 3 is devoted to a specific hypothesis derived from the theoretical considerations outlined above. The hypotheses pertaining to field-level institutional effects are presented in the first two parts of the chapter: transitions in institutional logics (Section 3.1) and mimetic processes in the field (Section 3.2). The first one seeks to explain in what way the decline of an old dominant logic and the rise of a new one can predict the likelihood of a hybrid identity in periods characterized by greater uncertainty. The second hypothesis deals with how other organizations' identity orientations and relevant behaviors in the field can have an influence on the focal organization. That is, how the overall hybridization level in the field can also shape the focal organization's level of hybridity.

After these separate claims about the role of the field-level institutional environment, the chapter continues with the assertions and the relevant hypotheses regarding how field-level institutional complexity and two organizational attributes at the time of founding can predict hybrid identities. First, in Section 3.3, I discuss and put forward my arguments concerning the possible effects of the degree of institutional complexity at organization's birth on later identity hybridization. Then in Section 3.4 the possible impact of the hybridity level of the early identity of the organization on its later identity formulations is thoroughly discussed. Finally, in the last part of the chapter (Section 3.5) a different attribute of an organization's initial identity is emphasized; namely, contrast level of the strongest identity category the organization makes claims in at its founding. I devote special attention to this concept and the discussion on how it might be a factor in predicting future hybrid identities.

After laying out my theoretical framework and how I develop my hypotheses in Chapter 2 and Chapter3, respectively, the next chapter first offers a description of cultural (or creative) industries as well as a special part dedicated to what theatre is, as an artistic domain, and how theatre identity can be identified. The definition of theatre identity as such also provides the key indicator of it: the plays performed and their characteristics in terms of core dimensions. These dimensions are then utilized in the empirical analyses to discover the available identity claims made by the theatre companies in the dataset.

Second half of Chapter 4 (starting from Section 4.3) is then devoted to the description of the actual empirical setting; where first, the three distinct periods in Turkey's history each representing a different dominant field-level logic are defined. This part gives detailed accounts of what I have identified as *enlightenment, social-*

critique and *marketization* logics and how they influenced the Turkish theatre field in terms of the symbolic and material elements they bring. Then, the historical trajectory of modern Turkish theatre beginning from its very roots in the Ottoman Empire is depicted where special attention is given to developments and behaviors concerning theatre companies. The different periods of Turkish theatre at the Republican era until 1999 is analyzed with respect to the three field-level institutional logics identified above.

After setting the context, Chapter 5 articulates the methodology of the empirical study. Methods used in the study can be divided into two parts: The first one includes the description of data resources, data coding and initial analyses regarding the preparation of the data for hypothesis testing which involves multiple correspondence and cluster analyses (Sections 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3). The second part provides the study variables and their measurement as well as a detailed account of the analysis strategy adopted; namely, multilevel (mixed effects) modeling for longitudinal data. The specifications of the overall method as well as each model identified and tested in the study are also described in Section 5.4.

In chapter 6, I present the results of my analyses. The presentations in the chapter follow this sequence: discovering the five distinct identity profiles (or claim categories) in Turkish theatre; descriptive statistics and some further exploratory data analysis, and finally, the results of hypothesis testing in terms of the predictors of hybrid identities which are provided by conducting a set of multilevel analyses and maximum likelihood estimates. After the key study results are presented, the last part of the chapter (under Section 6.2.3) introduces the results of a set of sensitivity tests and alternative estimations in order to check the precision of the results attained by the major study model and dependent variable.

The final chapter of the dissertation provides a summary of the findings of the empirical investigation and a discussion in terms of the limitations of the study as well as possible future directions of research regarding hybrid organizational identities.

2.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will review the relevant organizational literature which constitutes the theoretical basis of my study hypotheses. After describing the general outline of organizational identity research, key discussion points and recent debates, I will define and discuss the concept of hybrid identity and how it has been approached by organizational scholars within these discussions. I will specifically address the social categories literature, which I believe, has important contributions to the understanding of hybrid identities in terms of theoretical advancement as well as conceptual clarification and measurement. Afterwards, I will explain and discuss the two major theoretical approaches; namely, the institutional and imprinting perspectives from which I have developed my ideas regarding possible predictors of hybrid organizational identities.

2.1. Hybrid Organizational Identity

2.1.1. The Concept of Organizational Identity

One of the most interesting developments in organization theory in the last couple of decades is the conceptualization and application of the construct of *identity* to organizations (Albert and Whetten, 1985; Brown 2001). Issues centered on identity have long been a major theme in organizational studies, and it currently attracts even more attention. This indicates that it has become an integrating concept as identity

influences not only how organizations define themselves, but also their responses, interpretation of issues and roles (e.g., Gioia et al. 2010; Whetten, 2006). The applicability of the identity concept at multiple levels of analysis and its capacity to integrate analytical insights at different levels further points to its potential.

Up until today, two basic approaches to organizational identity have been advanced which focus on the complementary aspects of the phenomenon (e.g., Gioia, Price, Hamilton and Thomas, 2010; Illia, 2010; Ravasi and Schultz, 2006; Whetten and Mackey, 2002; Whetten, 2006). Whetten and Mackey (2002) were the first scholars who made the separation between the two approaches to organizational identity visible and labeled them, namely, one exploring the *socially constructed* nature of an organization's identity and the other examining its *social actor* nature. At the heart of these conceptions was "the distinction between identity-as-shared perceptions among members versus identity-as-claims available to members" (Whetten and Mackey, 2002, p.395). These two lines of thought on organizational identity was then further elaborated and juxtaposed by other researchers (e.g., Ravasi and Schultz, 2006; Thornton et al., 2012). The following description from Thornton et al. (2012, p.130) provides a nice summary of the issue:

> "The literature on organizational identity is bifurcated into two main approaches. One approach focuses mainly on intra-organizational dynamics, emphasizing how the identities of individual organizations are idiosyncratic and can be understood by identifying central, distinctive and enduring identity attributes (Albert and Whetten, 1985) (…) The other branch is more macro and relational, emphasizing how organizations often resemble each other as a result of being a part of a common collective identity that is bound together by shared cognitive and normative orientations (e.g., Pratt, 2003; Wry, Lounsbury and Glynn, 2011)."

As the above definition suggests, the *social constructivist* perspective emphasizes how "central, distinct and enduring" attributes, specified by Albert and Whetten (1985, p.265), constitute an organization's essential character. According to this line of thinking, these defining aspects are collectively understood by an organization's members. That is, identity is concerned with attributes that define the organization as different from other organizations (Albert and Whetten, 1985; Dutton and Dukerich, 1991). This view has been essential to most theoretical and empirical treatments of organizational identity. Particularly, researchers from micro organizational studies have established almost all later treatments of organizational

identity on these definitional pillars (e.g., Dutton and Dukerich, 1991; Hatch and Schultz, 2002).

Research in this tradition examines how members develop collective understandings of their organization and how these affect organizational changes and decisions (e.g., Corley and Gioia, 2004). It draws attention to the fact that changes tend to require alterations in the way members interpret what is central about the organization (e.g., Dutton and Dukerich, 1991; Gioia et al., 2000). These scholars have given their attention to, "collective understandings of the features presumed to be central and relatively permanent, and that distinguish the individual organization from others" (Gioia et al., 2000). Organizational identities reside in shared interpretive schemes that its members construct in order to provide meaning to their experience through a sensemaking process (Illia, 2010). In other words, social constructivist view has a *within-organization focus*, evaluating organizational identity mainly through particular lenses like how leaders, managers, other organization members or some other important stakeholders' conceptualize and perceive an organization's identity (e.g., Elsbach and Kramer, 1997; Foreman and Whetten, 2002; Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005). As such, organizational identity has a specific role with respect to interpretations of and responses to the environment (Corley and Gioia, 2004; Dutton and Dukerich, 1991; Glynn, 2000).

The *social actor* approach on organizational identity, on the other hand, locates organizations in the field of meanings and perceptions at broader levels, thereby categorizing organizations into membership groups (Whetten, 2006). This perspective emphasizes the existence of social categories providing organizations with a consistent, legitimate label to construct the sense of self (Whetten and Mackey, 2002; Whetten, 2006). It generally conceives organizational identity as a set of feature values or characterizations referring to certain labels (Ravasi and Schultz, 2006). As some scholars observed, collective identity provides a sense of self and meaning, and places one in a wider social context; thus, a collective cognition external to the organization defines its identity (Ashforth and Mael, 1996; Gioia et al., 2000).

Because of the role given to outside constituencies as opposed to internal ones in shaping an organization's identity, emphasis on shared schemas or labels across a field, and linking identity to field and upper-level dynamics, all macro organizational studies can be included in the *social actor* approach. For instance, institutional approaches to organizations tend to embrace this view and focus on the "identity claims," available for

members to use to construct a sense of collective self, implying that the former will influence the latter. Organizational identity resides in predetermined claims to "institutionally standardized social categories" (Glynn, 2008; Kraatz and Block, 2008), that is, explicitly stated views of what an organization is expected to be or to represent (Ravasi and Schultz, 2006).[1] These claims are then expected to influence members' perceptions of the features of the organization by providing them with legitimate and consistent frames (Whetten and Mackey, 2002). That is, "identity is less about the unique features of the organization than about its claims to membership in a social category or collective identity at the field-level" (Glynn, 2008, p. 416).[2]

The category literature can also be included in the social actor approach since researchers working within this framework regard organizational identity as a set of codes that audience members hold as an organization's default and that sets limits to organizations' expected features in an industry or field in terms of the corresponding categories (Hannan et al., 2007; Hsu, 2006; Hsu et al., 2009). Organizations make claims to membership in these categories and present themselves in particular ways (Hsu et al., 2009). It should be noted here that although several studies by organizational ecology researchers have been considered a part of this view, the ecological perspective traditionally and mostly focuses on the legitimation of singular organizational forms (Polos et al., 2002).

Taken together, *social construction* and *social actor* approaches illustrate the complexity of identity dynamics and how they are predicated upon micro-level organizational processes and macro level dynamics (Gioia et al., 2010). They show how organizational identity is both an ongoing social construction that takes place among organizational members or within-organization (particularly the founder or manager), and a feature that sees the focal organization as a social actor in the field (Corley et al., 2006; Illia, 2010) molded and located by the perceptions of external constituencies.

In this dissertation, I mainly embrace the *social actor* approach to organizational identity. While institutional logics shape collective as well as individual organizational identities (Thornton et al., 2012), it holds primary importance to examine how organizations relate to social identity categories by making claims so that we can understand how organizations cope with multiple categories and institutional

[1] The "identity claim" concept and institutional view of organizational identity will be thoroughly discussed in Section 2.2.
[2] See also, Ravasi and Schultz, 2006; King et al., 2010; Gioia et al., 2010.

complexity in a field. While inspection of organizational identity under institutional effects is still emerging, I suggest that this view has a critical significance, especially in the assessment of the discretion of alternative identity claims of organizations.

2.1.2. Conceiving Identity as Fragmented and Multiple

After initial definitions (e.g., Albert and Whetten, 1985), there have been efforts for re-conceptualizing identity. Researchers have developed different views of the phenomenon, and thus different interpretations of dynamism and change in organizational identities (e.g., Corley et al., 2006; Gioia et al., 2000; Ravasi and Schultz, 2006; Whetten, 2006). An evolving and important theoretical position for at least the last decade of identity literature suggests that organizations can have different - sometimes competing, sometimes consonant, identity-relevant attributions in different contexts and over time. Since the very first conceptualizations, organizational identity has been primarily described as enduring; having a certain degree of continuity (Albert and Whetten, 1985). Similar arguments about the consistency of identity have been offered at both organizational and collective levels. However, more recent literature dealing with the identity of organizations has questioned how enduring it really is (e.g., Corley et al., 2006; Gioia et al. 2000; Golden-Biddle and Rao, 1997). Instead of being seen as uniform and enduring, identity has been proposed to be multifaceted (e.g., Glynn, 2000; Golden-Biddle and Rao, 1997; Pratt and Rafaeli, 1997) and dynamic over time (e.g., Corley and Gioia, 2004; Gioia et al. 2000). Specifically, identity can change over time as events and problems activate particular salient aspects of identity (e.g., Ashforth and Mael, 1996; Elsbach and Kramer, 1996).

Pratt and Foreman's study (2000) can be regarded as a seminal work in terms of theorizing such fragmented or plural identities. According to the authors, such identities usually have the capacity to meet a wider range of expectations and demands than similar entities with one identity. Organizations may manage them by "attending" to or evoking the identity most salient to the immediate context (Pratt and Foreman, 2000). This argument also complements the assertion that identity has a strong connection with the external environment, where it blends with "cultural capital" (Bourdieau, 1984). Distinct views or conceptualizations are often stimulated by conflicting meaning systems in the environment (Hatch and Schultz, 1997). Sewell (1992) argues that organizations are capable of carrying a range of even incompatible schematic elements

to a variety of circumstances outside the context in which they were initially learned. There are corresponding social and cultural forces that have supported and maintained this plurality.

According to this line of thinking, organizations have multiple sets of values that comprise "who they are" as collectives (Corley et al. 2006; Gioia et al. 2000; Pratt and Foreman, 2010). These multiple social identities are available to them in an organizational setting as residing in cultural forms and that social actors can "choose" new combinations of identities and they are evaluated by internals and externals (Illia, 2010). There might be multiple cores or collective beliefs (Gioia et al. 2000), narratives (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1994), and claims (Albert and Whetten, 1985) that play important roles in helping members justify organizational actions (Whetten, 2006).

According to the literature, multiplicity of identities might be expressed in a conflict (Albert and Whetten, 1985) or heterogeneity (Coupland and Brown, 2004; Pratt and Foreman, 2000) among the collective claims, beliefs, and narratives. It might also depend on the multiplicity of external audiences analyzing and interpreting the organization (Corley et al. 2006; Pratt and Foreman, 2000). Regardless of how they are expressed though, the fact that organizations can have such identities not only undermines the idea of a holistic identity but also implies that identities can consist of sets of features and labels associated with different schemas. An organization can represent multiple identities and as the audience's focus and attention shift between resources, organization can emphasize one of them.

2.1.3. Convergence - Divergence Debate on Organizational Identity

The question of how organizations' identity claims are shaped in a field has usually been discussed within the scope of a so-called *convergence-divergence debate,* even though very few studies have been able to clarify this duality (Pedersen and Dobbin, 2006). According to the *convergence* view, organizations pursue similarity to gain legitimacy. Institutional theory indicates that mimicking successful organizations in an institutional field is one route to legitimacy, suggesting similarity of organizational identities within a field (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Glynn and Abzug, 2002). To the degree that the organization's identity is perceived as deviating from industry norms or recipes (Rao et al., 2003) or violating institutional identity codes (Hsu and Hannan, 2005; Polos, Hannan and Carroll, 2002), the organization risks a loss of legitimacy;

defined not only with respect to lack of acceptance and perceptions of inappropriateness but also in terms of limited access to strategic resources critical for the organization's survival and success (Zuckerman et al., 2003). Related to this factor of local setting is the role that the institutional context plays in establishing and molding an organization's identity (Foreman and Parent, 2008).

Scholars advocating the *convergence* idea have argued that individual organizations are founded within an environment, which includes the guiding template of the organizational form and its associated norms and expectations (Rao et al. 2003; Ruef, 2000). That is to say, the construction of an organization's identity is affected by its classification within a general type or industry and the somewhat generic identity-related attributes affiliated with that type (Glynn and Abzug, 2002; Hsu and Hannan, 2005). It is believed that such monitoring and rewards from isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) inhibit divergence and hybrid types.

Inherent in the construct of identity is, however, also a pressure to create an identity which distinguishes the organization from similar others, one that is unique or distinctive (Brewer, 1991; Whetten, 2006). Hence, the *divergence* approach assumes that organizations claim uniqueness to establish their identities. According to this approach, organizations that carve out a niche by supporting relatively unique identities within a field tend to be more effective (e.g., Pedersen and Dobbin 2006).

Deephouse (1999), in his theory of "strategic balance", argues that an organization must maintain enough similarity to its industry or competitive group to be seen as a legitimate operation; but it must also seek to establish some separation from its competitors if it hopes to gain a competitive advantage. An organization must make claims to be a recognizable member of a group, but it must also make claims to be a distinct member. In her model of "optimal distinctiveness", Brewer (1991, p.477) also considers the need for such balance. She asserts that "the optimal level of category distinctiveness or inclusiveness is a function of the relative strength of the opposing drives for assimilation and differentiation".

Regardless of whether it is framed in terms of Brewer's (1991) principle of "optimal distinctiveness" or Deephouse's (1999) concept of "strategic balance", organizations often seek to simultaneously meet the dual (and often competing) pressures for similarity and difference (Foreman and Parent, 2008; Gioia et al., 2010). But when and how do organizations take "balance points"? How can organizations have it in both ways in terms of identity? It is still a dilemma how organizations can and

should execute the delicate balance of simultaneously being different and the same. Some studies examining this issue claim that organizations sometimes aim at legitimacy (consistency and acceptance) while other times they aim at distinctiveness (Foreman and Parent, 2008). This choice of identity will depend on some organizational attributes and the experienced institutional effects. Philips and Zuckerman (2001) model this as a two-stage process. First you seek legitimacy, and then, you demonstrate distinctiveness within the legitimate group. Zuckerman et al. (2003) on movie actors actually finds consistent evidence: Novice actors are penalized if they do not focus in a genre, while veteran actors benefit more if they do not do so.

Some key questions might then be when and how an organization focuses on expressing its identity in a distinctive way and how its decisions and standpoints interact and multiply when the organization tries to achieve both when trying to attain a balance (Gioia et al., 2010). This means that organizations not always seek distinctive positions and identities but instead, use their ability and willingness to negotiate them and enact their surroundings. This might imply that optimal distinctiveness argument is much more nuanced with multiple identity structures than previously assumed.

One of the few conceptual assertions on the issue comes from Pedersen and Dobbin (2006) where they put forward that formation of an identity through uniqueness (divergence) and construction of legitimacy (convergence) are in fact two sides of the same coin, suggesting that organizations bridge the two processes through particular innovative mechanisms. One of the primary mechanisms they suggested as mediating the relationship between different models of organizing was *hybridization,* as they claimed that combining diverse cultural or ideological frames in terms of unique identity claims have a pivotal role for understanding those dilemmas of identity and organizational preferences (Pedersen and Dobbin, 2006). They suggest that distinct cultural positions are often created from the components found in the environment.

2.1.4. Identity Claim-Making

As briefly mentioned in the previous sections, one important field of analysis of organizational identity is the empirical and theoretical exploration of organization-environment relations (Brown, 2001) where identity can basically be treated as *claims* made by the organization. That is, organizational identity can be construed as a *claim-making process* about critical organizational attributes. Lending support to this

perspective are Ashforth and Mael's (1996) notion that *claim* relates organizational identity to strategy and other organizational responses, and Porac, Wade and Pollock's (1999) definition of identity construction as "an explicit state of view (claim) that an organization is of a particular type." Claims explain who members say they are as an organization; they make "discursive resources available to organizational members that allow them to construct a sense of collective self" (Ravasi and Schultz, 2006). Some claims get solidified early; others are debated, revised, and refined as the sequential processes ran their course (Gioia et al. 2010).

These depictions all signal that organizational identity can be conceived of as a set of identity claims with reference to a specified set of social categories (Rao, 1998) and they are derived from underlying ideological scripts (Glynn, 2000) specified by these categories. In this way, identity claims set up a system of categories, defining the organization in relation to this classification scheme (Elsbach and Kramer, 1996), a notion first provided by social identity theory (Ashforth and Mael, 1989; Tajfel, 1981). Identity claims define who members say they are as an organization and accord with the organization's wider context serving as categorical imperatives about the organization's character (Whetten, 2006; Whetten and Mackey, 2002)**.**

While representing the essence of the organization, identity claims can be communicated as distinguishing labels to external audiences and satisfy their expectations (Gioia et al., 2000). Through these claims, organizations attempt to influence how audiences define and interpret them. A category or boundary decision for an organization is a choice of "who we are" and this decision brings or achieves coherence between the identity of the organization and its actions (Santos and Eisenhardt, 2005). By shaping how members perceive what is appropriate for the organization, identity as claims guides decisions regarding the value-chain activities or product and market domains to enter (e.g., Lamertz et al., 2005; Porac et al., 1999). For example, Porac et al. (1999) show how Scottish knitwear producers assumed their identities from several clusters prevalent within the industry. By identifying with one of these, organizations gain coherence in terms of their choices of products and markets.

However, identity claims do more than introducing the organization as a member of a single category. Claims establish a system of multiple and interrelated categories, project identity changes and transformations, construct past, present and future identities and define the organization reflecting its actions and interactions. Organization's own attributes also amount to dimensions of determining it and this

relationship is important for its implications to understand the identity construction process. Respectively, it is productive to investigate how claims play part in identity construction; especially how membership to plural categories is dynamic and changeable as the meaning and the content of identity will vary depending on what claims are constructed and how.

2.1.5. Hybrid Identities

As the above discussions regarding multiple identities, seeking of balance, and identity claim making suggest, it is relatively established that organizational practices and symbols are interpreted in the context of conflicting meanings and as meanings are shared, they become a part of the organization's identity (Hatch and Schultz, 1997). These complex and counterbalancing forces can make one type of identity both inevitable and sustainable for the organization: *hybrid identities.*

Albert and Whetten (1985, p.270) first define *hybrid identity* organization as "an organization whose identity is composed of two or more types that would not normally be expected to go together". In fact, explaining complex organizational identities is what motivated Albert and Whetten at that time: They note how central and potentially conflicting identity elements coexist, and consequently, *hybridize* its identity by co-locating them (Albert and Whetten, 1985). It should be highlighted that the competing identities do exist simultaneously in the organization rather than in turns or in separate times (Pratt and Rafaeli, 1997). Organizations can simultaneously maintain more than one identity orientation given complex organizational systems and diverse goals (Ashforth and Mael, 1996).

Empirical research, mostly in the form of case studies, demonstrates how such elements that are not necessarily expected to go together comprise hybrid organizational identities (e.g., Foreman and Whetten, 2002; Glynn, 2000; Golden-Biddle and Rao, 1997; Pratt and Rafaeli, 1997). Several dimensions or features of hybrid identities have been discussed: Existing literature gives a picture of hybrid identities as a source of, on the one hand, variation, experimentation and improved adaptation, and on the other, conflict, confusion, inefficiency and penalization (e.g., Glynn, 2008; Hsu et al. 2009; Pedersen and Dobbin, 2006; Rao et al., 2005; Zuckerman et al., 2003).

First and foremost, hybrid identities have been theorized and examined as "inevitable" structures as the organization itself or different parts within it hold different

claims, ideological components, value systems, models or meanings that cannot be compromised or reduced into one single, homogenous identity. An early inductive qualitative research, Pratt and Rafaeli (1997) explored what different meanings and belief systems do mean for organizational identity. Consistent with the hybridity of organizational identities, they found that identity may not be stable in an organization, but instead, can multiply and vary. These opposing identities can surface through discussions and debates on certain symbols within the organization. They found that in health care units, organizational identity included two opposing identities (as *rehabilitation* and *acute care*) and these competing identities could not be reconciled. As such, they depicted the complexity of organizational identity as a web of diverse layers of meanings where saliency of issues, perspectives on these issues and associated identity beliefs vary within the organization (Pratt and Rafaeli, 1997).

This notion of conflicting identities (that cannot be reduced as they are very strong and unique, but can be brought together) was also shown by Rao, Monin and Durand (2003) in their investigation of *classical* and *nouvelle cuisine* in France. At one point, these two different types of cuisines which refer to distinct styles of cooking were blended by restaurant chefs in the same menus. Despite the fact that the two cuisines were initially rivals to each other, chefs (and the restaurants) somehow achieved to blend them and made them compatible in their offerings. Rao and his colleagues (2003) do not only focus on the micro side of the process; they also depict how identity hybridization process is likely to be informed by macro field level changes and meanings.

Combination of different identities because of underlying distinct value systems in an organization was also examined by Glynn (2000). She addresses the issue of combining different identity claims by examining the tensions between *artistic* values and *commercial* imperatives that are at work in the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra. The conflicting identity claims are advanced by musicians (i.e., orchestra as artistic entity) and administrators (i.e., orchestra as economic entity) within the Orchestra. The study offers an illustration of how multiple identity claims are emphasized, prioritized, and deployed within the organization through borrowing different meaning elements. Glynn suggests that even though tensions do arise and they cannot be easily resolved, ultimately none of the competing identity claims can prevail without destroying the whole identity of the organization, and thus, their coexistence is the only option.

Some other studies focus particularly on this conflict part of hybridization and how it is handled as it is argued that conflict and debates arise whenever two different identities come together and form a hybrid (e.g., Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Glynn, 2000; Golden-Biddle and Rao, 1997). When a hybrid identity consisting of two potentially incompatible value dimensions is formed, it also influences the construction and enactment of conflicting roles within the organization and shapes interactions among the parties advocating different claims (Golden-Biddle and Rao, 1997). Since these conflicts are considered inevitable, in order to have a degree of sustainability, hybrid structures need to develop a common organizational identity that strikes a balance between the elements the organization combines (Battilana and Dorado, 2010). Such a shared identity composed in a balanced way will prevent the emergence of internal conflicts and tensions.

Another set of research has explored the relation of hybrid identities with environmental contingencies and changing conditions and showed that hybrid identity types can also be treated as answers or reactions to complex institutional and social conditions. Typically, in these studies, hybrid types are thought to be posited to be effective when organizations must respond simultaneously to conflicting contingencies (Pedersen and Dobbin, 2006). In this point of view, hybrid identities are regarded as a "solution" that makes organizations to adjust to new conditions without changing fundamentally (Pedersen and Dobbin, 2006). As a result of hybridization, identity claims developed under certain conditions undergo adaptation through their recombination with other identity claims compatible with new conditions.

Heterogeneity might serve as a beneficial source of required variety and facilitate a flexible combination and recombination of organizational identities. In their research, Zuckerman and his colleagues (2003) studied complex, multivalent identities in the U.S. feature-film industry in order to understand whether they are advantageous for actors in terms of gaining greater flexibility, as opposed to having a simple, focused identity. They found that there are strong limitations having hybrid identities. They argue that if such an identity is thought as a strategy, it is better to first assume a simple, uniform identity as a protection against possible risks. At later times, however, when this risk recedes, hybrid identities might become a more attractive strategy. They also emphasized the importance of context (or industry structure) since feature-film industry was one with strong processes demanding specialization and where multiple identities are rare.

Though some preliminary antecedents of hybrid identities have been offered, little empirical work has addressed them (Brickson, 2005). In one of these studies, Foreman and Whetten (2002) both described the nature of the recombination processes and highlighted the role of organization type and possible impacts of these processes on organization members. As such, their study is one of the few attempts to unravel some of the factors encouraging hybrid identities or making them possible. They propose that some organizations are naturally far more inclined to have hybrid identities consisting of different ideological components, given their simultaneous ideological and financial focus. They consider a particular type of hybrid-organization, rural cooperatives, which are constituted according to two seemingly incompatible value systems; *normative* like that of a church or family; and a *utilitarian* system like that of a business. Their findings also show that members of a hybrid identity organization cognitively compare their identity perceptions and expectations and the resulting level of identity congruence significantly affects their level of commitment (Foreman and Whetten, 2002).

Finally, some researchers have made efforts in specifying the role of blending and segregating mechanisms related to hybrid identities (e.g., Haveman and Rao, 2006; Negro et al., 2010; Rao et al., 2005). An important study indicating how blending processes result in hybrid identities is the one by Rao, Monin and Durand (2005) on French cuisine: Rao and his colleagues (2005) clarified how combination is fueled by the copying or borrowing of the elements from rival categories and how such *bricolage* entails crossovers and weakens categorical boundaries. They found that the boundaries between classical and nouvelle cuisine weakened as high-status chefs in one category borrowed techniques from the rival category, and that attendant penalties from critics also diminished as borrowing became rampant. Negro et al. (2010) also found evidence of this kind of pattern in their study of critical reactions to elite Italian wines. Hence, studies on category spanning suggest that increased spanning activities by organizations shift meanings and weaken category boundaries of identity.

Considering all these studies together, it is notable that there is currently a lack of systematic means of measuring how one can identify an identity as a hybrid or whether an organizational identity is in fact a hybrid. This is partly because an important number of the research findings mentioned above come from qualitative case studies. Although there have been important contributions from other streams (e.g., Rao et al., 2003; Zuckerman et al., 2003) as discussed above, they have not been actually integrated to the rest of the organizational identity literature. In addition, the research

which has an explicit focus on hybrid identities almost entirely appropriates the early abstract definition of Albert and Whetten (1985). Even though Albert and Whetten's definition of hybrid identity as a distinct identity profile paved the way for a new stream of research (as their very definition of "organizational identity" itself), recent literature needs to develop towards conceptual and measurement refinements and theoretical advancement about how and why a hybrid identity emerges. Further research is needed particularly in terms of differentiating hybrid identity profiles from pure ones and understanding under what conditions they emerge and become prominent.

The other interesting point worth mentioning is how organizational literature treats hybridity with respect to temporal domain. Organizational studies dealing with hybrid identity have generally treated it as a new phenomenon for the organization. That is, the focus has been constantly on newly accepted, freshly formulated hybrid identities or the ones yet in formation (e.g., Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Ruef and Patterson, 2009). Because of this theoretical and empirical focus, new types of hybrids have been regarded as rather challenging, bringing various conflicts and tensions to the organization (e.g., Glynn, 200; Golden-Biddle and Rao, 1997). Yet, a "mature" hybrid identity (Ruef and Patterson, 2009) can also exist, which is experienced by the organization for a considerably long time. In turn, organizations' views, reactions, practices that are shaped around a mature hybrid identity will be different from a new hybridization experience.

Consequently, hybrid identities at later stages may become quite established identities without necessarily facing identity conflicts (Battilana and Dorado, 2010). Once hybrid identities have become established, organizations may afford to have multiple identity claims and combine them without jeopardizing their stability. Novel hybrids that have matured and gained legitimacy like this can change organization's strategies, preferences and offerings without jeopardizing the delicate balance between the identity claims that they combine. These arguments all point out that there is need for research exploring such mature hybrids; hybrid identities which are available for long periods. This could alter our perspective and arguments significantly on what organizational mechanisms and larger environmental factors influence organizational identity and the probability of hybrids.

As a final essential issue, hybrid identity should not be confused with some other concepts which are seemingly similar but essentially represent separate phenomena. As an example, even though the role of organizational identity can be considered as a filter

(Greenwood et al., 2012) "for interpreting and responding to strategic issues and environmental changes" (Glynn, 2008, p.408), it signifies something more than a mere product diversification tactic. There are warnings in the literature as well regarding not equating identity hybridity with diversification (or, multi-business firms) (e.g., Ruef and Patterson, 2006) or a matter of strategic choice (e.g., Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012). Hybrid identity concept refers mostly to an audience-side perspective, in which an organization is perceived to fall into multiple categories by a particular audience (Hsu et al., 2009). On the other hand, product diversification refers to a producer-side perspective in which an organization hedges against risk by combining a number of lines of business. Even though an organization is involved in numerous and diverse lines of business, it does not necessarily mean that it will be perceived as a hybrid identity organization from outside. There need not be a one-to-one correspondence between major identity categories and possible lines of business; they are loosely-coupled at best. An organization is quite likely to produce only one form of product or provide a single form of service while embracing different identity claims through its emphasis on certain values, priorities, choice of expression, preference and enactment of particular symbolic and material elements. Moreover, sometimes seemingly much diversified organizations can be clearly recognized as belonging to a distinct identity category rather than a combination of them.

It is also worth mentioning that in particular organizational fields such as cultural and art fields, the creative outputs are not perceived traditionally like products in other settings. Whereas in other industries the products produced might be at least partially detached from the core attributes of the organization, art products, as symbolic assets (Thornton et al., 2005) are direct manifestations of who the organization is or how it defines itself. The invention and performance of plays, films, stories, songs, images and poems, in no matter what form, involve a particular type of value-adding in terms of creativity and they appeal to aesthetic or expressive tastes (Hirsch, 2000). As such, the products of cultural industries serve key symbolic functions of capturing, reflecting and legitimizing beliefs and values. How they draw on and help to constitute the inner-self, emotions and meanings in organizations (Jones and Thornton, 2005) make them unique indicators of organizational identity. That is why, genres, artistic styles and claims belonging to creative outputs are the major basis of boundaries between identity categories in art fields (Hirsch, 1972; 2000). The degree of dynamism and blending among those different genres, styles and identity categories (as a summary

of these genres and styles) deserve attention regarding the conditions supporting or inhibiting such identity hybridization.

2.1.6. Examining Hybrid Identity by the Lenses of the Literature on Categories

Classification plays a very important role in identifying and evaluating organizations in contemporary society. Thus, a developing literature in organization theory and social science in general, focuses on how categories and classifications affect processes of social evaluation (Ruef and Patterson, 2006). Central to many recent arguments in the organization literature is the notion that organizations are assigned readily to a system of existing classifications (Hannan et al., 2007). The set of categories are mutually exclusive and there is a consistent set of rules for assigning objects to these categories. Mass audiences have difficulty understanding categorical misfits (Hsu, 2006; Whetten, 2006) and when this happens, they devaluate the organization as a producer and/or its products. This is because such misfits violate the category codes that enjoy an imperative standing (Polos et al., 2002). In this framework, a focused identity strengthens the recognition needed to help legitimize and institutionalize a category (McKendrick and Carroll, 2001). In this stream of work, appraisal of identity is conceptualized in terms of the organization's fitness in a role or category over time. In other words, meaningful identities are constructed in the context of classification regimes (Ruef and Patterson, 2006).

As a basic definition, a *category* refers to a class about whose meaning an audience segment has reached a high level of consensus (Hannan et al., 2007). Prior analyses of categories and categorical boundaries tended to assume that the classification schemata used to evaluate organizations or products are stable. In these early efforts of defining organizational categories, membership in categories was treated as *classical* set of membership: It was assumed that the audience regards an organization either as a member of a cluster or not (e.g., Carroll and Hannan, 2000; Podolny, Stuart and Hannan, 1996).

However, recently there has been increasing evidence that categories can be rather dynamic and blurred (Haveman and Rao, 2006; Rao et al., 2005). Some recent extensions and contributions to organizational ecology view have noted that audiences often assign membership in categories on a partial basis (Hannan et al., 2007). Following this idea, a new approach labeled as *fuzzy-set theory* was introduced (Hannan

et al., 2007; Hsu et al., 2009). According to this approach, membership in categories are treated as potentially *partial* which leads to a "fuzzy-set" conception of categories (e.g., Bogaert, Boone and Carroll, 2006; Hsu et al., 2011). This brought higher realism and sociological value to empirical studies since natural categories usually lack sharp boundaries and clear definitions (Rosch, 1973). Since the fuzzy representation provides for partially applicable labels and categories, an organization might be only a partial member of a category and be a member of more than one category.

According to the general notion of categories, each organization in a category comes with a particular social or collective identity. These identities depend partly on the strength of category membership but they also reflect some unique characteristics. When we speak of organizational identity, the audience expectations of both kinds should be considered: those based on category membership and those based on an organization's specific history and traditions (Hsu, 2006; Hsu et al., 2009). That delineation of organizational identity takes account of all of the different aspects from which an audience member looks at an organization. What matters with respect to organizational identity is what an audience member actually takes for granted (Polos et al., 2002).

Recently, another important notion has been introduced relating to the *fuzzy-set* conceptualization of categories as described above and has further contributed to the idea of organizations' categorical identity claims: *grade of membership.* In simplest terms, an organization's *grade of membership (GoM)* is a measure of its characteristics' degree of fit with an identity category and its typicality (Hsu et al., 2009; Hsu et al., 2011). Certain categorizations of feature values might be associated with full-fledged membership, others with moderate standing as a member, others with low but nonzero standing and still others with zero grade of membership (Hannan et al., 2007). Audiences recognize a cluster of organizations and come to regard these similar entities as members to varying degrees of a common fuzzy set (Hsu et al., 2011). Thus, *GoM* construction relieves organizational theorists and empirical researchers of those difficult (and often not realistic) absolute classification notions.

It is argued that multiple category membership does have essential implications for the legitimation of identity categories (Hannan et al., 2007). Multiple memberships are supposed to confuse the audience and make an organization appear to fit poorly to any of the code systems that defines the categories because of their lack of representativeness. Supporting this view, Hsu (2006) finds that in the U.S. feature-film

industry audiences express greater disagreement about the category membership of films that target multiple categories (genres) as compared to those that target a single genre. This argument is also compatible with the findings by Zuckerman and his colleagues (2003) that Hollywood film actors who are strongly identified with a particular category of work find it difficult to obtain work in other categories.

This new perspective of categories and category boundaries with respect to *GoM* calls attention to hybrid identities and thus, can help to get a better understanding of them. Conceptualizing membership to different identity categories as "a matter of degree" allows modeling for partiality and multiplicity of identities. To put it differently, if partial membership to multiple categories is available, then, a logical implication is that organization identities become fuzzy more than being neat and clean, and this leads the way to identifying hybrid identities. It is also worth noting that some notions in the organizational literature like "selective categorization" (e.g. Elsbach and Kramer, 1996) quite resembles the *GoM* thinking by supporting the idea that organizations may have partial commitment in different categories.

According to selective categorization, organizations may move toward some identity attributes while moving away from others (Hsu et al., 2011). By this way, alternate categories and comparison groups are highlighted which puts the organization in a more diffuse, broader field in terms of its relations to other organizations and its perceived similarity and distinctiveness. Thus, an organization's membership can spread over multiple categories. That is, rather than having to defend, deny or explain a particular claim and arranging identity based on this single claim, organizations may invoke alternative multiple classifications.

Putting these ideas in a perspective, *GoM* and related conceptualizations provide us a new way to look at organizational identities by identifying and checking the consistency of the principles that are applied to identity-based theories of categorization. Finally, it is worth noting that available treatments of multiple memberships are considered as either: i) not explicitly taking into account relationships among the categories; or ii) focusing exclusively on oppositional categories (Hsu et al., 2011). Yet this is not likely to be the case as there is more interaction between different categories or identity claims. Some of them might overlap in some features and seem as complementary. Even though not complementary, some of them might just be consistent while others carry opposite tensions and thus, be inconsistent. If multiple-

membership is treated and conceptualized in this way, we may get closer to understand the diffuseness of hybrid identities in organizational fields.

In light of all these arguments, further advances in conceptualizing hybridity depends on the ability to connect the recent literature on social categories with that on organizational identity (Lounsbury and Rao, 2004; Ruef and Patterson, 2006). Particularly, there is a need to conceptualize and measure identity hybridity in terms of the collection of organization's memberships –its degree of involvement- in different categories each representing a distinct identity claim for the organization regarding "who it is" and "what purpose it serves". This has been very well manifested in the concept of *GoM* since it can enable us to view identity hybridity as a matter of degree and to better identify various degrees of hybridization as well as instances where no hybridization takes place, as in "pure" identities. In this study, I am offering an initial step in this direction by integrating categorical perspective to better examine hybrid identities and their underlying organization and field-level conditions.

2.2. Institutional Influences and Organizational Identity

For quite some time, researchers have been interested in how organizational practices and the evolution and structure of organizational populations are linked to the socio-cultural and institutional frame of a field (e.g., Hannan, 2005; Lounsbury, 2007). This institutional view develops linkages between broad social norms, beliefs, values and organizational identities (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Glynn and Abzug, 2002; Glynn, 2008). Indeed, a large number of identity studies are informed by theories of institutionalism. For identity, the institutional perspective offers insight on dynamics that extend beyond the boundaries of an individual organization through the establishment of socially and culturally patterned practices (Glynn, 2008). Institutional mechanisms guide micro-behavior of organizations in terms of identities as particular types of identities become more frequent and more accepted.

Particularly in recent years, institutional studies have accounted for organizations' embeddedness in institutional environments characterized by different institutional logics but not accounted for specific factors by which organizations actually build and manage such plurality. In contrast, the organizational identity literature has examined how organizations handle plurality, while barely accounting for

the influence of institutional context on how organizations handle it (Battilana and Dorado, 2010). A number of studies have begun to explore the link between institutions and collective identities by showing organizational identities to be embedded in institutional contexts (Baron, 2004; Glynn and Abzug, 2002) and researchers have recently called for further exploration of this link (Corley, et al., 2006; Glynn, 2008; Pederson and Dobbin, 2006).

Such studies imply that a theory of hybrid identity in terms of the factors helping or hindering its realization must be grounded in an understanding of the institutional conditions of these types of complicated identities (Lounsbury and Rao, 2004). Institutional theory provides an appropriate framework for exploring those factors that contribute to the consolidation of identity characteristics associated with plural categories as well as a particular category (Greenwood and Hinings, 1993, Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001, Mohr and Guerra-Pearson, 2005). In the following sections, I will examine how this link has been built in the literature in terms of: 1) field-level institutional logics, 2) field-level effects of mimicry, and review the basic propositions and findings of them, respectively.

2.2.1. The Institutional Logics Framework

Even though for the last two decades, neo-institutional theory (e.g., DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; 1991; Meyer and Rowan, 1977) has provided important assumptions and findings on how institutional forces could impact organizational structures, processes and practices, further contributions to the theory were needed, especially for clarifying multiplicity and conflict of institutional systems or frames and how these systems affect the development of diverse organizational identities. As such, researchers began to look for new openings and expansions to institutional understanding of organizations. While neo-institutionalism became prominent through the study of *isomorphism* (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991), much could be gained by systematically investigating how *variation* is created as recent studies are seeking to achieve (Clemens and Cook, 1999). This is because most institutional environments are not made of a single and clearly defined logic based on the salience of particular beliefs and ideas and organizational responses are not always uniform or easily understood. Moreover, there has been lack of a clear understanding of the effect of historical and cultural contingency on organizational identities (Glynn, 2008).

Therefore, institutional researchers began to seek more conceptual and empirical work to map the variety and richness of institutional environments. In this respect, new empirical avenues regarding variation in identities as well as practices and its link with multiple institutional systems were instantiated (e.g., Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Glynn, 2000). Accordingly, how institutional logics might inform individual organizations to form their identity claims as a manifestation to the external world of "who they are" (Whetten, 2006); more specifically, how multiple institutional logics inform organizational identity conceptions, became a key question to address.

First developed as a concept by Friedland and Alford (1991), *institutional logics* are "the socially constructed historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce their substance, organize time and space and provide meaning to their social reality" (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999). This definition by Thornton and Ocasio (1999) integrates the structural, normative and symbolic as three necessary and complementary dimensions of institutions. Institutional logics refer to the key principles of organization and action, based on cultural discourses and material practices prevalent in different institutional and social sectors (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008), providing actors with a commonly understood language and rules of the "game" to interpret and give meaning to the social and economic structures in a field (Seo and Creed, 2002; Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005).

Institutional logics as a theoretical concept enables us to show how organizational fields are often affected by competing meaning systems whose potentially decomposable components can be used by organizational actors as vehicles for identity experimentation, conversion, combination and transformation (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). Indeed, the institutional logics framework seems to be an appropriate viewpoint and analysis tool to discover how organizations creatively tinker with techniques or other identity elements from rival categories (Campbell, 2005; Lounsbury, 2007; Rao et al., 2003). Today organizational literature increasingly recognizes that institutions change over time, are not uniformly taken-for-granted, and have effects that are particularistic (Clemens and Cook, 1999; Seo and Creed, 2002). Especially research over the last decade has increasingly recognized that institutional contexts are more complex and never completely coherent, often consisting of competing demands (e.g., Lounsbury, 2007; Seo and Creed, 2002) where institutional logics provide a solid framework for addressing and explaining all these issues and how they impact organizational identities.

Indeed, perhaps the most important characteristic of institutional logics is that they involve multiplicities and contradictions (Clemens and Cook, 1999; Friedland and Alford, 1991). Institutional paths are not as uniform, complementary or pure as some analyses would have it. To the contrary, they often contain within them ambiguities, multiple layers and are potentially decomposable. Thus, institutional structures of fields are frequently inconsistent and fragmented (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Multiple meaning systems can co-exist within the same time frame and context. Actors perceive these contradictions and can serve as change agents by borrowing and manipulating new combinations of elements from these logics (Clemens and Cook, 1999).

While logics provide social actors with vocabularies of motive and sense of self, these practices and symbols also enable actors to further elaborate them (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Paying such systematic attention to multiple logics makes it possible to empirically explore the dynamics underscoring hybrid organizational claims. Under such circumstances, examples of heterogeneity in varying degrees, elements that do not "fit" or contradict the dominant institution will be able to show themselves. The importance of such elements is twofold; they are one of the fundamental driving forces of institutional change (Friedland and Alford, 1991) and, maybe more importantly, the source of raw materials which organizational actors can use while forming their identities (Swidler, 1986).

Even though particular organizational decisions on identity are acknowledged to be shaped by different institutional logics prevailing in the field or wider environments, empirical research indicates that one institutional logic generally holds a dominant position (e.g. Reay and Hinings, 2005; Scott et al., 2000; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999). That does not hinder the multiplicity and variation at a point in time resulting from the accumulation of changes and divergences of logics. Yet, it emphasizes that supported by certain socio-political and cultural developments in the society and a field itself, one of these logics will be more prominent and influential at a time than the others while the other logics may still exist (Dacin, Goodstein and Scott, 2002) through social categories and manifested in organizational behaviors and practices, especially in times of change.

As an expansion of this assertion, the previously influential logics are often only subdued rather than completely eliminated across time, thus, preparing an environment where diverse cultural elements presenting different logics can remain (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). The growing appreciation of the role of heterogeneity in organizational fields leads to the recognition that this diversity does not disappear easily, but is

transformed, converted and layered in ways making multiple ideas available for future use (Sgourev, 2011). As a result, subsidiary possibilities remain in existence alongside the dominant ones and what were secondary paths may sometimes be brought to the fore (Greenwood, Diaz, Li and Lorente, 2010). Such systems may co-exist for long times, resulting in "sedimented" structures, with distinct logics layered onto each other, providing resources for multiple interests and claims from organizations (Seo and Creed, 2002; Thornton and Ocasio, 2008).

2.2.1.1. Level of analysis and historical contingency

Although institutional logics were originally conceptualized by Friedland and Alford (1991) at the societal-level, many studies within institutional theory focus on the formation and development of logics at a variety of different levels like organizational fields, markets, industries and geographic communities (e.g., Haveman and Rao, 1997; Lounsbury, 2007; Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999). Most of the time, the impact of more general, societal-level meaning systems is observed to diffuse in every segment of social life including organizational fields and industries. Indeed, the institutional logics perspective has shown that many elements that comprise organizational practices are based on cultural models that are constructed at the societal level (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Then, they are locally enacted in fields, markets, or industries (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008).

The most utilized level of analysis for studying institutional logics is the field- or the industry-level. Research on institutional logics adopting a field-level perspective emphasizes the existence of competing logics within the field as participants take one another into account as they carry out interrelated categories of symbols and practices. To put it differently, the boundaries of an organizational field are observable within and across the borders of institutional logics and their categorical elements (Thornton et al., 2012).

Several examples could be given for the exploration of logics in institutional fields. For instance, in an analysis of U.S. academic health centers, Kitchener (2002) explores the effects of competing managerial and professional logics on the responses to merger initiatives. Reay and Hinings (2005) adopt a similar approach in their analysis of structural change in Canadian health care organizations. Scott et al. (2000) also examine the health care field but in the U.S. Greenwood and Suddaby (2006) focus instead on

contradictions between institutional logics in organizational fields and suggest that boundary bridging organizations are sources of change in institutional logics. While Zajac and Westphal (2004) investigate financial markets, Lounsbury (2007) examines competing trustee and professional logics in the mutual fund industry. Likewise, several studies by Thornton and her colleagues (e.g., Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Thornton, 2005) focus on the formation of industrial-level institutional logics in higher education publishing.

Besides level of analysis, historical contingency is the other key issue and assumption of the institutional logics perspective (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012). Empirical evidence informs us that institutional logics differ in development and importance over time. The perspective assumes that each institutional order has a different age of origin and that the inter-institutional system evolves over historical time (Thornton et al., 2012). Several studies reveal that particular logics are valid in one historical time period but not in others; that is, institutional effects are mostly particular to a historical period in which an institutional logic prevails (e.g., Berman, 2011; Rao et al., 2003; Reay and Hinings, 2005; Scott et al., 2000; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Zajac and Westphal, 2004). Thus, many arguments that are assumed to be universal through time and space instead principally belong to specific historical times (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). Moreover, relative patterns of dominance between institutional orders often do not simply follow an evolutionary or linear model of development since the shape of change through time might be much more complicated.

Zajac and Westphal's (2004) analysis of historical contingency in financial markets is a notable example in terms how institutional logic effects can be periodized. The paper finds that the emergence of an agency perspective in the 1980s led to historical shifts in stock market response to stock repurchases, from an unfavorable reaction, consistent with a "professional logic", to a favorable one, consistent with "agency logic". A more recent example is the study from Berman (2011) which depicts a key shift in the field of U.S. research universities over the last decade from a "science-as-resource" logic to a "science-as-engine" logic with a general change in public policy at the societal level.

As these examples suggest, diverse institutional logics emerge at different times, and there is a historical event sequencing of the emergence, diffusion, dominance and change of institutional logics. Field-level logics move through certain stages of formation and development, and in this evolution, they imprint certain periods of time

with the prevalence and strength of their symbolic and structural elements (Thornton et al., 2011). Even in seemingly stable and mature institutional fields, change happens: At a certain point in time, a new logic rises and prevails while the older one begins to drift and declines. Such changes often occur as a result of exogenous shocks or evolutionary dynamics.

2.2.1.2. Institutional logics and identity claims

As it was established in previous sections, organizations are embedded within both formal and informal pressures rooted in their institutional environment and cognitive communities (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Meaning systems are located not only in social actors' cognitive schemas but also in structural positions, relational networks, and routines of organizations. As such, studies have linked logics with a wide range of such practices, including executive succession and compensation, career structures, strategies, technological entrepreneurship and social responsibility (e.g., Haveman and Rao, 1997; Ruef; 2000; Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999).

Identities are not constructed in a vacuum either. External constituents play a vital, ongoing role in negotiating and validating the organization's identity (e.g., Dutton and Dukerich 1991, Gioia et al. 2000, Hatch and Schultz, 2002) and in holding the organization accountable for its identity claims (Price and Gioia, 2008). Moreover, all of this occurs within a wider institutional context (which in turn occurs within a wider historical, political, and cultural context) that strongly shapes the possible identities that collectives may beneficially assume. Misangyi et al. (2008) argue that the institutional context provides interpretive, legitimating, and material resources that entities may draw upon in defining who they are. Thus, organization-level identity development is a result of the interaction between micro-level action and macro-level institutional forces (Gioia et al., 2010; Misangyi, et al., 2008).

The concept of identity has been an integral part of the institutional logics perspective from the very beginning (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Concrete behaviors related to identities are usefully understood via their relation to institutional logics in a given empirical setting. While institutional logics guide "how to act" in a particular situation, identity focuses more on the question of "who we are" (Thornton et al., 2012). In available theoretical clarifications, it is posited that institutional logics provide the

shared meaning that gives coherence to social life by the creation of social identities (Glynn, 2008) and identity is achieved through delineation of categories of social actors and define the cognitive schemas governing behaviors in a given situation (Ashforth and Mael, 1996). Thus, a key mechanism by which institutional logics show their influence on an organization field is when they inform the collective identities of an organizational population and shape social classification and categorization that is built in a field (DiMaggio, 1997; Thornton et al., 2012). Diverse institutional logics interact in complex ways to create varied "new" identity profiles. Institutional logics particularly play an important role in establishing and molding an organization's identity by providing the guiding template of its associated norms and expectations (Haveman and Rao, 1997; Ruef, 2000) since individual organizations are founded under them (Foreman and Parent, 2008).

These norms, expectations, motivations and preferences of organizations in relation to "who they are" and how they would like to be perceived by the audience can be summed up within the notion of identity claims. Institutional logics provide categories of organizational practices or products in a field basically through the means of identity claims where similar views or actions with the collective are equivalent to being attached to the institutional logic prevailing in the collective (Rao, 1998; Rao et al., 2003). That is, they bring discursive and other resources available for organizational members to use to construct a sense of collective self; an identity claim. Rao (1998) puts it as follows: "organizational identity is appropriately conceived of as a set of categorical identity claims with reference to a specified set of institutionally informed social categories". Within the overall relationship between institutional logics and identity, recently, organizational identity is appropriately conceived of as a set of claims in reference to a specified set of institutionally informed social categories (Glynn, 2008).

Perhaps, this relationship between institutional logics, categories and organizational identity claims can be best understood by "the nested levels of identity" conceptualization provided by Whetten (2006). While the highest level of the nested array includes social categories and established ties with institutions, lower levels include distinguishing organizational practices, competencies, traits, and organization-specific attributes of services and products. These types or levels of identities can be thought of as a menu of available organizational profiles embedded in the broader culture (Rao et al., 2003; 2005). One can posit that organization identity includes

selection from all parts of this menu and the logical structure of the menu guides the formation of a coherent organizational identity. This structure can specify what is both possible and appropriate for organizations (Whetten, 2006). All in all, understanding a particular organization's identity should combine different arrays and recognize institutional relationships and social categories as well as particular organization-specific factors.

This means that hybrid arrangements come to the fore by drawing on and mixing different identity claims infused by different logics, and this situation results in a more fragmented domain than it is assumed (Misangyi et al., 2008). To this end, institutional logics provide an appropriate framework for considering how social and cultural forces may lead to the emergence of significant similarity among organizations, while at the same time allowing for the possibility that organizations present diverse identity claims (Lamertz, Pursey, Heugens and Calmet, 2005). There is supporting empirical research on the ways organizational identity claims are institutionally structured (e.g., Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Glynn and Abzug, 2002; Rao et al., 2003), which grant important evidence on how the construction of an organization's identity is affected by its classification within general categories (Haveman and Rao, 2006; Ruef, 2000). Whether an institutional logic dominates a field or there is conflict among different ones or logics change, these situations generally have a huge impact on the existing identity categories and how they are perceived (Lamertz et al., 2005; Ruef, 2000).

In early institutional analyses, with a strong structural emphasis, organizational identities were treated as static constraints (Strang and Soule, 1998). The institutional logic perspective, on the other hand, provides a more dynamic and realistic approach that locates identities of organizations within broader cultural structures that both enable and constrain behavior. Available logics provide the cognitive and symbolic elements that organizations employ to reproduce and alter their identities (Thornton et al., 2012). In view of these, one notices that more and more work has begun to explore how particular organizations establish or alter their identities under conditions of different institutional logics (e.g., Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Pache and Santos, 2010). Extant institutional logics and collective identities in an institutional field provide the symbolic grammar that can be drawn upon as from a toolkit (Binder, 2007; Swidler, 1986) to construct optimally distinct (Brewer, 1991) and legitimate (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001) organizational identities. To the extent that organizations draw upon different social identity categories in unique ways or combine

different logic elements, they may cultivate an organizational identity that is distinctive within the institutional field (King et al., 2011; Pedersen and Dobbin, 2006).

As the above arguments suggest, as long as fields are informed by plural logics, the degree of variation across organizations will be greater. Therefore, existence and the level of "institutional pluralism" (Kraatz and Block, 2008) or "institutional complexity" (Greenwood et al., 2010; Greenwood et al., 2011) play out in a range of different identity claims emerging from the interplay of diverse logics. Greenwood et al.'s (2010) notion of "institutional complexity" refers to environments where organizations are influenced by various signals and pressures stemming from multiple institutional logics. Especially during periods of change, when there is ambiguity because of shifts of logics in the field, organizations may have different responses in terms of their identities. Ultimately, organizations are in an uneasy position regarding what institutional logic to embrace, what institutional elements to draw upon, how to perceive these diverse logics and what identity claims to make.

Such circumstances, namely, the change and plurality of institutional logics in a field are likely to bring some sort of blending of identity claims by organizations. This is because field-level logic complexity is conducive to the creation and manifestation of organizational identities which might involve the combination of different institutional rules (Clemens and Cook, 1999) as symbolic and material resources that can be mobilized in the field (Wry, Lounsbury and Glynn, 2011). Especially through the conflicts and complementarities between different logics (Misangyi et al., 2008; Rao, 1998) at certain times, organizations combine elements and achieve identities distinct from each other, but also similar enough so as to make their membership claims to established identity categories legitimate (Thornton et al., 2012). Alternatively, the lack of such change or plurality of logics at field-level will prevent blending of identity claims at the organization-level. This implicates that hybrid identities either become possible; they are established by these plural and/or conflicting logics, or prevented by them with respect to the dominance of a single logic or lower degree of institutional complexity.

In summary, institutional logics constitute resources for institutional assembly, revival, or redeployment, and can be used to support or hinder the mobilization of alternatives identity claims for organizations (Campbell, 2005; Greenwood et al., 2010). However, up to this point much of the institutional logics literature has only emphasized the constraining nature of logics and heterogeneous identity responses from

organizations such as hybrid identities have been mostly ignored. Thornton et al. (2012, p.144) tackle this issue with the following assessment:

> "… points out to the need to understand better the conditions under which different kinds of organizations might be able to move between logics or engage in bricolage that draws upon logics as a kind of cultural toolkit (Binder, 2007; Swidler, 1986). By attending to the conditions under which organizations will experience and engage differently with logics, we will gain further insights into the sources of practice variation and the dynamics of logics and practices."

As an addition to this assessment, the conditions under which variation and blending of identity becomes recognized as anomalous and problematic as opposed to as normal and acceptable is an important empirical question for both institutional logics and organizational identity literatures.

2.2.2. Field-Level Mimetic Effects

Another field-level mechanism can also be highlighted to explain the relevance and frequency of hybrid organizational identities. While making decisions, especially about determining who they are and how to reflect it, organizations look at similar others in the field and are likely to develop a tendency to emulate (or imitate) them (e.g., Elsbach and Kramer, 1996; LaBianca et al., 2001; Rao et al., 2003). That is, an organization may be impressed and encouraged by the most widespread and prominent choices and practices of other organizations and identity is no exception (Rao et al., 2003). In other words, identity formulation is a relational process as it involves awareness of and comparisons to nearby peer organizations (King et al., 2011; LaBianca et al., 2001) through which organizations seek to obtain legitimacy. Similarly, organizations could be more likely to adopt various identity elements if those peer organizations have already done so.

This dynamic can be explained by how institutional comparison and imitation mechanisms work. The view that an organization monitors other organizations in the same field and strives to appear like them while shaping its identity is in agreement with the very assumptions of the institutional perspective since several studies have emphasized that we should consider the field-level institutional effects on formation and maintaining of organizational identities (e.g., Aldrich and Fiol 1994, Schneiberg 2007).

The notion of "imitation" plays a central role in neo-institutional theory as it is considered one of the main mechanisms through which organizations structurally or cognitively become similar (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Haunschild and Miner, 1997; Scott, 2008). Thus, it has received an important research attention from institutional researchers (e.g., Haunschild and Miner, 1997; Korn and Baum, 1999; Kraatz and Zajac, 1996). According to Scott (2008), there are three major institutional pillars and the *cultural-cognitive* pillar refers to the constitution and interpretation of categories and frames through which identity and meaning are interpreted. This cultural-cognitive pillar is associated with a related but distinguishable relational system, namely, mimetic processes (Thornton et al., 2012).

Indeed, institutional scholars have developed an extensive understanding of how a specific organizational feature diffuses or becomes institutionalized at the field level through imitating others. Imitation has been shown to be one main mechanism through which organizations become exposed to and pick up ideas (Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008). Institutional perspectives suggest that recombinations of existing routines and structures into new packages can be achieved through monitoring others and their practices. So, organizations sample from these available models (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Tolbert and Zucker, 1999). Ideas are circulated as actors are exposed to each other and as they compare themselves with and view themselves in relation to others (Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008). Studies have also paid special attention to who is imitating whom and how, making use of the concepts of identity and field. Particularly, mimetic recombinations of routines and structures are brought about through imitation of similar or superior organizations.

As Tolbert and Zucker (1999) suggest, understanding the process of inter-organizational monitoring is a preliminary step for understanding imitative outcomes. To elaborate, organizations are motivated to follow the others who are perceived as in the same category, sharing similar attributes with them. Thus, organizations can be flexible and adaptive social perceivers (Elsbach and Kramer, 1996) in the case of taking others as example, especially if what others are doing is perceived as positive and favorable. That is, organizations' perception from outside as legitimate or successful is a convenient source of imitation (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). When incompatible cultural frames are promoted, the frame that enjoys greater support from other organizations becomes ascendant (Rao, 1998).

This imitation process is the same for organizational identities. Actors tend to imitate those they want to resemble, and the process of imitation involves both self-identification and recognition of what one would like to become (Sevon, 1996). As Sahlin and Wedlin suggest (2008, p.223); "imitation constructs new relationships, references and identification and opens new avenues for comparison and for creating new identities". Thus, organizational identity has a significant effect on both cognitive and pragmatic legitimacy (Foreman and Whetten, 2002), lending support to the idea that an organization has a strong motivation to monitor how other similar organizations appear in terms of their identities. Diffused ideas could add or result in changes to organizational identities and to what appeared as normal, desirable and possible (Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008). That is, organizations often adopt the same identity characteristics or claims as their peers when seeking legitimacy. They adopt certain features that have become associated with a particular identity because they want to legitimate themselves as part of that identity category (King et al., 2011). They affirm or restore their identity in order to ensure that they follow the choices and practices of the other relevant organizations.

Some studies provide empirical knowledge coinciding with these theoretical notions of identity-based imitation mechanisms (e.g., Elsbach and Kramer, 1996; LaBianca et al., 2001; Rao et al., 2003). For instance, LaBianca et al. (2001) found that universities generally emulate others who are similar to them. In doing this, they also call attention to the difference between more "technical" industries and more "institutional" industries. They claim that in institutional industries like academia, the pattern of emulation is more diffuse and heavily weighted toward identity-related attributes. Likewise, in their investigation of the adaptation of *nouvelle cuisine* in place of classic cuisine, Rao et al. (2003) argued that adaptation of this new identity by other actors in the field signal that this new identity claim is permeable and appealing, creating a discrepancy between actors' desire for a positive favorable identity position and the current reality and thus, enhance the acceptance of these new identity roles. In a similar vein, King et al. (2011) in their study empirically demonstrated that realization of identity claims at the organizational level mainly occurs through mimicry processes which are facilitated by the local institutional context. They found that the choice of charter schools in Arizona towards adopting specific identity claims is partly the result of mimicking peers who have already chosen those same identity claims.

However, there remains the question inquiring how they make this judgment, which points to a key aspect of emulation and what the relevant identity categories that establish an important source of emulation are (Washington and Ventresca, 2004). If, on average, other organizations in the field have identity claims that are highly compatible with the prevalent institutional framework, then following this general direction, the focal organization might also be more inclined to have the same identity claim. This is because it will be more cautious not to take risks and lose legitimacy while all other organizations in the field present a clear commitment to the demands, beliefs and values of the time.

2.3. Imprinting Theory and Organizational Identity

Organizational scholars have done considerable work in understanding how the past continues to influence the present. Stinchcombe (1965) argues that important features of an organization's structure are established early in an organization's history. In other words, events and situations surrounding the creation of a new organization have a long-lasting effect on its future development (Kimberly, 1975; Stinchcombe, 1965). Conditions of earlier development periods are imprinted on central organizational traits (Johnson, 2007). According to Stinchcombe (1965), "the groups, institutions, laws, population characteristics, and sets of social relations that form the environment" are historically contingent and imprint an organization with the characteristics of the era when it was founded. He illustrated how this hypothesis was supported for unions, fraternities, and savings banks, as well as many other types of organizations and industries.

The founding process involves assembling of resources, legitimating new structures and integrating it with the prevalent institutional order. Once founded, Stinchcombe (1965) hypothesized; organizations may subsequently survive far into the future with their founding structures largely intact because of inertial forces such as tradition, vested interests or ideology. Thus, general characteristics of organizational blueprints are history dependent (Stinchcombe, 1965). Change from these core features is often difficult because some kinds of routines are developed. These features are likely to have a long-term effect on the organization, making the organization resistant to remove them. This suggests that if an organization gets used to define itself and do

things in a certain way early in its life (March, 1991), this will impact the alternatives it will or be able to consider in the future.

2.3.1. The Foci of Imprinting Research

Stinchcombe (1965) proposed that organizations founded during the same historical period would have similar structural characteristics because they faced the same environments and challenges. Expanding on this idea, the imprinting literature has described how the founding conditions and characteristics for an organization have lasting structural influences by focusing on two different phenomena: (1) how the environment at founding, particularly competitive conditions, influence sets of organizations (e.g., Meyer and Brown, 1977; Swaminathan, 1996) and (2) the importance of founders for the future trajectory of individual organizations (e.g., Baron, Hannan, and Burton, 1999; Boeker, 1989; Eisenhardt and Schoonhoven, 1990).

The first category of studies suggest that the organizational structures and practices developed to meet the initial field conditions will still be apparent in later stages. As noted at the beginning, most of the imprinting studies in this stream of literature have focused on the conditions in resource environments and their effects particularly on present outcomes. This includes how the resource conditions at founding influence subsequent rates of change (Tucker, Singh, and Meinhard, 1990), overall growth rates (Eisenhardt and Schoonhoven, 1990), organizational strategy (Boeker, 1989), and organizational mortality (Swaminathan, 1996).

While resource conditions or economic forces are certainly an important influence on organizations, they are only one part of the environment Stinchcombe theorized. There are also the social and cultural forces. Yet, surprisingly only a limited number of imprinting studies has considered the influence of the broader social environment. Kimberly (1975), as one of them, describes how the focus of sheltered workshops, a type of rehabilitation organization, reflected either a production or rehabilitation orientation depending on the dominant social philosophy toward the handicapped during the organizations' founding period. Meyer and Brown (1977) indicate how the civil service movement and legislation influenced patterns of bureaucracy in finance agencies. These studies, which situate organizational behavior within their broader historical and social context and institutional mechanisms, are examples of how Stinchcombe's imprinting theory can help researchers in better

understanding the effect of early field conditions on organizations. One of the ignored aspects of these initial social values, norms and mechanisms is organizational identity which is very likely to maintain historically imprinted patterns.

Within the second category of studies, imprinting effects have been discussed and empirically examined in relation to different organizational aspects. Often without denying the role of current environmental conditions or institutional factors, these studies suggest that the founding characteristics may be no less decisive, exerting a lasting influence on how the organization evolves (e.g. Boeker, 1989; Baron et al., 1999). To put it differently, differences in how certain organizational aspects like structures or routines evolve might, at least to some degree, be "programmed" in an organization's infancy (Stinchcombe, 1965).

One of the major issues examined within this scope involves the founder's imprinting role (e.g., Baron et al, 1999; Schein, 1983) which might be exercised through choices about the organizational practices or, influence on basic underlying assumptions. As an example, Baron et al. (1999) examined how the founding characteristics shape the proliferation of management and administration. Their analysis showed that organization's initial structural model and other founding characteristics influence the extent of managerial intensity that develops over time. This study and similar others support the notion of path-dependence in the evolution of organizational structures and underscore the importance of the "logics of organizing" or the values and mindsets that is brought to the organization by several actors at its birth. The notion of path dependence has been applied to organizations in order to describe the mechanisms of organizational persistence and change. For instance, organizational path dependence has been studied in relation to structures, knowledge, processes, strategies and the use of technologies (e.g., Kogut and Zander, 1992; Teece, Pisano and Shuen, 1997).

2.3.2. Possible Imprinting Effects on Organizational Identity and Hybridization

Besides anything else, organizations are affected by their histories also in assessing identity options and constructing their identities. Organization's birth conditions form a configuration and generate a certain track in time. To craft new visions and versions of competence and cohesion, a historically copied repertoire of rules and resources have to be mobilized and applied anew. Given the potentially powerful historical effects as proposed by Stinchcombe (1965), important predictors of

an organization's current identity can be the institutional conditions in the field and its early organizational identity at founding. Organizations basically arise out of the close institutional environment and from the attempts of identity claiming at the early times of organizing (King et al., 2011). Thus, organizational identity at present time represents a certain identity profile with characteristics dependent on these founding conditions. Although there has not been a strong emphasis on identities in the imprinting literature, imprinting effects recently have attracted an increased attention in a number of studies on organizational identity (e.g., Hannan et al., 2006; Johnson, 2007; Kroezen and Heugens, 2012; Swaminathan, 2001).

In addition to external conditions in the early life-stages of an organization, its identity may be largely shaped by a group of actors that makes choices about the directions, goals, and values of the organization. In a short period time, this identity becomes institutionalized as the organization becomes "infuse[d] with value" (Selznick, 1957, p.17). Then, in mature organizations, answers to organizational identity-related questions like "Who are we as an organization?", "What kind of organization is this?", "How is this organization different from similar others?" become exogenous to and predate the individual or shared beliefs coming from the foundation years (King et al., 2010). Indeed, contemporary identifying features and related identity claims may largely reflect the conditions and decisions that were available at organization's founding (Baron et al., 1999; Johnson, 2007).

As two major effects, early field-level (institutional logic) and organization-level (organizational identity at birth) configurations can direct the attention of the organization and "legitimates both the issues and problems that they consider and the appropriateness of the answers and responses to those issues and problems" (Ocasio 1997, p. 198). In this sense, an organization's present identity is guided by these early field and organizational conditions without the need of relying on personal judgment of its members or on some specific rules that specify behavior (King et al., 2011).

Through a historical case study, for example, Johnson (2007) shows how the artistic and political conditions during the creation of the Paris Opera structured its future organizational trajectory through its early established identity. In her research, Johnson (2007) found that the "academy model" profoundly marked the initial organizational identity of the Paris Opera in ways that continued to be reproduced long after its foundation, regarding selecting and incorporating historically specific identity

elements which could remain for decades or even centuries as fundamental features of the organization.

Moreover, early conditions create a set of expectations about appropriate behavior for a particular organization. For instance, as identity claims become expressed as institutionalized mission statements, policies, and routines, they operate as the organization's social context, providing members and informed outsiders with "a common set of phenomenological points of reference that guide consequential deliberation and organizational decision making" (King et al., 2011). From this perspective from inside, the organization "can assess the truth and consistency of beliefs, resolve contradictions between other intentional states, determine means to ends, etc" (Tollefsen, 2002, p.399). This enduring and path dependent nature of identity also points to an important implication. Although changes in an organization's identity, once institutionalized, are in principle possible, in practice they are not only difficult to achieve but may endanger the survival of the organization, given the far-reaching ramifications of altering its core features and related competencies (Freeman and Hannan, 1983).

Although there is a lack of theoretical as well as empirical interest on the effects of imprinting on organizations' current identities, a number of studies dwell on the topic and they are worth mentioning here. Within a resource-partitioning model, Swaminathan (2001) showed that specialist organizations (involving in only a single identity category) are adversely affected when they violate their organization's initial identity characteristics. In another study, adapting the general arguments about imprinting and identity to their research, Hannan et al. (2006) found that: i) initial blueprints for employment relations have enduring consequences because they are tied strongly to organizational identity; ii) the blueprints resist change, and efforts to change them increased the hazard of failure and diminished growth in market value. They focused on the initial premises in terms of their effect on organizational hazard of change since these premises arguably shape the initial features adopted by organizations and initial perceptions of the organization's identity.

Again with a perspective of organizational identity, Kroezen and Heugens (2012) elaborate on the processes that constitute the origin and early stages of identity formation, which they define as imprinting and enactment. The authors link organizational institutionalism with organizational identity by theorizing the "normative core" of the organization and its distinctive character, and by conceiving of

organizations as “flexible organisms”. Based on their qualitative study on the Dutch microbrewery landscape, they develop a conceptual model of organizational identity formation that stresses two central processes: (a) initial imprinting of potential identity attributes upon organizations, and (b) subsequent enactment of a selection of these attributes. According to this, organizations make later identity decisions based on a “reservoir” of possible identity attributes; sometimes prioritizing specific attributes as the organization engages in particular relations with other actors in environment. They claim that: “over time identity attributes accumulate due to the mutually constitutive and interactive imprinting roles of the different identity sources” (Kroezen and Heugens, 2012).

These empirical studies, in total, point out that identity claim-making of organizations can be highly path-dependent as the initial conditions of a founding organization are imprinted on its identity (Johnson 2007; Stinchcombe 1965). Organizations tend to augment their identities over time by selectively adding or dropping elements (King et al., 2011). All in all, both the general discussion of imprinting effects and the empirical studies suggest that organizational identity might, in several ways, be dependent on the founding conditions whether it is influenced by the social or institutional context, organization’s initial normative core, the mindset and values. Thus, we have strong reasons for arguing that such imprinting factors are also prevalent and influential on the formation and availability of hybrid organizational identities.

But how does it work? Presumably, the existing schemas within the organization obtained either from the dominant institutional logic at founding as an environmental factor, or from the attributes of the initial identity the organization adopts, will provide them with a blueprint that can be applied in the consideration of approving different and multiple identity claims at present (Binder, 2007; Schneiberg, 2007).

As of the former possible effect, the availability of certain repertoires in terms of beliefs and values brought by the dominant institutional logic at founding might indicate a sufficient level of legitimacy and confidence for the organization to decide about involvement in multiple identity categories today, even though currently there exist diverse environmental pressures (King et al., 2011). What explicit constraints or enlargements the prevalent institutional logic at founding imposes on the field, serves as a guideline for organizations in their decision to integrate different identity claims. This

blueprint in the long-run either encourages or prevents the organization to embrace multiple identity claims which are compatible with this early institutional logic.

As of the latter possible effect, when confronted with decisions of import, change or blending of identity claims, organizations can always refer, explicitly or implicitly, to its "irreversible commitments" to different identity categories as precedents for appropriate action (Golden-Biddle and Rao, 1997). Then, such assertions could possibly be heard: "Given who we've become as an organization, this is the appropriate decision"; "That option would be considered uncharacteristic for us"; "Given our core values and enduring commitments, which of these alternatives is in the best interests of the organization?" (King et al., 2011, p.296). This constitutes an essential indicator that whether the organization at its founding involved in multiple identity categories or not, and what was the essence of its very early identity claim(s) influence its current identity formation.

To summarize, the imprinting literature provides a solid theoretical base to assume that organizations develop their central identity claims at founding, and most of the subsequent manifestations or alterations augment and elaborate that identity.

3.

FIELD AND ORGANIZATION-LEVEL PREDICTORS OF HYBRID ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY

3.1. Institutional Effects: Logics and Mimetic Influences

In this chapter, the study hypotheses are unfolded. This first part of the chapter (Section 3.1) develops my arguments regarding the two institutional effects, transition in institutional logics and mimetic mechanisms present in the field, on the likelihood of hybrid organizational identity. The second part (Section 3.2) of the chapter is dedicated to the discussion of the imprinting propositions and explains each of these propositions regarding institutional complexity, identity hybridization and category contrast of the central identity claim at organization's birth.

3.1.1 Transitions in Institutional Logics

In Chapter 2, I reviewed the literature regarding how field-level institutional logics and organizational identities are related and how identity claims can be infused by logics (see Section 2.2.3). Briefly, the institutional logics perspective locates identities of organizations within broader field-level structures that both enable and constrain their behavior. The available institutional logics in a certain field provide the cognitive and symbolic elements that organizations employ to reproduce and alter their identities (Thornton et al., 2012).

The literature reflects that change in organizational identities might be triggered by plurality of, shifts in, or instability among institutional logics in a particular setting. As a matter of fact, more recent work has begun to explore how organizational identities are established and change under conditions of conflicting or co-existing institutional logics (e.g., Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Pache and Santos, 2010; Townley, 2002). An idea is that the logics in an institutional field provide a symbolic grammar and can be drawn upon as from a toolkit (Binder, 2007; Swidler, 1986) to construct distinct (Brewer, 1991) and legitimate (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001) organizational identities. This increasing institutional interest on identities implies that we can better understand what happens to organizational identity claims only by relating them to the underlying field-level institutional conditions and processes across time.

I suggest that one of these conditions refers to what happens when institutional logics in a field are in a *transition*. In Chapter 2, I established that at a particular time period, an institutional logic typically holds a dominant position (e.g., Reay and Hinings, 2005; Scott et al., 2000; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999). Several empirical studies have emphasized that, supported by certain socio-political and cultural developments in the society and the field itself, a single institutional logic will be more prominent and influential at a time than the others. As the prevailing institutional logic influences the evaluative schemes of the organizations (Ruef and Patterson, 2009), the symbolic elements and meaning structures motivating identity claims differ across diverse institutional periods. As a result, organizational identities reflect the dominant logic of the time (Gioia et al., 2000).

Yet, other logics may still exist (Dacin et al., 2002) through social categories and manifested in organizational claims, especially in times of change. That is, while institutional logics might be stable for long periods, shifts occur as a result of exogenous factors or evolutionary dynamics where the old logic becomes suppressed and a new one unfolds. Then, it is essential to identify these shifts and how they impact organizational identities. One important aspect here is the time, direction and extent of change in institutional logics (Thornton et al., 2012). While early research on field-level logics emphasized a rather instant and easy replacement of one logic by another in a

field (e.g., Rao et al., 2003; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999), more recent research has emphasized longer periods of change, conflicts and interactions among different logics.[3]

The transition from an institutional logic to another entails a difficult, timely and complex phase. A clear-cut replacement of a dominant logic is usually not probable. Instead, different field-level logics may emerge from previously existing symbolic meanings, material resources and vocabularies. Such resources, whether already available in the field or yet external to it, are translated into the new logic emerging in the field. A good example comes from Purdy and Gray's (2009) study on how competing institutional logics became prevalent in the field of alternative dispute resolution where new professional approaches were adopted from other institutional fields. The characteristics of the new logic were gradually accepted and integrated. Another empirical examination comes from Nigam and Ocasio's (2010) study of the emergence of managed care logic in the hospital field: This logic was a result of the expansion of an institutional logic in another field, health insurance, to a related field, hospitals. This suggests that the practices and narratives of one field can expand to other related ones, thus bringing about a change or transition in the dominant field logic.

Alternatively, in time, the elements of the old logic can be added into the current prevalent logic in the field. While core elements of the old dominant logic may prevail, some elements of it can also become a part of the emerging central logic. An example is Murray's (2010) study on patenting practices in scientific field: He examines how patenting practices, originally part of a commercial (or market) logic were incorporated into scientific practices in ways that reinforced the professional logic in the field, rather than completely replacing or removing it.

Still, there might be no such exchanges or combinations between different institutional logics. In other words, the practices, theories, frames and narratives of two logics might be completely separate from each other (e.g., Rao et al., 2003; Scott et al., 2000; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999). That is, they can coexist relatively independently. Most studies examining logic shifts assume that the ascendance of a new logic results in the dismantling of the previously dominant logic because of their fundamental incompatibility (e.g., Rao et al., 2003; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999). Even when this is the case, however, there is usually a period of time, a transition period, where the two logics become equally powerful and confront each other. Through transition, conflicts

[3] See Thornton et al. (2012), p.164-167 for a detailed analysis of diverse forms and sub-forms of change in field-level institutional logics.

and contradictions between the logics become stronger and much more apparent than before as they become equally accessible to all actors in the field. In fact, the pre-existing dominant logic may also provide frames and narratives to guide resistance to the new logic (Townley, 2002).

Whatever the specific form of the institutional transition is, the rise of a new logic and decline of the old one create ambiguity and an accompanying need for giving meaning to the implications of the logic change in the field (Thornton et al., 2012). Subsequently, organizations in the field try to cope with or resolve the tensions and ambiguities linked to this transition (e.g., Dunn and Jones, 2010; Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Reay and Hinings, 2009; Townley, 2002). To the extent that a new logic is on the rise or first being introduced in a field, it may entail collective mobilization by the proponents of the new logic as well as tension and conflict between them and incumbents who seek to defend the old logic and old ways of doing things (Pache and Santos, 2010; Purdy and Gray, 2009; Schneiberg, 2007). Hence, organizations find themselves in a position where they have to make decisions about whether to follow the premises of the old logic, that is, "to stick with it" or embrace the premises of the new one (Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Lok, 2010; Rao et al., 2003).

Thus, transition periods of institutional logics define a particular and significant phase in which organizations are likely to move between field-level logics or engage in blending of identity claims that draw upon these logics (Binder, 2007). Accordingly, these logic shifts often include the rise of new identity claims or they change the importance and prevalence of the existing claims by relying on the mobilization of field-level symbolic and material resources (Wry et al., 2011). Then, one can argue that the ambiguity surfacing from the shift of field-level logics result in variations in organizational claims. These claims are catalyzed by the emergence of new collective identity categories (Wry et al., 2011) or the change in the visibility of the existing ones, again due to the logic shift.

A very important mechanism by which this variation in organizational identities reveals itself is hybridization (e.g., Battilana and Dorado; 2010; Lok, 2010; Meyer and Hammerschmid, 2006). That is, in order to cope with the ambiguity and the pressures coming from diverse institutional logics, organizations may not choose to commit themselves to a single claim which is compatible with only one of these logics, but instead, seek to combine different identity claims in some unique ways by using the now accessible alternative symbolic and material resources in the field.

This effect can be explained as follows: often, organizations think and behave according to the dominant institutional logic as this logic establishes a certain meaning framework that guides the organizations about "who they are". An organization commits its resources and priorities accordingly, establishes its values and builds identity claims consistent with the dominant logic. But when this logic begins to weaken and be challenged by different beliefs and ideas, the organization is caught off-guard and loses its reference point. This is because the incoming beliefs and ideas and the new institutional logic carrying them is very likely to be at odds with prior preferences and orientations in the field or with the old logic's meaning. This brings greater uncertainty to the organization and makes it less dependent and committed to a single logic.

Following these ideas, we can argue that the perception of and tendency towards hybrid identities do not remain the same, instead, they depend on the general institutional change or the phase of institutional evolution which determine the availability and relative strength of logics at a particular time point. Logics being in transition mean that the current institutional condition encourages identity blending and hybridization at the organization-level. This is because, as logics are ambiguous and lack specificity at times of transition, organizations are provided with relatively more freedom in their efforts to alleviate the tensions (Greenwood et al., 2011). It becomes easier for organizations to combine different claims. But when institutional logics are more settled down and clear, identity hybridity will not be strongly supported. Instead, it will be more difficult for organizations to borrow and combine different identity elements.

In summary, at times of institutional transition, there will be competing cultural and material resources and higher ambiguity in the field, and thus, it would be more likely of organizations to avoid firm commitments and feel free to experiment and design hybrid identities. In this way, organizations can minimize the tension between competing expectations. In contrast, when a prevailing logic is not being challenged with a new one; or when the transition phase is over and the new logic is now undoubtedly "victorious" over the old one, it means that there is less struggle and ambiguity. Then, organizations will be strongly encouraged to reproduce the most prominent identity model at the time, a rather pure and homogenous identity consistent with the new dominant logic. Therefore, I propose that:

Hypothesis 1: *If the dominant logic in the field is in transition (if the prevalent logic is in decline or a new one is on rise), organizations will be more likely to have a hybrid identity.*

3.1.2 Mimetic Processes in the Field

Organizations operate in an institutional field composed of similar organizations. Since an organization does not act or decide in isolation, all its perceptions, practices and decisions should be assessed by being aware of its relationships or interactions with others (Mohr and Guerra-Pearson; 2005). Even though it is asserted in the institutional literature that organizations will imitate some specific traits of other organizations, studies largely fail to examine identity categorizations and identity-related attributes as an important source of emulation. This is because fields are commonly perceived in a narrow sense and it is sometimes ignored that they are formed and held together by common beliefs and identity categories (Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008). In that sense, fields form reference systems, shaping the participants' attention and identities (March and Olsen, 1995). The field can also be seen as a system of relations; relations that have evolved among organizations which define their identities based on similar claims (Mohr and Guerra-Pearson, 2005). These signify the need for the integration of social identity mechanisms resulting from imitation of others to the understanding of hybrid identities.

As the review in Chapter 2 suggests (see Section 2.2.2), recombinations of existing routines and structures into new packages can be achieved through some important mimetic processes and organizations sample from available models (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Tolbert and Zucker, 1999). While making decisions, particularly about determining who they are and how to reflect it, organizations look at similar organizations in the field and are likely to develop a tendency to emulate them (e.g., Elsbach and Kramer, 1996; LaBianca et al., 2001). In other words, an organization is impressed and encouraged by the most widespread and prominent choices and practices of other organizations in the same field.

The likelihood of a hybrid identity can also be explained by how these imitation mechanisms work, as widely circulated ideas have proved to result in or contribute to changes in individual organizations' identities (Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008). Indeed, the notion of identity is no exception with respect to field-level institutional mechanisms:

Identity formulation is a relational process that involves awareness of and comparisons to nearby peer organizations (King et al., 2011; LaBianca et al. 2001). Organizations are more likely to adopt various identity elements if other similar organizations have already done so. If we remember the core assumptions of social identity perspective, we can see that identity is the measure of organization's self-concept defined by its association and affiliation with others (e.g., Brewer, 1991; Tajfel, 1981); that is, actors are influenced by those who are similar to themselves (Tajfel, 1981). Since an organization can acquire a more positive identity through associations with other organizations (Ashforth and Mael, 1989; Dutton and Dukerich, 1991), it will be motivated to follow the others who are perceived as in the same category, sharing similar attributes with them. Thus, organizations can be adaptive social perceivers and imitators (Elsbach and Kramer, 1996) in the case of taking others as example, especially if others' identities are perceived as positive and favorable.

In the same vein, when incompatible cultural frames or identity categories are promoted, the frame that enjoys greater support from other organizations will become ascendant in a field (Rao, 1998). Hence, organizations will try to affirm or restore their identity to ensure that they follow the choices and practices of other relevant organizations. Indeed, studies (e.g., Foreman and Whetten, 2002) suggest that organizational identity has a significant effect on both cognitive and pragmatic legitimacy, lending support to the idea that an organization has strong motivation to monitor what other similar organizations do in terms of identity realization and imitate their identity claims (Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008). If we adopt this argument to the examination of the sources of hybrid identities, we can claim that when other organizations increasingly employ hybrid identities by integrating claims from different identity categories, existing members of the pure identity "camp" will be more likely to think that something is wrong with their stance, and thus, their identity. As these identity-discrepant cues cumulate (Rao et al., 2003), the now widely-embraced hybrid identity type will become much more acceptable.

This view is also supported by "boundary spanning" (e.g., Hannan and Freeman, 1989; Haveman and Rao, 2006) and "category blending" (e.g., Negro et al., 2010; Rao et al., 2005) mechanisms in a field as described in social category studies. The research on category spanning suggests that increased spanning activities shift meanings and weaken category boundaries of identity (e.g., Rao et al., 2005). Rao et al. (2005) find that penalties imposed on restaurant chefs who borrow elements from both classical and

nouvelle cuisine weakens as many straddle these category boundaries. This is an important empirical support that boundaries between identity categories are weakened when members of a category borrow from others. Penalties diminish as the fraction of companies blending them increase and this bricolage becomes prevalent in the system (Rao et al., 2005). Negro et al. (2010) also found evidence of this kind of pattern in their study of critical reactions to elite Italian wines.

This discussion suggests that the degree of spanning and blending in the field will then determine whether a focal organization will be likely to combine multiple identity claims or not: Widespread boundary spanning will cause shifts in the understanding of identity in favor of higher hybridization because the spanning encourages the act of bricolage, as boundaries will get redrawn around hybrid identity structures (Rao et al., 2005). If the extent of spanning increases, the overall identity hybridity in the field will also increase. If a sufficiently large number of organizations engage in multiple identities, a focal organization will be more likely to follow them in this orientation. This is because when the blending of different identity claims is a wide practice in a field, the organization will be less afraid about facing with penalties and being rejected by the audiences. When hybrid identities are rare, however, organizations will have few examples to turn to and little encouragement to consider it as an option.

Realization of pure versus hybrid organizational identities is therefore partly contingent on the degree with which other organizations in the field comply with the current institutional conditions. If there is a major model in the field in terms of a dominant logic and if it is largely accepted by other field members through pure identities compatible with this single logic, a focal organization is likely to follow this general practice. This is because in such a setting, the adoption of a pure identity is much more legitimized. In contrast, if other organizations in the field do not follow a single institutional logic, they might embrace plural and different identity claims and such a wide-spread orientation in the field can enable the focal organization to integrate different identity claims without a fear of losing legitimacy. Imitation may also be motivated by a desire to distinguish oneself from others, to be different (Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008).[4] However, even though a focal organization might like to differentiate itself, it will still consider its peers as the major reference point. Thus, the organization

[4] See Section 2.1.3 in Chapter 2 for a broader discussion on the motivation of organizations to be distinctive.

will be more likely to distinguish itself in predictable ways (King et al., 2011), such as following the same type of hybrid identities adopted by others in the field.

To summarize, forming a new organizational identity or rebuilding it depends on what other organizations around are doing and on the availability of differentiation or blending opportunities determined by focal organization's cognition and imitation of others' identities. Thus, above and beyond how and why ideas circulate in general, one needs to focus on what is the content and form of these ideas, that is, what kinds of ideas circulate and how the nature of these ideas change as institutional settings change. At times, when a single powerful institutional logic exists, the ideas in circulation and imitated throughout the field will have stricter category boundaries, and in turn, purer organizational identities will be common. However, when the field is enriched with different beliefs and models, the ideas in circulation and being imitated will have looser category boundaries and hybrid organizational identities will be more common.

Altogether, imitation as a field-level institutional mechanism and the density of category spanning activity as a result of imitation will make hybrid identities to spread more easily and a more recognizable and appropriate choice for organizations. Thus, I propose that:

> **Hypothesis 2:** *If hybrid identities are more common across the field, an organization will be more likely to have a hybrid identity.*

3.2. Imprinting Effects: Founding Conditions and Characteristics

3.2.1 Founding Conditions: Institutional Complexity at Organization's Birth

Another important condition that can determine the probability of hybrid organizational identities is the institutional complexity in the field when the organization was first established. As Pache and Santos put it (2010, p.455): "while institutional scholars acknowledge that organizations are often exposed to multiple and sometimes conflicting institutional demands...existing research makes no systematic predictions about the different ways organizations respond to such conflict". This is particularly true for the multiplicity of logics as an environmental imprinting condition;

there is much to learn with respect to the ways institutional complexity at organization's founding can influence its identity today.

As it is described in Chapter 2, institutional complexity is a notion referring to organizational environments and conditions where actors are influenced by varied signals and pressures stemming from multiple institutional logics coexisting in the field (Greenwood et al., 2010). Basically, prior research has touched on two facets of institutional complexity: the number of logics and the incompatibility between them. The former implies that complexity is importantly determined by the sheer number of logics at play—the higher the number of logics, the greater will be the complexity facing an organization. The latter implies that complexity is also amplified by the divergence between prescribed goals and means, and by their relative specificity (Greenwood et al., 2011). Institutional complexity becomes inevitable whenever there are visible priorities belonging to diverse logics and they are rather "settled" for extended times. Since institutional logics are prone to change, the pattern of complexity experienced by the organizations in the field will also change due to different institutional periods.

When there is more than one logic in the field, organizations confront incompatible prescriptions from these multiple institutional models. For example, academic fields function in a context where the logics of science and commerce are both in play and prescribe different behaviors. Similarly, hospitals bring together different professions, each socialized within different cognitive and normative orders. Again, accounting firms are subject to different logics at the same time; the logic of professional service and the logic of commerce. Thus, over the long term, institutional complexity unfolds, unravels and reforms in a field, creating unique circumstances to which organizations must respond (Reay and Hinings, 2009).

Institutional complexity is lower when tensions between competing logics have been worked out and this mostly happens when a field is characterized by a single dominant logic. The existence of a dominant logic does not necessarily mean that there can be no other logics available in the field. But it implies that an institutional logic is much more influential than the others. Yet, dominant logics of previous periods do not suddenly disappear. Instead, an old logic is more likely to become "sedimented" in the field where several organizational practices and decisions as well as identity categories are infused by its components. Although it may lose power and replaced by a new dominant logic, some elements of it continue to be recognized and adopted by field

members. In fact, there are several empirical studies supporting the idea that divergent logics can continue to coexist over an extended period of time (e.g., Lounsbury, 2007; Reay and Hinings, 2009), and hence, contribute to the institutional complexity of the field.

On the other hand, multiple beliefs, ideas and meanings might not be available in the field yet, or they are rather invisible since they are not fully developed yet. Sometimes the most prevalent logic in the field stays rather uncritized or unchallenged by alternative logics since "widely shared norms for them do not yet exist" (Maguire, Hardy and Lawrence, 2004). This means that, since they will be likely to experience a relatively low degree of institutional complexity, organizations will not have enough material to work with and blend. To put it in a simple way, the number and availability of institutional logics at a certain time point upon which organizations are dependent for legitimacy and recognition while building their identities will determine the level hybridity for an organization.

The above arguments suggest that we clearly need to know more about institutional complexity in fields and how it changes or develops. Within the focus of this study, one important question is, apart from the *current* institutional complexity in the field, how the degree of complexity *in the past* has an influence on organizational identities and identity hybridity at present. The previous institutional structure of the field, particularly the one defining the environment an organization is born into, must have an effect on its likelihood of embracing a hybrid identity in later stages of its life. According to imprinting theory (see Section 2.3), events and situations surrounding the creation of a new organization have a long-lasting effect on its future position and development (Kimberly, 1975; Stinchcombe, 1965). Stinchcombe (1965) proposes that organizations founded during the same historical period would have similar characteristics because they faced the same environments and challenges in terms of cultural and social forces. Given these potentially powerful historical effects proposed, an important predictor of an organization's current identity hybridization should be the degree of institutional complexity in the field at the time period that it was founded.

The enduring and path dependent nature of identity implies that early field-level configuration in terms of institutional logics can direct the attention of the organization to certain identity categories throughout its lifetime. Thus, I propose that institutional complexity at its birth has an imprinting effect on an organization's current identity and whether or not it will be prone to bring multiple identity claims together. The reason is

that, the available institutional logics at an organization's birth strongly shape the "normative core" of the organization. Accordingly, organizations make later identity decisions based on their own "reservoir" of familiar, attainable and desired identity claims; prioritizing specific identity structures (purer or more hybrid) over others.

There are studies in the literature focusing on the impact of institutions on various organizational phenomena and how these effects are contingent on the historical period (e.g., Glynn and Abzug, 2002; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999). However, these studies identify the current institutional environment as the "historical" impact and almost none of them mention or question how institutional dynamics in the past influence organization's current behaviors and likelihood of identity hybridity. Hence, there is a need for separating the early institutional complexity in an organization's life as an important imprinting effect and identify its possible influence on the organization's current identity.

Here, an underlying assumption is that the impact of the early institutional complexity at its birth will be more visible on the organization in its later years when the organization can translate them into actual claims the audience can recognize. After the cognitive schemas within the organization were inspired by the institutional complexity at its birth; the organization still needs time to process and incorporate the symbolic elements, values and expectations brought by these logics at birth. This is because, while material elements brought by specific institutional logics can be more quickly and easily adopted by an organization, symbolic systems, categories, meaning, schemas take much longer time to be actually employed and become an integrated part of an organization's identity. Thus, even though field-level institutional complexity is not manifested in the very first composition of the organizational identity, ideas and values emerged from the complexity at that time will live through audience expectations. This reserved and expected potential imprinted by the early institutional complexity will play out in later years and have an impact on the hybridity level of the organization's current identity.

The institutional complexity at the founding will still be intact and influential on the ways the organization is doing things and how it is being perceived from inside and outside. Interlaced with the historical frame of reference, inside and outside descriptions and expectations will be constructed in line with the identities of other organizations which were founded in the same period and are assumed to carry the institutional characteristics of this period. Even if current external factors are influential, deviation of

the organization from the strong and resistant demands of its initial institutional situation might trigger external sanctions from audiences. Thus, various audience groups would demand particular identity commitments from the organization in conformity with the early institutional complexity of the time it was founded, and the organization will be able to recognize and answer these expectations in its subsequent identities.

How can we specify the effect of institutional complexity in the field at an organization's birth? As the notion suggests, availability of plural logics and their unique elements will mark the initial sense-making of the young organization in terms of the recognition of multiple collective identity categories and the probability of membership on them. Thus, even long after its foundation, the organization can remember and apply to these historically specific logic elements and select and incorporate multiple identity claims.

In line with these arguments, I suggest that when institutional complexity is high at the time of the organization's birth, the availability of different perspectives in terms of beliefs and values can provide sufficient confidence and legitimacy to the organization for engaging with multiple identity categories in later years. This can be regarded as an explicit support for higher identity hybridity. However, when the opposite is true and institutional complexity was low in the field (especially when there is only a single logic dominant); it will serve as a constraint on the capacity of the organization to hybridize their identities. Then, the guideline for the organization will be to continue with a single identity claim and not to integrate multiple ones. In sum, the degree of institutional complexity will serve as a blueprint to the organization in the long-run: It will either encourage or prevent the organization to embrace multiple identity claims which are compatible with this early initial institutional condition.

Above, I established that in a field, the degree of institutional complexity will increase as the field matures since competing and recognizable institutional demands develop only in time by the accumulation of different ideas and meanings. Then, the impact of institutional complexity at birth on an organization's current identity hybridization will be largely dependent on the historical period of the field: When it is the early stage of the field, complexity level will be the lowest, and thus, an organization which was founded in this period will be more likely to have a pure identity in the rest of its life. Institutional complexity in the field will gradually increase at later time periods as the field gets mature. Thus, an organization which was founded

in a later stage of the field would be born to a world with competing institutional logics, increasing the likelihood to embrace a hybrid identity in its future.

Overall, there are strong reasons to suggest that the degree of institutional complexity at the time period when the organization was born will have a long-term influence on organization's level of identity hybridization. Hence, I propose the following:

> **Hypothesis 3:** *If institutional complexity is low in the field at an organization's founding, a hybrid identity is less likely in later years.*

3.2.2. Founding Characteristics: Organization's Identity Hybridity at Birth

In light of the fundamental assertions of imprinting theory and the notion of path dependence as depicted in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.3), there have been recent calls for paying particular attention to and exploring the link of an organization's identity to its origin and first establishment (e.g., Brickson, 2005; King et al., 2011). That is, besides external environmental factors at founding such as institutional complexity discussed above, organization's initial characteristics and capabilities will also lead to imprinting effects. Even though organization-specific factors like initial values, preferences and cognitions at birth have been largely neglected in the literature, they can potentially explain the decisions and practices at present time, and keep the organization in a certain path.

In the same manner, it is likely that identity at founding can influence particular mechanisms and patterns in the organization, which in turn exercises an influence on its identity formation. Indeed, there are strong arguments to believe that in the early life-stages of an organization, its identity may be largely shaped with respect to the directions, goals, and values of the organization; and over time, this identity becomes deeply-seated (King et al., 2011). Scholars argue that contemporary identifying features may reflect decisions made by the organization or its founders at very early times (Baron et al., 1999, Johnson 2007). This enduring and path-dependent nature of identity implies that once established, it will be hard to change this initial identity and current stance of the organization regarding its present identity will be affected by it.

Recently, there have been notable developments in the organization literature which signify a similar direction of interest towards early stages of identity emergence.

For instance, there has been recognition that there are "seeds" of identity categories that exist prior to recognition by audiences (Hannan et al., 2007). New categories are often built on existing rules, languages, and actions of experts and organizations. As another example for this direction, Lamberg and Tikkanen (2006) argue that early organizational structure and ideology affects the subsequent perception of the repertoire of practices of an organization. All these studies propose that early cognition, meanings and ideologies can potentially explain organizational decisions at later times. Overall, there are important calls for a shift of emphasis to the very early stages of emergence, including initial identity formation.

Taking the above arguments into consideration, I propose that a focal organization's capabilities and competence in building a certain kind of identity claim(s) will partly depend on its early history. I also argue that such an identity-based path dependency will be stronger and influential than any other path-dependency. Because, identity describes the way an organization defines itself and communicates its essence and core ideals to all audiences. When this essence and ideals were first established, they will be more difficult to change than any other structure or practice. As such, the content and form of early identity will have a very strong impact on any subsequent identity-related behavior of the organization.

All these arguments provide considerable insights in terms of paying careful attention to the organization's initial conditions of founding; its initial identity has a lasting effect as a core model and reference point on the identity construction of an organization. The important question is whether the organization remains within the assumptions and parameters of the given archetype over time. Because, later organizational identity probably begins with what is considered to be a "minimal identity situation" in the early days. The "primal soup" of the level of hybridity of the organizational identity at later years, then, can be this first identity assumed at birth. To be more specific, it will influence the current position of the organization in the field regarding integrating multiple identity claims.

Even though notions of identity played an important part in shaping the original inertia argument, that aspect of the argument has been forgotten in contemporary interpretations (Hannan et al., 2007). Only very recently, theoretical insights on multiple category membership underline the same type of dynamic. It is asserted that when audience members associate an organization with one concept at an earlier point in time, the (believed) fit of that organization in that concept will be enhanced, but its fit in

other types or categories will be reduced (Hsu et al., 2011). The logical implication of this idea will be that, when audiences associate an organization with multiple claims at the earliest point in time, its fit in multiple identity categories will be enhanced and sustained over years. This is also the reason why some organizations are more likely to be confident in integrating multiple identity claims while others are not.

As opposed to this, if an organization has a clear and unambiguous (pure) identity at founding, it will likely follow this route restricting the possibility of future blendings. This situation is well documented in Zuckerman et al. (2003)'s study of career paths in the feature film industry. Zuckerman and his colleagues pointed to an identity trade-off whereby a simple and clear identity facilitates initial recognition and limits the opportunities for experimentation and differentiation outside the initial identity category in the future. An early identity that spans multiple categories, on the other hand, provides flexibility to the actors in allowing a wider range of activities to offer to relevant audiences at later times. Yet, several researchers (e.g., Corley and Gioia, 2004; Dutton and Dukerich, 1991; Haveman and Rao, 2006) believe that organizations can have only pure identities at the beginning of their lives. This is not necessarily the case though; an organization might be formed on a combination of multiple identity claims. If this is true, then it can be argued that the blending is not essentially based on some planned after-changes or unintentional errors (see Haveman and Rao, 2006) but it might depend on the very first composition of the organization's identity, serving as a magnifier of capacity for future hybridizations.

The theoretical and empirical studies mentioned above imply that the issue of how early identity formation is linked with later claim-making of an organization can be approached from an audience perspective. If the hybrid identity does not have a history within the organization, that is, if hybridization is not embedded in the very heart of the organization but instead, adopted anew without strong evidence of commitment to all the identity categories combined, audience members will find it difficult to recognize and appreciate it. In other words, when an organization does not have a "tradition" of hybridization since its very founding but decides to integrate multiple identity claims for the first time at a late stage of its life, there is the probability that this hybridization will be considered by the audience as a shallow attempt rather than the expression of an authentic feature of the organization. If the audiences view organization as being committed to having a hybrid identity as early as its birth, they might be reluctant for questioning it and be more confident that organization can overcome the difficulties of

serving diverse preferences and expectations. All in all, we can anticipate that if an organization first established itself by a hybrid identity, audience will be more willing to support this identity at later periods of the organization's life.

Sometimes, researchers -especially from organizational ecology and category perspectives- object to the idea of possibility and persistence of hybrid identities by concerning the presumed difficulties of multiple category membership (e.g. Hsu et al., 2009; Hannan et al., 2007). They emphasize that having multiple identity commitments or expanding these commitments at a particular time typically includes negative outcomes including punishments from the audience and higher hazard of mortality (e.g., Hsu et al., 2009; Zuckerman et al., 2003). Within this view, increasing the level of identity hybridity by assuming higher number of categorical claims brings important difficulties and costs to the organization in terms of the additional resources needed, learning about different audiences, architectural reorganizations, complex and extensive coordination between different categories (Hannan et al., 2007).

However, it has not been identified or discussed in the literature that there might be conditions where an organization does not need to acquire larger resources and develop new capabilities for answering multiple audience tastes; because it already possesses them. Having a hybrid identity at the founding, and thus, carrying the capacity for satisfying multiple segments all along its history will bring the organization higher flexibility in terms of available resources and capabilities. Then, it will be easier for the organization to experience or initiate membership to multiple identity categories.

A general implication from these arguments would be that, organizations as "pure" starters will be more adamant and resistant to having diverse identity claims whereas "hybrid" starters will be more open and receptive to integrate multiple identity claims. For instance, even if there is a new dominant institutional logic in the field and the pressures on each field member to change and comply with this new meaning system is high, this will place less stress on hybrid starters. Hybrid starters will have a path dependency to not to be induced by such pressures because they will have the capability and expertise to attempt going beyond the premises of a single institutional logic or a cultural frame of reference. Regardless of the prevalent institutional logic or other environmental forces of the time, identity expectations from this organization will also be plural, consistent with the initial structure of its identity as a hybrid. In contrast, organizations claiming a pure identity when they were founded will be less capable and

willing to borrow elements from other identity categories even if there are institutional and social conditions available in the field supporting such combinations.

In brief, I suggest that an organization's very early identity as settled in its founding years can largely contribute to the explanation of the existence and persistence of some identity types like hybrids, which are usually considered as "uncommon"; "undesirable" or "less acceptable". The ability of organizations to relate current identity decisions to organizational history of identity claim-making and to find available elements there is the basis for this phenomenon: The initial identity hybridity will expand the range of options available to organizations in the future whereas expectations and demands from an organization started off with a pure identity will be limited with this particular identity orientation. Thus, I propose that:

> **Hypothesis 4:** *If an organization has a purer identity at its founding, it will be less likely to have a hybrid identity in later years.*

3.2.3. Founding Characteristics: Contrast of the Key Identity Category Adopted at Birth

According to Hannan et al. (2007), identity categories can be divided into two major types; namely, as having fuzzier (vague) or sharper (clear) boundaries which are determined by the degree of category contrast. As they proposed it, the notion of category contrast refers to the average grade of membership (GoM) among those with positive GoM in a category (from the vantage point of a focal audience member). It refers to the degree to which a set (category) stands out from its domain, the clarity of its boundaries (Negro et al., 2010; Hannan et al., 2007). Namely, a high-contrast condition approximates to full membership by organizations whereas low-contrast condition approximates their non-membership (Hsu et al., 2011).

The basic idea is that categories with high contrast will stand out sharply against the background as a coherent category. Such a contrast reflects a tendency of audience members to see a cluster of organizations in similar ways. This, in turn, promotes the emergence of consensus among audience members about the content, meaning and distinctiveness of an identity category (Hsu et al., 2011). On the other hand, categories with low contrast -relatively fuzzy categories- will dissolve in the background. In this situation, audience members will have difficulty in seeing the organizations which have

a membership in this category in similar ways (Kovacs and Hannan, 2010). Then, there will not be a consensus among audience members on the distinctiveness of this category.

To put it in another way, when the average contrast of a category is high, it contains few marginal members (organizations who have rather weak claims in this identity category). The organizations having a *GoM* in a particular category will tend to have very similar feature values, ones that differ from those of the nonmembers of the category (Hannan et al., 2007). This implies that the expectation by the audience members from an organization to have a *pure* identity increases with the degree of category contrast. As long as the identity category is sharp and distinctive from others, the organizations making claims to it will be expected to be strongly committed to this category and avoid membership in others in the future. In Hannan et al.'s (2007) terms the probability of audiences to use defaults increases with category contrast. Examples of poor fit, that is, "less pure" organizational identities will not be welcomed well or be viewed as an exception to the general rule. Organizations will be largely considered to be representatives of a particular identity category and not others.

Quite the opposite, a low category contrast means that this identity category contains lots of marginal members (Hannan et al., 2007) (organizations having small and weak claims in it). This shapes the perceptions of the audience in the sense of expecting *hybrid* identities from member organizations. When the boundaries of an identity category are vague and the category is not easily noticeable and separable from others, the organizations having a particular claim in this category will be expected to be "loosely-coupled" with it and to have multiple memberships in different categories. The audience members will be more confused about to what single identity category an organization should be put into (Hannan et al., 2007). Then, overall, claims of the member organizations will be expected to be more heterogeneous and diffused.

Borrowing from these theoretical discussions, I suggest that besides the level of identity hybridity of an organization at its founding, that is, when the initial hybridization level is held constant-, the contrast level of the identity category to which the organization makes its strongest claim at its birth will also impact the further likelihood of the organization to combine different identity claims in the future. Regardless of the general level of identity hybridization, the content and distribution of the organization's initial identity and the centrality (strength) of a particular identity claim at founding will also get reflected in its subsequent identity position as pure or

hybrid. Thus, I argue that category contrast of the organization's strongest identity claim at birth should be considered and investigated as another essential imprinting effect determining the likelihood of hybrid identities in a field.

But, why do we need to focus on the strongest identity claim at birth (the claim which has the highest score among organization's all GoMs)? In other words, how is it an important factor for predicting the hybridity level of later organizational identities? When an organization adopts a particular identity claim stronger than the others, a great number of interests simultaneously become vested in that particular way of seeing oneself and doing things (Boeker, 1989). But apart from signifying a purer identity on organization's behalf, another attribute of this central claim is the contrast level of the category for which the claim is made. As the processes described above suggests, the central identity claim at organization's birth may restrict or enhance the range of future claims the organization might consider due to how sharp or distinctive its identity category is seen by several audience groups.

By embracing a stronger claim and focusing on a high-contrast identity category when it is founded, an organization obviously limits the number of category memberships that might be considered in different times, under different field conditions. The specific audience expectations as well as resources, skills and investments developed around this high contrast identity category will lead to future organizational identities which are solely compatible with this category. That is, if an organization begins its life with a central claim to a high-contrast identity category, this category will probably get "sticky" and the organization will be pressured towards complying with the demands of this category throughout its lifetime. This will lead to the organization avoiding integrating claims from different identity categories. Thus, high-contrast categories which were largely present at organization's birth will have a long-term influence and push the organization constantly towards a pure identity by preventing it to embrace diverse identity claims.

In the alternative scenario, if the organization initially establishes a strong claim in a low-contrast identity category, the number of different claims or category memberships that it might consider in the future would be enhanced. This is because, the boundaries of a low-contrast category are rather ambiguous and the category is itself blurry. When this is the case, organizations will find it easier to blend different claims from diverse, even conflicting categories since audience members' perceptions will be directed towards expecting lower commitments to multiple categories instead of

focusing on only one type of claim. In a way, low contrast categories are more compatible with other identity categories. If the organization develops an attachment to this low contrast category at its founding, it will be less restricted by audience expectations towards complying with only one identity category. Since the organization will not be considered as a true representative of any category, its identity claims will be expected to diffuse among several categories.

To summarize, contrast level of the central identity category in the initial identity composition of the organization largely defines who the organization is at present. If the organization has a strong claim in a high contrast category, then it will be more difficult for it to incorporate diverse elements from other categories in the following years. Elaboration of these elements –adding or dropping them- at current time will be a function of the contrast level of identity claim which was central at organization's founding. When an organization strongly holds a central claim about "who it is" and "what its ideological and cultural essence is" in a sharp and visible category, it is likely to discourage alternative discussions and multiple ideas coming from different categories, and thus, at following years or periods, it will be less acceptable and convenient for the organization to adopt hybrid identities. Thus, I propose that:

> **Hypothesis 5:** *If the strongest identity claim of an organization at its founding belongs to an identity category with higher contrast, the organization will be less likely to have a hybrid identity in later years.*

4.

CULTURAL INDUSTRIES AND THE EMPIRICAL SETTING

In this chapter, before explaining my empirical context regarding the historical trajectory of the Turkish theatre as a cultural industry and the institutional logics shaping it, I will first discuss cultural industries in general; why they are important and how organizational identity can be studied in them. A detailed description of theatre identity and its dimensions in terms of the plays performed by theatre companies will follow this first section. I will then present a detailed historical overview of Turkish theatre's development as a cultural field since the establishment the Republic in 1923, the changing forms of creative production of Turkish professional theatres as well as the discussions and conflicts on artistic stance and modeling, all explained as components of different institutional logics which have emerged in the field across time. Overall, this historical outline will provide the basis for understanding the development of the dominant institutional logics in Turkish theatre and for clarifying their identity effects on theatre companies.

4.1. Cultural Industries

When formulating hybrid forms of organizational identities or building a link between institutional logics and organizational identity claims the type of organizational field or industry emerges as a key concern. Within some fields, there may be clearly defined and steady norms, rules and categories based on the salience of particular logics (Denis, Langley and Rouleau, 2007). In such fields, organizational responses to institutional logics may be relatively uniform and easily understood. However, some other fields or industries may be characteristically defined by different structures,

norms, categories and be open to the influence of several belief systems. These organizational fields can be referred as "pluralistic contexts" carrying distinct characteristics like diffuse power, divergent objectives and knowledge-based work (Denis et al., 2007). These contexts can also bring unique challenges such as the divergence of organizational behaviors and strategies from generally accepted thinking. Identity is particularly a debated issue in such environments which are characterized by ambiguity (Santos and Eisenhardt, 2005). In fact, behaviors and identities of organizations in such fields are more complex and often little understood (e.g., Sunley, Pinch, Reimer and Macmillan, 2008; Toynbee, 2003). Current research suggests that under such circumstances, organizations seek to combine different practices, even though they are in conflict (e.g., Bielby et al., 2005; Daunno et al., 1991; Djelic and Ainamo; 2005).

One such field is *cultural industries.* Although there are usually certain category systems in cultural fields, these may not be solid, well-established categories. Reactions of the audience or evaluations from critics are not easily predicted (Bielby et al., 2005) as in other organizational fields. When sharp categories and commitments do not exist, one can expect the pressure on the organization to consent to a single category and the penalties if it does not comply to be relatively lower. One inference can be that when there are flexible categories rather than constant ones, there will be more diversity and freedom in the identity claims of organizations.

4.1.1. General Description

As Hesmondhalgh (2002) puts it, there is something distinctive about the area of human creativity that has often been called "art". "The invention and performance of plays, stories, songs, images, and poems, in no matter what technological form, involve a particular type of creativity: the manipulation of symbols for the purpose of entertainment, information and even enlightenment" (Hesmondhalgh, 2002). With this power of influence, cultural industries have moved closer to the centre of economic action in many countries and across much of the world. Cultural industries are also considered as one of the fastest growing and most vital sectors in many economies. This growth is fueled in a large part by the nature of their knowledge, creative, and symbolic assets and these assets increasingly become the key underlying drivers of innovation

and competitiveness in both national and global economies (Thornton, Jones and Kury, 2005).

Usually, cultural industries include the organizations that design, produce and distribute products that appeal to aesthetic or expressive tastes (Hirsch, 2000; Peterson and Anand, 2004), whether they are for-profit, non-profit or public organizations. They include domains like television, cinema, theatre, other performing arts, newspaper, publishing, music recording, architecture, design and fashion. Cultural industries also create products that serve important symbolic functions such as capturing, refracting and legitimating societal knowledge and values (Jones and Thornton, 2005). Thus, they are most directly involved in the production of social meaning (Hesmondhalgh, 2002). The power they have to influence people, the varied ways in which they shape and manage the work of creation, and their huge role as the arena of manifestation for the general social and cultural change in the society make them unique (Thornton et al. 2005). They draw on and help to constitute our inner, private lives: our fantasies, emotions, and identities (Jones and Thornton, 2005). The sheer amount of time that we spend absorbing these texts produced by the cultural industries makes them a powerful part of our lives (Lampel et al., 2000).

One also witnesses that cultural industries and the ownership structures and behaviors of the organizations within them have been changing radically (e.g., Jones and Thornton, 2005; Sunley et al., 2008). Cultural tastes and habits of audiences have also become more complex. Thus, we might well view cultural industries and the texts they produce as complex, ambivalent and contested (Hesmondhalgh, 2002). As such, studying cultural industries might help us to understand how such texts take the form they do, and how these texts have come to play such a central role in contemporary society.

With organizing principles based in knowledge and aesthetics, cultural industries deserve and are slowly receiving a closer attention from organizational researchers (e.g., Beck, 2003; Jones and Thornton; 2005; Lampel et al., 2000; Power and Scott, 2004). As an example of this interest, the journal *Organization Science* published a special issue on cultural industries in 2000, where a wide variety of cultural industries like music, media, feature film, television and visual arts have been examined. A major theme emerging from these studies is that organizations involved in the creation, production, marketing and distribution of cultural goods try to navigate tensions arising from opposing imperatives like artistic and economic values, and balance their acts

accordingly (e.g., Djelic and Ainamo, 2005; Lampel et al., 2000). Thus, how such organizations manage their innovative and creative systems within the market is highlighted as an interesting question to answer. Besides, attention has been paid to the link between organizational values and relationships with external constituents (Voss et al., 2000).

Although cultural industries play such a pivotal part in societies and the transition of meaning systems within them, and despite the fact that there has been considerable interest in them, systematic, historically-informed analyses of changes in these industries are still rare. Such an analysis may help to clarify various issues debated above, such as how cultural industries are not isolated systems, but are affected by political and socio-cultural conflicts and multiplicities or, how the dynamic evolves between aesthetic, utilitarian, commercial or other constituencies. Particularly, we need further empirical investigation on the social and cultural factors which are embedded in the society and have the capacity to shape what is expected of art and entertainment.

4.1.2. Dynamism of Cultural Industries

Sociological approaches on art have focused on art worlds as social, political and cultural domains in which social relationships between key actors and their institutional environments shape artistic innovation, its diffusion and the performance of artists in the art world and cultural industries (e.g., Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1993; DiMaggio, 1987; Peterson and Anand, 2004). These studies suggest that genres and categories are crucial in terms of identities and boundaries in art fields and cultural industries. Yet, there are always innovations in art fields which often take the form of new genres and identities. Although genres, artistic styles and claims are important basis for boundaries between art categories (Hirsch, 1972; 2000), cultural industries have often shown works that defy such traditional boundaries (Djelic and Ainamo, 2005). Thus, a high degree of dynamism and hybridizations among different genres or identity categories deserves attention on its causes.

A misconception regarding cultural industries might be the quick assumption that will be made about homogenization without adequate content and contextual analysis. It might in fact be the contrary: different artistic products are produced thanks to the multiple effects of past and present meaning systems which also provide a social fragmentation in the audience in terms of expectations and tastes (Dowd et al., 2005;

Sunley et al., 2008). Supporting this, the literature on cultural industries suggest that these industries have experienced high levels of dynamism and ambiguity for long periods of time without developing dominant paradigms (Lampel et al., 2000; Sgourev, 2011). Instead, organizations in cultural industries have learned to contend with various opposing polarities: artistic values versus mass entertainment, product differentiation versus market innovation, demand analysis versus market construction, vertical integration versus flexible specialization, and individual inspiration versus creative systems (Bielby et al., 2005; Lampel et al., 2000; Thornton et al., 2005). Cultural organizations develop identities composed of contradictory elements because they accommodate actors from many backgrounds who cherish and promote different aspects of organizational identity (Glynn, 2000). But above all, the dual forces pushing organizations to be similar and unique at the same time happens to be most prevalent in cultural industries. It is widely agreed that competition in cultural industries is driven by a search for novelty (e.g., Dowd et al., 2005). However, while audiences or consumers expect novelty in cultural goods, they also want novelty to be accessible and familiar.

These contradictions put producers of cultural products in the middle of two opposing pressures. On the one hand, producers are pushed to seek novelty that differentiates products without making them fundamentally different from others in the same category. This novelty represents a recombination of existing elements and styles that differentiates, but does not break existing artistic and aesthetic conventions (Bielby et al., 2005; Djelic and Ainamo, 2005). On the other hand, there is the push to pursue innovation beyond existing limits. This type of novelty breaks new ground, often results in new types of cultural products, and may expand or fundamentally change the market (Lampel et al., 2000).

Considering this dilemma, cultural industries have been increasingly considered as complex ones with partial and ambiguous boundaries. Artists and artistic products may bring together and be nourished by different categories (e.g., Power and Scott, 2004; Toynbee, 2003; Thornton et al., 2005). Artists may even deliberately seek to go beyond existing structures, categories and routines by mixing them in a new style for the sake of being different and unique (Alexandre, 1996). So if complexity and category fuzziness are high in the field, then organizations will be more willing to hybridize when constructing their identities. Related to the ambiguity at the field-level, in cultural industries organizations may create their identities over and over again in an “ongoing” or “iterative” way (Foreman and Parent, 2008; Starkey, Barnatt and Tempest, 2000).

Some organizations are in fact like this: there are cycles, seasons, or periods of inactivity, after which the organization must seek to reproduce or re-create itself (Starkey et al., 2000). Prominent examples include music or arts festivals, special performances, trade events, cultural celebrations or major sporting events. In these types of iterative organizations, the identity formation process is repeated continuously (Foreman and Parent, 2008). One can assume that greater the time between iterations, the greater the challenge that identity creation may become. Even though not all art organizations are iterative like this, change, discontinuity and indefinite creativity can be regarded as some basic notions defining the essence of these organizations.

In addition, most of the time cultural organizations are denied the social benefits of a certain institutional configuration, thus they have fewer costs associated with deviating from this configuration (Djelic and Ainamo, 2005; Lampel et al., 2000). As often no expectation for "pure" identity categories develops in the field, we can think that claims and manifestations of different identities will be more acceptable and less penalized. We may as well argue that boundaries of identity categories remaining in a fuzzy state possibly creates an advantageous situation for cultural organizations and their audiences as this can make it easier for them to renew or adjust themselves to the world around them where new matters, conditions, ideas and concepts are introduced. While a part of the identity may remain unchanged as a core, organizations can perform some insertions and modifications around it. Transitions and adjustments in creative output (e.g., songs, movies and plays) might not necessarily be something that an organization gets punished for.

The other side of the coin reflects the influence of economic conditions on art organizations. Especially the ones with private ownership might consider hybridity as a way of dealing with financial problems and increasing their survival chances (Bielby et al., 2005; Power and Scott, 2004). When such art organizations have to operate under severe economic conditions and with scarce financial resources, they may be more willing to spread the risk by providing multiple alternatives to their audience, particularly in terms of more commercial or market-friendly offerings.

What do all of these mean for a cultural organization in a conceptual and practical sense? They can be expected to have multiple identity claims, combining them in a way to try to bring forth an identity which best satisfies the audiences. We may expect them to decide on which identity categories to engage in and to what extent. The organization will make an arrangement of its identity claims and their intensiveness and

this composition will take shape and change in terms of some invariable organizational factors as well as variable field and institutional factors.

4.1.3. Recent Empirical Insights on Cultural Industries

Recent work on cultural industries provides influential examples and important insights regarding this complexity, questioning the view of established art worlds with steady norms and rules (e.g., Djelic and Ainamo, 2005; Lampel et al., 2000; Sunley et al. 2008). Glynn's (2000) study on Atlanta Symphony Orchestra is a good example of this dynamism and complexity. In her study, Glynn summarizes the multiple - sometimes overlapping and sometimes conflicting- institutional logics and the alternative decision elements of artistic output blended by these logics. The study suggests that claims infused by different logics on the organization's identity also claim very different sets of creative outputs: Claims on the aesthetic identity of the symphony orchestra evokes resource claims consonant with artistry whereas claims on economic identity argues for a pecuniary strategy of resource deployment. Glynn (2000) concludes that the pluralism of the orchestra's identity is affected institutionally in both symbol and structure.

Another study by Glynn and Lounsbury (2005) focuses on how the blending of market and aesthetic logics worked their way into the reviews of the critics of Atlanta Symphony Orchestra: Broader cultural elements shapes localized texts but the creators of these texts are also able to construct them as a resource of discursive struggle. According to their study, multiple meaning systems in a cultural industry not only influence the organizations but all important stakeholders and as the artistic expressions and tastes change, all industry is affected resulting in diverse claims of authenticity and what is classic and what is popular (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005).

Thornton et al. (2005) and Bielby et al. (2005) both highlight cases in which art organizations, critics and audiences are situated in environments with conflicting constituencies or institutional logics where multiple demands should be answered. By focusing on the aesthetics of popular culture, Bielby et al. (2005) examined how television critics play an important role in mediating between dual demands for aesthetics and commercial evaluation of television. Another example is Voss et al.'s (2000) examination of nonprofit theatres in U.S. where they differentiate between several values of theatres which are both competing and over-lapping. Their analysis

suggests that organizations balance and, when possible, reconcile different values in line with relationships with key constituencies (Voss et al., 2000). Such studies reflect the tensions between different parties and the values they advocate are not easily resolved and at best, a compromise is done (Glynn, 2000).

A more recent study by Chan-ung (2009) again provides a good description of the observable diversification in art markets by examining the case of fine art photography galleries in New York. He conceptualizes entering other art genres as a market strategy of diversifying organizations across niches and shows that there is a high degree of cross-pollination of photography with other specific genres of art such as painting and sculpture, which indicates of an erosion of the distinction between photography and more traditional art categories.

In their exploration of the market for the emergent technology of cell phones, Djelic and Ainamo (2005) show that the transposition of a fashion logic into the high technology market for cell phones is at the same time utilitarian and cultural, albeit a product designed and marketed to customer expression. Moreover, the agents responsible for blurring the boundaries of aesthetics and utility are not always rational actors, but they often piece together and recombine cultural elements available in society in ways that often involve creative discovery.

Another interesting research about multiplicity and ambiguity of art fields is Sgourev's (2011) inductive study of the Metropolitan Opera which suggests that the organization operates within an environment of institutional discrepancies and these discrepancies are bridged through opportunistic, multivocal action patterns. His analysis shows that the Opera maneuvers between conflicting institutional demands, seeking to minimize dependence on any single constituency. Zolberg (1984) finds a similar pattern for art museums. In response to internal dilemmas and changing environmental pressures, art museums emphasized one goal over another at various times in their history. Another study of art museums (Alexandre, 1996) again reveals that the existence of multiple potential funders with competing agendas provides managers with room to maneuver in order to reach their goals. Museum curators then pursue some innovative solutions through strategies of resource-shifting trying to keep as much legitimacy and autonomy from the environment as possible. These studies and observations based on different industries are quite in sync in terms of emphasizing the conditions under which art organizations carry diverse ideological claims.

As it is already mentioned, most of the research on art fields emphasize the contradictory identity elements—normative artistry and utilitarian economics—and puts that they co-exist in cultural organizations. Even though the literature and empirical evidence so far mostly revolves around the opposition between artistic and market models, there seems to be more to the picture. While on one hand cultural organizations deal with this tension, on the other hand, they are also trying to fit themselves into a particular artistic domain. That is, most of the time, there is not a single artistic framework and approach in a cultural field, instead, they are multiple, resulting in diverse values and identity claims. Hence, an organization is subject to the influences of more than one or all. They can either try to be in compliance with a single one or to reconcile and blend several of them in their identities.

In summary, art systems and cultural industries have been accepted as more dynamic and fragmented. Organizations operating in such an environment of multiple logics (especially if it is a cultural environment) are expected to be more likely to have a certain amount of hybridization in their identity claims so that they could achieve a delicate balance of novelty and address multiple evaluations from the audience and critics, both of which are likely to benefit the organization. However, there must be some pressures against hybridization, in terms of both timing and degree. Thus, it is crucial to answer the question about the prevalence and conditions of identity hybridization of organizations in an art field.

4.2. Theatre Identity

In this study, I deal with particular issues belonging to cultural industries with respect to the Turkish theatre context. But before providing a detailed review of the Turkish theatre field and the institutional logics within it, what "theatre" is and what constitutes "theatre identity" should be addressed. An investigation of theatre as a cultural industry suggests that search for a distinct identity has always been a central concern of modern theatre (Pavis, 1998; Pekman, 2002; Şener, 2007), which pretty much revolves around the following questions: What is the role of theatre in a country? What should it be? What is the identity of a theatre company and its audience? What is the major goal of theatre and the creative people in it? What kind of outputs (plays and stage performances) should a theatre company provide and why? This section will

briefly explain the general artistic environment of theatre as an art domain, showing both how these questions are asked and what kinds of answers are sought, as well as how we can identify and label them.

4.2.1. Identity-Defining Features of a Theatre Company

As it was already explored in Chapter 2, organizational identity can be defined by an organization's membership in the social categories that are used to identify and specify what to expect from it (Hannan et al., 2007). In that sense, identities serve an important function as cognitive interfaces between organizations and their audiences or stakeholders (Hannan et al., 2007). They also provide a source of agency (Sewell, 1992) that enables organizations to shape how they are perceived and evaluated. Within this conceptualization, *identity-defining features* determine an identity, which are the features of organizations, or their product offerings that are observable by external audiences and help these audiences interpret and assign a certain identity to them (Glynn, 2008). Thus, presence and absence of specific features and how they are prioritized can be regarded as the main mechanisms to establish an identity. This general theoretical framework of organizational identity was already outlined in Chapter 2.

Cultural or art organizations have some unique features defining their identity, which are distinct from those that belong to other types of organizations. Therefore before starting to discuss primary identity-defining features for a theatre company, we should first understand what "theatre" is. Theatre is a dynamic form of performing art which focuses on the human experience (Pavis, 1998). The word theatre comes from the Ancient Greek word *theatron* which means "seeing place" and this meaning still applies today. Theatre is about an audience witnessing a production or a theatrical event (Downs et al., 2007). Thus, as a famous theatre director, Peter Brook (1968) says; "all that is needed for theatre to occur is an empty space, someone to walk across that space, and someone to watch". Theatre has some qualities that make it a unique art domain. First, theatre is always *live* (Downs et al., 2007) which means that a theatre performance cannot be replayed like a movie. No two performances are ever exactly the same: "No two Hamlets ever ask the question *–to be or not to be-* in precisely the same way" (Downs et al., 2007, p. 15). The second quality that makes theatre unique is that it is always about human beings. In a general sense all art domains are about human beings.

However at its most basic theatre always expresses something fundamental about the human condition with the intention to touch, arouse, inform, entertain or enrage the audience by portraying aspects of themselves (Pavis, 1998). Its third unique quality is that it is often a collaborative form of art, that is, plays often use lights, sound, movement, words and actions (Downs et al., 2007).

As such, theatre identifies particular type of artistic activities and distinguishes these activities from others, thus constituting the cognitive framework for theatre identity. When theatre companies make choices about what plays to perform, they simultaneously make choices about how the audiences perceive them and put them into relevant categories. By selecting certain types of plays and deciding about their place and importance in the repertoire, theatre companies can assume a particular identity. Thus in general, the features of the plays that a theatre company selects and performs comprise the attributes that the audience will apply to it and form its identity.

And (1983) suggests that "theatre first and foremost depends on the formation of a viewpoint and requires a structural expression". This viewpoint or core value is indeed what builds up a theatre's identity. Hence for grasping its organizational identity, we have to measure these core value(s) or ideology of a theatre (Voss et al., 2006); and this measurement can be made primarily through assessing the plays the theatre company chooses to perform, which transmit the key defining features of its identity.

To further elaborate, theatres have a declared artistic mission and ideology; they have certain ambitions and their imperatives lie in presenting these ambitions. More than anything else, theatre's identity is disclosed in its aesthetic aims and output (Connolly, 2003) and today's modern theatre can be seen as a result of the complex relations and interpretations of diverse styles and forms. In this space of different styles and forms, we may mark different positions by which theatre companies express who they are. As such, different artistic claims have their most profound effects in theatre industry on the plays; that is, what the theatre companies perform as their ultimate supply to the audience.

But what kind of aspirations, ideologies can a theatre have? What different identity categories are there in a theatre field based on the play they produce? Identity of cultural organizations is special and complex. Therefore the answer to this question is: several, as the field typically contains divergent expectations of the core mission of theatre (Voss et al., 2006). For example, theatre can be seen as an arena for highlighting artistic achievements versus a showcase of social rank or as a community-embedded

institution versus one of national prominence (Glynn, 2000). As an example, in their study Voss et al., (2000) distinguished five organizational value dimensions in theatre industry: artistic, pro-social, financial, market and achievement values.

According to Hirsch (1972), artistic organizations rely on self-oriented creativity that expresses "subjective conceptions of beauty, emotions, or some other aesthetic ideals". Voss et al. (2000) argue that similarly, artistic-oriented theatres likely perceive greater value congruence with key members of the artistic community. Theatres which have high pro-social value seek to make important societal contribution that improves the community by providing wider access to and appreciation of the arts. Again, according to Voss et al. (2000) rather than investing resources and activities in the community or the artists, financially oriented theatres perceive their value as closely aligned with its funders and embrace the importance of financial stability. Finally, some theatres emphasize the entertainment that brings ticket-buying customers to the theatre, producing less emphasis on other values (Voss et al., 2000). Even though such values seem to be in contradiction, seemingly distant identity elements like normative, artistry and utilitarian (Lampel et al., 2000) could be found together in a theatre organization as they help the theatre to cope with dynamic environments and offer more points of attachment from stakeholders. As such, there may be more than just a single objective or orientation for a theatre.

Its founder(s)' individual understanding, ideology and choices also bring a great impact on which of these values will be supported and prioritized in the theatre as an organization (Voss et al., 2006). The owner or members of the theatre may designate a "popular entertainment theatre" or "commercial theatre", a "politically engaged theatre" or a "high-brow theatre". Once the theatre is formed that way, it is expected to have a long term impact on its future identity.

Given these possibly diverse goals and interactions among them, theatre identity unfolds across several important dimensions. A theatre's work is invariably informed by a variety of unexpressed, intuitive artistic objectives, owing as much to its activity as an organization, to audience reaction, or to political and financial expediency as to any declared ideology (Connolly, 2003). Here, artistic-commercial, elite-democratic and local-international are some of the key dimensions in the theatre field that are also ignited by broad societal-level meanings (Voss et al., 2006). Thus, we may expect that some dimensions and particular identity claims come to the forefront while others slip into background; being appealing to some constituents but not others. Accordingly,

diverse identity claims like *artistic* or *utilitarian*, are manifested in the features of the plays selected for a seasonal repertoire; and the values of the theatre are encoded in the plays performed. In other words, theatre identifies itself with a label and this label is introduced and supported by the production of certain plays, offering a fulfillment of the theatre's artistic vision.

At this point, one should also mention the role of critics in the formation of theatre identity. This is because critics constitute a very important audience type for an art organization as they are likely to do the hard work of clustering, labeling and schematizing (Becker, 1982). They play a crucial role in helping the spectators to understand and interpret the plays, and in a not so indirect way, the identity of the theatre company. In fact, critical assessment of artistic styles, genres, themes, artists and particular performances in theatre is what enables the general audience to assess the art work. Critics apply aesthetic systems to specific art worlds and arrive at judgments of their worth and explications of what gives them that worth. Then audience members take these judgments into account and decide what to support emotionally and financially (Becker, 1982). As a result, the aesthetic principles that critics apply become what determines a theater's identity. That is why, it is important to know and examine what the critics write about in their reviews of theatre performances.

4.2.2. Dimensions of a Theatre Play

After laying out the key role of plays in manifesting particular theatre identities, the next important question is what characteristics of a play or performance we should look for, so that we can assess it as a carrier of a theatre's artistic identity. There should be some sort of prior consensus on what kind of standards will be applied (Becker, 1982). For instance, almost all reviews by theatre critics include the general plot of the play, thematic content and its genre. Theater people or critics also make judgments of whether a particular play has a particular style or not. The use of such criteria for evaluation has often been viewed as of primary importance in theories of aesthetics (Shrum, 1996, p.44).

Following this idea, I conducted a thorough analysis of several reference books and other resources (e.g., Archer, Gendrich, and Hood, 2010; Downs, Wright and Ramsey, 2007; Gassner and Quinn, 2002; Mitchell, 2009; Pavis, 1998; Çalışlar, 1995) on theatre. According to this comprehensive review, I identified the following

dimensions of a theatre play which I believe best reflect the identity-defining features of a theatre company's identity: *Theatrical form* , *genre, thematic content, origin* (local vs. foreign play writer), *time* (classic vs. contemporary play) and *local context*. As this list suggests, search for alternatives for a theatre take place on several fronts, all of which will be defined here.

4.2.2.1. Theatrical form

Probably, the fundamental distinction in terms of theatre identity comes first and foremost from the different "performance systems" or "theatrical forms" accepted, which encourages specific methods, styles and techniques (And, 1983). Theatrical form refers to the combination of attributes and techniques that produce a distinct dramatic style; execution, organization, costume, make-up, staging, language and acting style relevant to a play performance (Mitchell, 2009). There are two major theatrical forms or structures of a play: *open form* and *closed form* (And, 1970; 1983). If more recent innovative pursuits and experimentations such as "epic theatre", "absurd theatre", and "total theatre" are cast aside, western theatre basically grew on the Aristotelian drama and its closed form whereas Eastern theatre is mostly characterized by an open form and presentational style of production (Pekman, 2002; Tekerek, 2001). Now I will discuss the core elements of these two theatrical forms such as the level of abstraction, structure of the plot (time, place, action and characters), use of language, music and dance, and the relationship with the audience.

Open form (also defined as *non-Aristotelian, non-dramatic, demonstrative,* or *narrative theatre*) emerged as an outcome of the general aesthetic pursuit in eastern societies (Pekman, 2002; Tekerek, 2001; Yüksel, 1995) reflecting the world as a whole in *abstraction* which is the primary aesthetic dimension and ideal in these cultures and their theatres (Tekerek, 2001). This way of thought brings generalization, boundedness in time and place, and treatment of the individual within the boundaries of a context and external events (Çalışlar, 1995). Within open form, structure of plays is not based on a densely woven pattern of events in a cause-effect relationship; instead, there is a loose pattern and an episodic structure. Thereby, each part and section becomes a distinct and independent unit, having a core in it and separated from the whole. Instead, a unity is established from fractions, multiplicity and variation. Action is neither single nor closed; many events are present side-by-side lacking continuity (And, 1970).

In open form plays, one finds a circular action; it is not single and does not follow a straight line but instead develops out of variation and contrast (Çalışlar, 1995). Action seems to be infinite without a certain beginning and end where themes, situations and patterns are repeated. Time and place in the plays are free from the notion of continuous flow and development. Events are juxtaposed and lack continuity, they do not advance towards an end (Çalışlar, 1995). In other words, plays "do not have a forward movement on a line determining internal and external development towards a specific goal; they draw circles through variation, and repetition" (And, 1970). This episodic style mostly applies variation and otherness. Open form also casts out the integrated unity among the character in the play (protagonist) and the structure (external world, series of events, subject, theme and language of the play). The protagonist is not the axis of the play, action is not determined by the behaviors of the protagonist, to the contrary; the external world determines his/ her behaviors.

Open form is also closely related with a particular staging and acting style of the play, defined as *presentational style*: the expressions in the play, the arrangement of the stage, costumes, etc. are all highly abstract and symbolic. The relation or communication with the audience is also unique; audience is usually directly addressed. Through direct addressing, they are informed about what is going on the stage and they are commented (Tekerek, 2001). Language of the play involves discontinuity, variety and multiplicity, the construction of the language is multi-faceted. Language is not a direct link connecting the protagonist to the whole or expressing his thoughts and feelings. Instead, it provides his independence from the whole; it makes him a third party (And, 1983). Besides language, there exist many other assortments within the play as well, such as poetry, music and acrobatics. By using several fiction techniques, some "non-dramatic" elements are invoked like showing films, and some other visuals.

As the opposite of open form, closed form (also referred to as *Aristotelian, dramatic* or *illusionist theatre*) can be identified with the unity of action and time and place, representing the major aim of giving an ideological unity (Çalışlar, 1995). In total contrast to open form, it depends on the integrated unity between the person and the structure. Action is single and moves along a straight line with certain beginning, rise and ending points; that is, acts of the play are the essential conditions of one another, each determining the next one. In this straight, to-the-point action style, there is centralization and symmetry, affinity and proportion in every scene (And, 1970). The major theme persists in each act; thus acts are not fragmented, divided or cut, there is an

identity between the parts and the whole. The focus of the play is the protagonist and his behaviors. Enactment of thoughts and feelings are identified in his behaviors with delicate details. Flow of the time is common, single-lined, narrow and uncut. What is primal in form is proportion, symmetry and logical unity (Nutku, 2008). In addition, language is an unmediated link that connects the protagonist directly to the play. There is no form variety in the play; it develops in a closed and concentrated way. Proportion and symmetry, a harmonious world view, order and sequential configuration rules the play (Çalışlar, 1995).

Closed form is also associated with a unique staging and acting style called as *representational style.* In this style, every expression, costumes, the physical stage are as realistic and detailed as they can be. There is no direct contact with the audience that can break the illusion on the stage; the audience is mostly framed and conditioned. Close form also uses language as a realistic means of communication in the play. Nothing "non-literary" is included in the play; the audience is provided to "live" what is going on at stage and the performers just "act".

All in all, besides genre and thematic content a great deal of conscious concern is given to *form* both in playwriting and staging domains of theatre, and thus, theatrical form constitutes one of the major attributes of theatre identity. Specific artistic style (like *realism, naturalism, expressionism, absurd theatre)* is strongly connected to theatrical form, and as such, could also be considered as another identity-defining play attribute. However, unlike other attributes which are rather firmly settled and recognized, artistic style heavily depends on "the way" a theatre artist or critic looks at the play and interprets it, which makes *style* more of a subjective dimension. Whereas the other attributes like theatrical form, genre and theme that I've identified and empirically employed in this study are more detectable by analyzing and coding the content of the play information in the theatre anthologies, bibliographies, volumes and other resources, style is hardly available. It requires a great deal of artistic knowledge and expertise on theatre to identify it. Considering all these, I did not code "artistic style" as a play attribute for my data where its absence is pretty much offset by the acknowledgment of theatrical form as open or closed. Nevertheless, one should bear in mind that artistic style might be treated as another dimension if it can be successfully spotted and classified.

4.2.2.2. Genre

Along with the theatrical form and the subject matter (content) of a performance (which will be discussed in the following section), another most important and frequently referred dimension of a play is its “genre”. “Genre” is a French word meaning "category" or "type." Studies on art worlds suggest that genres are crucial in terms of identities and boundaries in art fields and cultural industries (e.g., Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1993; DiMaggio, 1987; Peterson and Anand, 2004). They operate as labels, which suggest to audiences the kinds of pleasure which can be attained through experiencing the product (Becker, 1982). Genres, in a similar way, are very indicative to assess the plays performed in the theatre field and because of this; they are a very important part of my empirical data coding in this study. However, I should highlight that the concept of genre in my study is not used in the sense of the general artistic system of classification. Although it is true that genres can constitute competing groups into which the population of art works in a field can be partitioned (DiMaggio, 1987), it is not necessarily the only criterion. Hence, one should be aware of the different conceptualizations of genre in terms of broader or narrower scopes.

For example, sometimes genre is conceptualized in very broad terms and identified with the particular art field itself such as dance, movie, literature, music, or painting (e.g., Janssen, Kuipers and Verboord, 2008). In this study, it has a rather narrower scope and technical meaning. The choice of genre in theatre reflects the writer's point of view towards his/her subject (Mitchell, 2009). That is, it refers to the specific type or tradition of the writing which is then represented in performance. For instance, the distinction between tragedy and comedy and other genres is indeed crucial for classifying and labeling a theatre play. It is even claimed that if we know nothing more than the genre of a play, we can already guess something about how it will be perceived. Lots of studies on cultural fields or industries have examined genres in similar meanings. For example, several studies focus on film genres, as a core element in the analysis of creativity in the motion picture industry (e.g., Hsu, 2006; Zuckerman et al., 2003).

The two oldest genres in theatre, dating back to the fifth century BC in Ancient Greece, are *tragedy* and *comedy* (Archer et al., 2010). According to Pavis’ *Dictionary of the Theatre* (1998); tragedy is a play portraying a disastrous human action, often ending in death. “The tragic story imitates human actions in which the prevailing note is

suffering and pity, until the moment of recognition by the characters of one another, or of a realization of the source of the affliction" (Pavis, 1998, p.414). Comedy, on the other is traditionally defined by three criteria that oppose it to tragedy: As a genre it has humble origins and happy endings, and is intended to make the spectators laugh (Pavis, 1998, p.63). As Mouron (1964, p.63) puts it, "tragedy plays on our [spectators'] deepest anxieties, comedy on our [spectators'] defense mechanisms against them". In more contemporary theatre, *drama* is added to them as the other major genre in the eighteenth century France[5] (Pavis, 1998) and it is defined as a serious, but not tragic, play dealing with middle, or lower class characters (Gassner and Quinn, 2002). In other words, drama is a genre somewhere between comedy and tragedy presenting many spectacular actions and aiming for a synthesis between extremes and periods (Mitchell, 2009).

Melodrama, tragicomedy, satire and *farce* can also be listed as the other most traditional and common genres (Archer et al., 2010). For a long time, these major genre categories have individually supplied a typology for basic criticism of theatre plays, defining outlines and the broad distinctions among them. However, today's wide variety of performances and the expansions and introductions of styles necessitate the use of a larger set of genres (Mitchell, 2009). Many experimental theatre examples do not fit into the traditional genre categorizations, but regular spectators will find that most plays do indeed fall into one of the types as mentioned. As such, many critics frequently apply genre description such as "a fantastic comedy", "a musical satire", "a historical drama", "an epic tragedy" (Mitchell, 2009) which provides evidence that a theatre play can have overlapping genres. Such mixes of various genres can raise greater interest in the audience, increase irony effect or express ideas that cannot be limited to a single genre (Downs et al., 2007). As Archer et al. (2010) suggest, the tragedy of *Hamlet* becomes all the darker when juxtaposed with the low comedy of the gravediggers. Similarly many of Shakespeare's comedies have very serious elements (Archer et al., 2010, p.69).

Each genre may also have subgenres. For example, a subgenre of comedy is sentimental comedy which takes an entertaining look at the troubles of everyday people while situation comedy takes a light look at comic situations. Dark comedies on the other hand allow the audience to laugh at the dark or absurd side of life (Downs et al.,

[5] Although the Greek word *drama* (action) gave rise to similar terms in many European languages which are used in reference to theatrical and dramatic work, *drame* in French only refers to a specific genre – bourgeois drama, which is introduced in the eighteenth century (Pavis, 1998).

2007, p.136). We can also tackle the repeatedly brought up “high brow” “low brow” distinction in terms of the genre(s) of the play. That is, there are high-brow genres like tragedy, dram, tragicomedy, historical play and low-brow ones like farce, vaudeville, melodrama, musical, and cabaret. Therefore the notion that some theatres are “popular” or “commercial” and the others as “serious” as an organizational identity has very much to do with the genre types that these companies choose to perform.

4.2.2.3. Thematic content

The reviews of a play by theatre critics generally include its detailed plot summary which reveals the core idea or *motif* of the play. The plot is a unified arrangement of incidents in which characters, meanings, language and visual elements come together to comment on a single subject (Downs et al., 2007). In other words, plot is what happens; it is the main story of a play and theme(s) are brought out from this general story. As a definition, the statement about life, the central idea or the moral can be referred as the *theme* (Pavis, 1998) and it has a central value regarding the play. It is what the play means, the ideas it is trying to communicate to the audience. If plot is the series of actions in the play, theme asks what the sum of all these actions means.

A play and its performance are focused around some pre-established theme(s). They are more or less conscious and persistent patterns of the play text (MacGregor, 2003). For some plays theme might represent a complicated philosophy whereas for others it might purely be a question or idea about a simple human condition. Similarly, the playwright and the actors can choose to treat a single dramatic theme or situation, or like in genre, the theatre production may have multiple themes (Downs et al., 2007). They can be detected when the production creates recurrent images and contents. In fact, some major themes are being interpreted and reinterpreted in the work of theatre companies producing performances. This is not to say that themes are all repetitive; rather, theatres constantly interpret and are affected by their broader social, political and cultural context (MacGregor, 2003). Besides the obvious question of “what is the play’s theme?” critics and spectators usually ask the following questions to themselves for understanding the thematic content of a theatre production: What does the play’s theme say about human nature? What actions or events in the play manifest this theme? Is the play theme universal? Does it apply to human beings of any social class in any period? How does the play theme apply to today’s social or cultural climate?

One should also note that the theme of a play is more often implied than directly stated. Most of the time themes are not revealed through action; in other words, it is made clear without spelling it out (Downs et al., 2007). Consequently, the theme is often open to interpretation of the audience. Every person who interprets a play may track down an infinite number of themes in the text and the performance. Thus, it would be practically impossible to describe all the forms in which a theatrical theme may be detected in theatre as an art domain. Nevertheless, theatre critics take on the task to unearth the main thematic structure and thereby make the play easily explained or understood as much as possible (Pavis, 1998). Moreover, there are some particular themes that theatre draws widely on. Life and death, love, marriage, friendship, the Divine, religion, the inevitable passage of time, war, freedom, economic and social struggles can be listed as some of these common themes (e.g., Çalışlar, 1995; Pavis, 1998). Pavis (1998) recommends that the best way for unraveling the thematic content of a play is to place the thematic elements together which seem related and belong to a same central theme category. For my empirical investigation of themes, I followed this suggestion from Pavis: First I listed all play themes available in my dataset in an unconstrained manner. Then I combined similar themes together and created a number of broader theme categories. Further details will be provided in Chapter 6.

4.2.2.4. Origin

Another important part of a theatre company's ambition lies in the local vs. universal dichotomy. That is, a theatre can choose to reflect the dispositions and tastes of the local context, or alternatively, the theatre can move beyond what is local and instead try to be a part of a larger environment. Regarding the local vs. universal distinction, there is the issue and ongoing debate on whether theatre should be a carrier of national culture and identity and to what extent (e.g., And, 1983; Şener, 1998). The claim that theatre should manifest a unique culture leads to preference of domestic works over others. In this frame of mind, it can be expected that only a limited number of foreign plays are represented in seasonal repertoires, contemporary work being even less present. Then, besides plays by local playwrights, only "universally accepted classics" or "modern plays which has proven its attractiveness for the local audience" would be represented. Furthermore, only the local plays which would not inspire disputes would be selected. Alternatively, if a theatre company did not assume such a

mission, it would not perform only local plays but might well extend its preferences to different examples across the world. In the Turkish theatre context, this distinction corresponds to the choice of staging "domestic" (Turkish) plays as opposed to "foreign" (non-Turkish) plays based on the nationality of the playwright.

4.2.2.5. Classic play

One of the essential dimensions of theatre identity is the distinction between classic (more conventional) plays versus contemporary plays. This identity element coincides with the notion of "artistic authenticity" by Glynn and Lounsbury (2005). If we adapt the "artistic authenticity" notion to theatre, we can define it as the repertoire that consists of plays which are established masterworks. The distinction between a "popular" or "commercial" theatre and a "serious" one, as an important point of debate also very much has to do with playing or not playing classic pieces. In fact, theatre now has a long history and a recognizable catalogue of "classic works" (MacGregor, 2003). Yet it might be argued that theatrical work is neither "fixed masterpiece" (both as text and performance reflecting an ideology of superiority (Harding, 2002)) nor "a means of popular distraction" as they may suggest two poles on a continuum rather two opposing possibilities.

4.2.2.6. Local context

The final dimension of theatre identity, local context, refers to whether a domestic play (i.e., a play written by a native playwright) explicitly identifies the particular social, political, economic, historical or cultural conditions in the country. In other words, this dimension reflects whether the issues, ideas and concepts raised in the play are created and developed with a distinctive local emphasis.

There is agreement among theatre researchers, historians and critics that no single element can determine the identity of a theatre company. That is, no single play dimension can tell us what the theatre identity is. Rather, a combination of distinct attributes of the plays performed on stage could say much more about a theatre's identity than anything else. Therefore, I conducted my empirical analysis based on all dimensions depicted above, on which theatre world has a significant consensus.

4.3. Empirical Setting: Turkish Theatre Field

My framework for historically evaluating Turkish theatre is based on multiple aspects including the general characteristics of the field throughout its life-time until 2000s, the density and diversity of theatre activities, type of involvement of the state, conditions for creativity, behaviors of the theatre companies, their ownerships and relations, and especially, what kind of an artistic or creative model they adopt, visible in the characteristics of their artistic production and performance. Here I am interested in this cultural industry as a system of production by keeping my very attention on individual organizations and their offerings (as the plays performed on stage).

I read related published sources as my primary data source to construct my framework on the context of Turkey in general and the development of Turkish theatre in particular until the present day. In this respect, the qualitative analysis of several theatre historians, critics, and academics' publications, whether books or articles, on Turkish theatre, their bibliographies and reviews, published theatre histories, and journals and newspapers were used to detect the evolution of the field and the related institutional logics in force. Besides utilizing academic and art and culture journals specialized on theatre where comprehensive information on plays, several critiques on performances and general discussions and debates are presented, I also consulted individual archives of the two big public and other private theatres including the history of the company, their present and past repertoires, their mission and values.

Along with collection and examination of historical documents, twelve semi-structured interviews were conducted with diverse participants, such as theatre managers, general art directors, public relations managers, and dramaturgists. In these interviews, I sought to examine participants' views and perceptions in order to get a better understanding of the current state of the field and how it has changed across years with respect to macro meaning systems. Besides industry-related general questions and recollections from the past, organization-specific questions were also directed to be able to better understand how the objectives and artistic motivations of a theatre company emerges, the process for selecting the plays to be performed and composing of the seasonal repertoire, theater companies' relationships with the audience, other theatres companies, the state and other stakeholders.

4.3.1. Early Era of Turkish Theatre

Before drawing a detailed portrayal of the institutional logics in Turkish theatre field, I will first discuss the beginning of theatre during the Ottoman Empire, even before the Republic, since the discussions from that time have significantly contributed to the perception of modern theatre as an art form in Turkey.

Generally, "Turkish theatre" refers to the period extending from the drama performances during the Ottoman Empire to the modern theatre in today's Turkey (Şener, 1998). Turkish theater dates back to Seljuks and Ottoman Periods, when entertaining folk plays were displayed in the festivities celebrating, for example, weddings and birthdays (And, 1983). *Meddah* (a public storyteller), *Kukla* (a type of puppet show), *Karagöz-Hacivat* (shadow theatre) and *Orta Oyunu* (a kind of open air theatre) were the leading styles of this Turkish traditional folk theatre and remained common in everyday life until the beginnings of westernization initiatives (Tekerek 2001). In fact, the theatre of Turkish people who immigrated to Anatolia from Asia and that of the Seljuks and Ottomans before western influence were all accepted to be traditional (See Table 4.1 for the historical timeline of Turkish theatre).

The “traditional theatre” title covers two main sources; village theatre which belongs to rural area and folk theatre which had emerged at cities, especially in Istanbul, as the capital city (And, 1971). Both these sources have their origins in Eastern Mediterranean culture and even if they were not related to one another, they carry several similarities that separate them from western theatre. First of all, they are stageless theatres that do not need written texts, depending heavily on improvisation. Songs, dances and word plays are their central features. The element of comedy is primal. Imitation reserves a critical place in these traditional plays and they usually benefit from contrasts in verbal expressions (Pekman, 2002; Tekerek, 2001). Maybe the most important point is that they are not *realistic*. They depend on methods such as presentational style and abstraction. In fact, they are open form and/or presentational performances in every sense (And, 1970; see section 2.6).

Village plays in Anatolia during the Middle Ages were performed at ceremonies celebrating times of plenty. The Central Asian traditions of Turks, who started to settle in Anatolia in the 10th century, were integrated with those of the inhabitants of Anatolia and the interaction between the various tribal societies paved the way for new plays (Karadağ, 1998). The influence of the ancient civilizations of Anatolia, ethnic groups,

Shamanism and the Islam beliefs later adopted by the Turks in Anatolia can easily be seen in these plays (And, 1983). The dramatic performances, dances and comic court entertainments of the Seljuks who settled in Anatolia in the 11th century and established a powerful empire are well known (Pekman, 2002).

After the Seljuks, the Ottomans continued this tradition of public festivities and comic shows and dances performed for various occasions. *The Meddah*, as an impersonator reciting a dramatically presented story with appropriate gestures and voice modulation was one of the elements of folk theatre at the time. *Kukla* (puppet show), became popular at the end of the 16th century and adopted its final name after the 17th century. Shadow Theatre was first performed in Anatolia in the 16th century and fully adopted the leading characters *Hacivat and Karagöz* in the 17th century (And, 1983; 1971). Afterwards, the significant contributions of the merchants' guilds to traditional theatre led to a new style: *Orta Oyunu* or Turkish Commedia del'Arte. In the 16th and 17th centuries they used to perform war plays, in addition to dance and music shows at court and other entertainments.

Following this long period of traditional theatre, the Ottoman Empire's adoption of a western orientation in the 19th century brought about a huge change in the fields of culture and arts. In the *Tanzimat* period (Reformation) between 1839 and 1876, a series of changes took place in state and social life (see Table 4.1). The major characteristic of this period is that an empire that had been living relatively disconnected from western culture for centuries ambitiously turned towards the West and its institutions. Although dynamics preparing this period were multiple, a bottom-up public initiation was out of radar. Tanzimat was achieved by the efforts of intellectuals and high-level state officials who longed and spoke out for a new social order and maybe more importantly, as the outcome of the sum of the extreme political and economic conditions which were imposing a radical change. This acceptance of western orientation brought about important changes in the fields of culture and arts; inevitably, theatre was also widely shaped as an extension of this orientation.

During this period, contacts were established with western theater, which were encouraged by the imperial palace and high-ranking state officials (And, 1983; 1971). A theatre practice and literature in the "western sense" were established along with the general westernization movement. The former traditional forms and expression styles of the Ottoman society were put aside and new expression styles were imported from the west (Pekman, 2002). As an example of this western influence, a style called *Tulûat* (a

kind of improvisation) started during the second half of the 19th century as the elements of *Orta Oyunu* were adapted to those of the Western theatre. Before the western influence, there were no written plays; actors used to improvise. But with *Tanzimat*, actors began to perform written western plays combined with traditional techniques. The characters of traditional theatre were modernized and plays were performed on European-style stages with the actors wearing European costumes, and with sets modeled on those of western theatre. Even though traditional theatre forms remained, they were pretty much pushed to the outer circles of the culture world. Foreign companies visiting Turkey cooperated with Turkish actors as well.

The first original Turkish play *Şair Evlenmesi* (The Marriage of the Poet) was written by İbrahim Şinasi (1860) in the liberal atmosphere of the day (Table 4.1). Theatre people began to be actively involved in experiencing, adapting, transporting and producing performance styles from the west. The same years also marks the beginning of *Molière* translations and adaptations (Şener, 1998). Not only the first theatre institutions and companies were established but drama theory and theatre critique were also introduced (Çalışlar, 1995). Meanwhile, genres from western theatre including comedy, tragedy, historical play and melodrama were adopted (Nutku, 2008). Thus the general observation is that this is the period when obvious links to the West were built and all sorts of material from western theatre began to be imported.

After the *Tanzimat* period, particularly with the declaration of the Second Constitution (*İkinci Meşrutiyet*) in 1908, theatrical activities increased. In this new Constitutional Period, the impact of westernization continued where the structures of western theatre introduced in the previous decades were settled. Through these years the goal of establishing a European-like theatre inevitably led to translation and adaptation of European plays as well as the production of local plays under European influence (And, 1983; Nutku, 2008). *Molière, Goldoni, Corneille, Racine, Shakespeare, Dumas, Hugo, Schiller* and various melodrama writers were among the translated play writers (And, 1971). Adaptations, in specific, can be treated as the outputs of the effort to make western plays more understandable and accessible for the Turkish audience as these plays were totally unknown to them.

Those years were also marked by the first public debates over theater imitating the western style versus traditional forms. An important theater critic of the era, Teodor Kasap strongly emphasized the need for creating an original Turkish theater based on traditional forms and brought forth severe criticisms to imitations of western styles. On

the other hand, an opposition was formed by famous literary figures including Namık Kemal, a playwright, who considered traditional forms rather primitive and suggested that they had to turn to the West and its 2500-year theater tradition in order to produce good Turkish plays. The juxtaposition of new western institutions and old traditional ones brought about a separation on the long-running debates.

Many theatre companies of the Tanzimat continued their operations during the *Meşrutiyet* period: *Minakyan, Kavuklu Hamdi, Küçük İsmail, Ahmet Fehim,* and *Kel Hasan* were among these artists. More and more, new companies were established (And, 1971; Çalışlar, 1995). At this time, most of the amateur companies were based in Istanbul and toured the provinces. Yet, theatre groups began to face some problems with respect to the implementation of western theatre and its rules. One of the main concerns was the lack of an acting style at stage compatible with western theatre (And, 1970; Pekman, 2002). In order to overcome this problem, European theatre people were welcomed to the country and with the guidance of one of them, *André Antoine*, the first theatre conservatoire, named *Darülbedayi-i Osmani* (The Ottoman House of Beauty), was established in Istanbul in 1914 (Table 4.1). It had significant contributions towards an active theater life in Istanbul and the whole country, offering training in music and drama. During this period, the art of theater started to be debated on a wider scale. Acting skills, direction, policies for play selection, and the quest for national versus foreign plays remained on the agenda throughout the period (Şener, 1998). Many short story writers and novelists like Hüseyin Suat Yalçın, Cenap Şahabettin, Mehmet Rauf, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, Reşat Nuri Güntekin and Halide Edip Adıvar turned to play writing. Musahipzâde Celal and Ibnülrefik Ahmet Nuri Sekizinci wrote only for the theatre while Cemal Sahir and Muhlis Sebahattin wrote musicals (And, 1983; 1971). After the great difficulties during the decline of the Ottoman Empire, the First World War and the War of Independence, the theatre field finally drew a breath again with the foundation of the Republic.

4.3.2. Institutional Logics in the Turkish Theatre Field

A general overview reveals that Turkish theatre field has undergone important transformations during its more than eighty-years of evolution since the establishment of modern Turkey in 1923. By the influence of the complex interplay of larger socio-economic and political processes at the societal-level, diverse and contradicting logics

on the value and function of theatre emerged in different time points and have been sustained across decades. In this respect, development of Turkish theatre and the organizational identity content within it could be better examined by understanding the dominant institutional logic of each period which can be regarded as the label of the general understanding in the field at that time.

For untangling these field-level institutional logics, I did a historical research based on a thorough review of the literature and secondary sources on Turkish theatre (e.g., Akıncı, 2003; And, 1983; Belkıs, 2003; Çelenk, 2003; Nutku, 2008; Şener, 1998). Even though they have some differences, these key resources on Turkish theatre trajectory divide it into three major time frames which employed the strongest impacts on the transformation of field: The early period up until 1960, the years between 1960 and 1980, and a last period until 2000s. This periodization was justified by a major scholar-critic and historian Sevda Şener with the following statement:

> "Since theatre is an art field which has been influenced by political and economic events in our country at the largest extent, it directly reflects the societal change processes in its fabric. Because of this, a periodization mimicking Turkish political history is also the most realistic one in terms of identifying the different stages of Turkish theatre" (1998, p.13; translation by the author).

The secondary resources show some divergence only in respect to when changes and diverse perspectives begin to emerge within a period signaling to a transition in the dominant logic in the field. For instance, And (1983) divides the first period of Turkish theatre up until to the break point in 1960 into two stages as the years between 1923 and 1950 being the first, and the years between 1950 and 1960 as the second stage. Whereas Şener (1998) brings a slightly different approach as she identifies the years between 1923 and 1940 as "production in a favorable environment" and the years between 1940 and 1960 as "the years of hope". Yet as another outlook, Akıncı (2003) separates the years after World War II (beginning from 1946) up until 1960 as a new stage when Turkish theatre as an art field began to present characteristics different than those of the early decades after republic's foundation. With a similar take on the issue, Nutku (2008) follows different periods and stages of Turkish theatre in terms of the generations of theatre artists and play writers in the field as "the generation of the first two decades", "the generation of World War II" and "the generation of 1950s".

Meanwhile, all the scholars (And, 1983; Belkıs, 2003; Çelenk, 2003; Nutku, 2008; Şener, 1998;) had a clear agreement on when the change in the field began to start in the second period, early 1970s being the critical point in time where the new ideas, structures and meanings in Turkish theatre which became prevalent in 1960 began to alter. Again, Şener (1998) argues that the whole period between 1980 and the late 1990s can be regarded as "the years more dynamic but less productive" for Turkish theatre.

Overall, the historical analysis suggests that up until 2000s, three important belief systems (or institutional logics) emerged and shaped Turkish theatre and I refer to them as *Enlightenment, Social-Critique* and *Marketization* logics. One should bear in mind that the time period when each of these logics was most prevalent largely matches with the macro transformations and changes in Turkey which reflects the fact that they represent an exogenous impact on the organizations in the field. Şener again describes this situation as follows:

> "Turkish theatre in the Republican Era is a product of a multi-stage evolution which follows a development that had started earlier but meanwhile which embarked on new quests within the history of Turkish Republic and took important steps in terms of a meaning and structure compatible with the general social and cultural texture of the time. This evolution occurred along with the changes in the political, cultural, intellectual and artistic domains of Turkish society. In this respect, our theatre history should be addressed and evaluated in close connection with our social, cultural and art history" (1998, p.13; translation by the author).

In my discussion of the three field-level belief systems, I will also reveal how and to what extent such societal-level forces as identified by Şener (1998) and other theatre historians influenced and shaped the prominence of different logics in Turkish theatre field.

4.3.2.1. Enlightenment logic (1923-1959)

The emergence of modern Turkey goes back to the nineteenth century, the dominant development being the growing influence of Europe in the Ottoman Empire and the reactions it brought out in the Ottoman state and society (Kongar, 1993), which were discussed within the case of theatre in the previous section. These developments constitute the framework within which the events of late nineteenth century of the Ottoman Empire led to the formation of a new republic (Akşin, 2005). The political and

ideological build-up during the foundation of the new Republic in 1923 defined the characteristics of the country for upcoming decades: Modern Turkey was first and foremost established through the promises of gaining a national identity and progress towards Western civilization (e.g., Ahmad, 2008; Moran, 1994; Tazegül, 2005).

The new republic was founded as an outcome of this new direction in every field of political and social life. This political and ideological build-up has led to economic and social change, defined the characteristics of legal and governmental reforms, provided the reforms in education and cultural domains and fed the modernization leap (Keyder, 1979; Şener, 1998). The new nation-state dedicated itself to modernization in all walks of life; in image, in aspiration and in identification (Gürçağlar, 2008). Concepts, forms and values were adopted from Western tradition and the administrative and cultural establishment became largely Europeanized (Kongar, 1993). Especially in the urban centers drastic changes took place: the political system, ideology, educational institutions and methods, intellectual orientation, art, daily life and language – all underwent transformation (Halman and Warner, 2011). It was a change that slowly entered all sectors of social life, and consequently, huge transformations were observed in the social structure (Boratav, 2009). According to Keyder (1979), the change witnessed in the young Republic was a holistic one; all cultural dimensions that made Europe "modern" were embraced together.

With the new Republic, the country's cultural and intellectual life also transformed. Several institutions were mobilized to spread the message of modern Turkey and its aspirations. These ideals inspired a great many people, mostly writers, artists, teachers, and other professionals and students, with its vision of a modern and independent country (Kongar, 1993). These groups, in a "noblesse oblige" attitude, saw themselves in a mission to guide their ignorant fellow citizens and often worked with great dedication and effort. It was a primary mission now to introduce, spread and develop a form of art and culture that was worthy for the modern citizen (Moran, 1994). Therefore, the reforms can also be considered as the elements of an emerging cultural repertoire. Culture and art constituted the backbone of this modernization philosophy which represents the motive to modernize the "mindset" above anything else.

The reflection of all these societal-level changes and developments on Turkish theatre field came into being in the form of a dominant institutional logic: *Enlightenment*. Under the Enlightenment logic, theatre as an art domain witnessed significant shifts in terms of identification of the characteristics of western theatre,

establishment of related theatre structures, foundation of professional theatre companies, organization of theatre activities, training and education for players, play writing, theoretical debates and critics revolving around the emerging art field as a means for contributing to the modernization of the country (Halman and Warner, 2011; Şener, 1998).

Indeed, in an assessment of artistic thought in general, and theatre in specific, it is observed that theatre in this period was being accepted as a critical element of civilization (Gürçağlar, 2008). In line with the core value and ideology of the newly established state which was committed to expanding community's access and appreciation for modern culture and art, in these early years, educating the public was a primary objective of theatre people. In a way, their passion and duty was to illuminate the society, which had recently come out of a ruinous war and needed lots of progress and self-confidence to move on (Katoğlu, 2005; Şener, 1998). It was believed that along with economic recovery, theatre could notably contribute to the general progress and development through its creative power, and thus, great effort was made to extend it as a key art domain to every part of the country (Şener, 1998). In that regard, the period from the 1920's to 1950's witnessed the establishment of several theatre institutions in order to achieve such a spread at cultural, academic, public educational and professional levels.

Enlightenment logic also represents a break from traditional understandings and forms of theatre, which is in parallel with the general Westernisation notion; the movement to adopt European techniques and ideas, which contrast with traditional theatre. In fact, theatre people and critics of the early Republic era were quite keen on refusing the routines and practices of the Ottoman period and representing the new modern life and desired progress in new forms, rhetoric, vocabularies, images and contents within theatre. For a society that was accelerating its journey towards Western civilization, traditional understanding and its parts in performing arts were also considered as an area that should be avoided.

In this period, play writers and artists on the stage assumed a responsibility in terms of making art functional. In consideration of the influence of theatre on the audience, play writers aimed to draw attention to the concerns and ambitions of the new Republic and to give a message about them. Therefore the plays written in this period were based on opinions and ideas and intertwined with didactic speeches and dramatic events which were utilized to convey this idea or opinion in the most impressive way

(Şener, 1998). In the meantime use of an unpretentious language and a pure, correct Turkish on stage was underlined. Educating the audience as well as the actors stands as an outstanding issue in theatre critics at the time, also (Sevinçli et al., 1994). The aim here was again to build a theatre which was able both to speak to the society and to help for its improvement. It is notable that these objectives were not necessarily complemented with an aesthetic dimension (And, 1983; Yüksel, 1995). Consequently, in the first decades of the Republic, theatre was perceived as a public service and it should be protected and supported by the state. The reflection on the Turkish literature field of the time by the famous critic Berna Moran (1994) also describes the nature of art production in theatre:

> "Especially at the times of turbulence when there are the gripes of a revolution and ideological fights, the writers feel the need for weighting those conflicting ideologies, questioning them and make their own attitudes toward them known. Therefore, the key problematic of Turkish novel until the 1950s was largely determined by the Westernization movement. When we examine the most famous writers of that time, we can see that almost all of them concerned themselves in the problem of Westernization. Hence, Westernization not only shapes the core subject of Turkish novel but also determines its establishment, function, and types" (Moran, 1994, p.21-22; translation by the author).

Several developments at the time demonstrate how the field and the institutions and organizations within it were shaped by the enlightenment logic. One of them was the introduction of state-owned and supported theatres and the great importance attached to them after the proclamation of the new Republic as a sign of the efforts for bringing theatre –as an essential component of civilization- closer to the public. As the primary step of this initiative, *Darülbedayi* was re-organized and affiliated to the Istanbul Municipality in 1931 and was re-named as the *İstanbul Şehir Tiyatrosu (İŞT)* (Istanbul City Theatre) in 1934 (see Table 4.1) when it began to offer regular performances (And, 1983; Şener, 1998). It was the first subsidized theater of the country. In İŞT, Muhsin Ertuğrul laid the foundation stones of contemporary Turkish theater by staging mainly the most famous classical plays of the West as well as encouraging the first generation of Turkish play writers (And, 1983). Staging plays within the drama section in Tepebaşı Theatre and the comedy section in the Old French Theatre, İŞT also organized regular tours in Anatolia in those years to spread the excitement of theatre to the whole nation.

The second important development was the establishment of *Devlet Konservatuarı* (State Conservatory) and its theatre branch in Ankara in 1937. As a following step, a stage for the practical training of the graduates, *Tatbikat Sahnesi* was opened in 1947 where they hosted their performances (see Table 4.1). Carl Ebert pioneered all these initiatives both as the head of the theatre branch of the Conservatory and the chief director of *Tatbikat Sahnesi* (Katoğlu, 2005). In fact, the western dramatic training program that was adopted and the foreign theatre experts like Carl Ebert who came to Turkey and took important responsibilities contributed significantly to the establishment of modern Turkish theatre in those years. The next phase in the development of a state owned theatre involves converting this stage into *Devlet Tiyatroları (DT)* (State Theatres) by the Law of State Theatre and Opera in 1949 (Sav, 1998). The famous theatre person Muhsin Ertuğrul was elected the first Director-General of this public corporate body. With this new title, Muhsin Ertuğrul opened two more theatres in 1954: the Third Theatre and the Chamber Theatre. In 1957, the *Bursa* and *Izmir State Theatres* as first regional theatre activities of the state were opened and a permanent staff was formed for the children's theatre (Şener, 2003). With these alternatives at hand, interest in theatre grew and the number of theatre-goers immensely increased (Katoğlu, 2005).

Apart from the foundation of state-owned or supported theatre organizations, enlightenment logic also brought about the establishment of some other important institutions each of which contributed to the spread of theatre. The most prominent and unique examples for these attempts include the foundation of *Halk Evleri* (Public Houses), and *Köy Enstitüleri* (Village Institutes) where not only theatre plays were staged but also training and education in performing arts was conducted (Karadağ, 1982; Katoğlu, 2005; Konur, 1990). *Halk Evleri* were set up in 1932 in fourteen towns, and then, supplemented by *Halk Odaları* (Public Chambers) in 1940 which opened up in small towns and villages (Gürçağlar, 2008) as the rural divisions. These institutions were cultural centers that provided ground for instilling the principles of the republican reforms in the general population (Lewis, 1961). *Halk Evleri* put local communities in contact with translated and indigenous theatre plays through their drama branches (Gürçağlar, 2008). These branches helped to train the audience and enabled the emergence of lots of amateur groups around the country (Katoğlu, 2005). Through their publications, tours and courses, they helped to spread and develop theatre and encouraged local play writers (Şener, 1998). Indeed, until 1951 when they were all

closed down, 4322 Public Houses (including smaller rural divisions) were opened in Turkey, which had fulfilled the notion of introducing theatre to large sections of the public as a key ingredient of modernity and civilization (Suner, 1995; Karadağ, 1998).

Manifestation of the normative value in the Turkish theatre field came with the enlightenment logic carried out with new developments in 1940s when *Köy Enstitüleri* were founded (Konur, 1990). They were established in 1940 as the part of an overall educational campaign with the aim of achieving a wide-spread and rapid education in the country (Sav, 1998), particularly educating the rural population, who will in turn, educate their fellow villagers and help combat illiteracy (Gürçağlar, 2008). As such, *Köy Enstitüleri* had a transformative role on the rural population (Zurcher, 2004); the students of these institutes were gaining not only practical skills but also intellectual backgrounds in literature and artistic domains (Konur, 1990). A primary example of this was the launch of fine-arts branches and performance lessons that were being given (Suner, 1995; Sav, 1998). Within this scope, students began to receive theatre knowledge and started to give their own performances of the plays they theoretically examined in their classes (Katoğlu, 2005). Yet, this original theatre initiative ceased when all institutions were closed in 1950.

A later development in this line was the opening of the first theatre high-education institute in a university in 1958. *The Theatre Institute* in Ankara University paved the way for conducting research on theatre and the introduction of initial theatre education at the tertiary level (Suner, 1995). Along with other art buildings, several theatre halls were also established in big cities and throughout Anatolia. Theatre artists were strongly supported and honored by the state. In fact, all these initiatives and new institutions were in support of each other in terms of the broad culture and theatre movement initiated. It should be also noted that the very first professional groups of artists who would form the upcoming generation of private theatres in Turkey initially trained and worked either in DT or in İŞT (Katoğlu, 2005), thus embracing and further carrying the values and ambitions under the enlightenment logic.

As previously discussed, the plays they stage comprise the core activity of theatre companies. A closer look to the characteristics of the plays performed in the first decades of the republican period reveals that the search for fundamental values and principles to develop a national theatre were much more prevalent than it was in later periods (Katoğlu, 2005). In this period, well-known classical pieces and others were directly translated to Turkish and staged (And, 1983): In a sense, theatre people and

companies were trying to grasp the 2500 years of history and accumulation of the Western theatre within a time period of a half century, either by playing the classics or by producing new plays within the Western model.

As a manifestation of the latter, İŞT encouraged Turkish play writers and their works were represented in the repertoire as it was believed that domestic plays would be a necessary source for building a unique national theatre (Katoğlu, 2005). With the help of young artists, Muhsin Ertuğrul was successful in spreading the excitement for theatre all over Istanbul by opening new stages at different districts such as Fatih, Üsküdar and Kadıköy (Katoğlu, 2005). The theatre company was staging local playwrights' plays along with several established foreign classics and all of these productions were being staged around Istanbul on a rotating basis (Şener, 2007). İŞT's repertoire was indeed impressive including pieces from Sophocles and Aristophanes from the ancient period to Shakespeare's tragedies and comedies; from Spanish and Italian plays to French and German classics; from Scandinavian and Russian playwrights to contemporary experiments (Katoğlu, 2005).

In fact, all professional theatres whether public or private seemed to share the same orientation in the design of their seasonal repertoires: While the first choice was to offer the classical plays of western theatre from well-known writers such as *Shakespeare, Pirandello, Sophocles* and *Ibsen*, newly produced local plays were reserved a certain quota (Şener, 2003). Productions emphasizing patriotic and nationalistic notions were encouraged. Particularly in the period up until 1945 or the early 1950s, theatre intellectuals and artists were in pursuit of representing the new ideals of the nation in every stage possible across the country (Katoğlu, 2005). National virtues, ideals and values were all presented in the plays with excerpts from older history (Şener, 1998). Thus, most of the plays staged in this period had particular themes representing the ideals and morals of the new nation (Şener, 2007).

A Shift in the 1950s

The influence of enlightenment logic and the set of attitudes and opinions it brought to the Turkish theatre remained very active until the end of the Second World War. Even though there was still consistency in the broad understanding of the role and place of theatre in the society, 1950s witnessed a number of changes from the general picture of the early period. As a support to this argument Şener (1998) states that the years during 1940s and 1950s reflects a two-staged process of change and development.

During these two stages, the external and internal political and economic developments did affect not only the daily life but also the cultural life and art domains including theatre. The traces of this influence were seen in several ways including theatre activities, management of theatre companies, stage performances and play writing (Şener, 1998, p.95).

The years of war first brought a severe economic depression where it was echoed in several problems of different societal groups. But an even more critical point was the elections in 1950 where the government as well as the general economic and cultural outlook of the nation began to change. This was mainly because the *Demokrat Parti* elected as the new government was no longer the representative of the "elites" who were representing cultural superiority and modernity of new Turkey, but instead, were representing the rights and voices of the new dominant class formed by the big landowners and the trade and industrial bourgeoisie (Boratav, 2009; Tazegül, 2005). This development also led to the disfavoring of some of the values that the intellectuals of the new Republic had embraced and promoted in the early decades (Şener, 1998).

Under the influence of these broad developments, with the early 1950s, the initial enthusiasm and impact of enlightenment idea in Turkish theatre field began to diminish and the strong belief in theatre as an effective means in the education of public and internalization of reforms somewhat weakened. Although the decade provided some more efforts in terms of the expansion of theatre activities all over the country and the foundation of new private theatres, the key development was the introduction of new play writers and artists in the field (Şener, 1998). These new-generation theatre artists also started to bring new ideas and artistic expressions to the field by their altering focus on social themes, particularly their emphasis on the complex of different values of the time within a new form of societal and moral sensitiveness (Şener, 1998).

1950s were also the years where other art domains in Turkey experienced similar changes and developments as theatre did. The following explanation by Moran (1994) who was one of the most important critics on Turkish literature is an example of this similarity: "The unjust system brought by the single-party regime between 1923 and 1950 lent itself to change in literature; we can say that instead of westernization the new problematic of Turkish novel became the reaction towards the system itself" (Moran, 1990, p.12). Another resemblance between the theatre and literature domains at that time can as well be identified regarding the newly developing *village novel* in literature (Moran, 1994) and the new focus of theatre towards rural and suburban life (Şener,

1998, p.141) both of which would muster under the social-critique logic of the following decade. Historians and scholars also mention similar developments in other cultural industries such as painting, music, plastic arts and architecture (e.g., Katoğlu, 2005; Ödekan, 1995) in which the stage of aspiration to be Western was somewhat over, and instead of it, a more local and original style was about to be adopted.

Likewise, after 1950s different subjects, styles and themes were brought to theatre by new artists and these artists continued to give their outputs during the convenient years of 1960s. Hence, even though Turkish theatre continued on its track of advancing art through the support of state, elites and intellectuals and based on the established normative values until 1960s, the early decades up until 1950s reflects the reformist and intellectual approach to Turkish theatre in a clearer way than the last decade of the period.

Theatre Companies under Enlightenment Logic

The major and most influential theatre activities embedded in the enlightenment logic of the time can be summarized as the regular performances of İŞT, theatre studies of *Public Houses* and Anatolian tours of the private theatre companies besides their performances in Istanbul where they were located. As an example of these outreaching activities, in 1944, 329 *Public Houses* out of 405 held theatre performances. By 1947, a total of 400 Turkish and translated plays had been performed by their members (Karadağ, 1998). In addition, increase in the number of private theatre groups, particularly in the 1940s and 1950s set up favorable conditions for local play writers and these opportunities would be extensively utilized in the upcoming periods (Erkoç, 1993). Studies of amateur companies also contributed to the stimulation of playwriting.

A significant number of private theatre companies dating from *Meşrutiyet* continued their activities in this period, which were often breaking up and re-assembling under different names and giving performances in the existing theatre halls in Istanbul (And, 1983). While almost all of these companies were based in Istanbul, they were also organizing tours to other big cities like Izmir, Ankara and other areas in Anatolia. In fact, Anatolian cities and audience did meet theatre by means of these tour performances. Among the major private theatres in Istanbul was *Süreyya Opereti, Raşit Rıza Grubu, Naşit'in Grubu, İstanbul Opereti, Kel Hasan Sahnesi, Cemal Sahir Şehir Opereti* and *İsmail Dümbüllü Tiyatrosu* (And, 1983). Soon after, some private theatres began operating in Ankara as well and then, these activities spread beyond Istanbul and

Ankara. Overall, the number of theatres in Istanbul and Ankara steadily increased (Katoğlu, 2005).

The very center from where several new companies emerged in the period was *Küçük Sahne* (The Small Stage) in Beyoğlu in 1951 (Table 4.1). This theater was established partially under the sponsorship of a bank as part of its cultural activities and it was run by Muhsin Ertuğrul who at that time had resigned from his duty as the general art director at the State Theater. Many new actors and actresses have come out of *Küçük Sahne*, which came to be known as "the cradle of private theaters" (Şener, 1998). Thus, it is accepted as the first serious attempt for setting up a private theatre in the Republican era (Katoğlu, 2005). Not much later, large number of private theatres began their activities in Istanbul. Among the other most popular private theatres in Istanbul for the first half of 1950s were: Avni Dilligil's *Çığır Sahne, Muammer Karaca Tiyatrosu, Tevhid Bilge-Aziz Basmacı Tiyatro Grubu, Ses Opereti, Yeni Halk Opereti* and *İstanbul Opereti* (And, 1983; Şener, 1998). A little later, other private theatre companies were opened such as Haldun Dormen's *Dormen Tiyatrosu* (1956), Mücap Ofluoğlu *Oda Tiyatrosu* (1957) in İstanbul and Oğuz Bora's *Beşinci Tiyatro* in Ankara (And, 1983; Erkoç, 1993).

There were also many amateur youth theatres being established at universities in Istanbul and Ankara (Halman and Warner, 2011). These amateur groups brought a new enthusiasm, color and light to the theatre field. Since theatre was seen as a means of reaching to the public and enlightening them, special interest was given and several methods were implemented for attracting them to theatre halls such as distributing discount coupons, organizing "public nights" and special student displays and providing three performances a day (Şener, 1998). In line with this dynamism, theatre activities also spread to other big cities like Izmir and Adana where city theatres were established (Nutku, 2008).

In summary, under enlightenment logic a normative view was adopted as the general cultural model and within this model theatre was viewed as functional in advancing the society to a higher modern civilization level. Theatre is utilized as a means in educating the public, theatre studies were carried out with the goal of clarifying the reforms, and making the public embrace them (And, 1983). Thus, there was a perfect harmony between state's ideals and the practice and understanding of theatre at that time.

4.3.2.2. Social-critique logic (1960-1979)

Following the acceptance of a new constitution after a brief period of military intervention, the increased freedom and dynamism in social, cultural and political life of the country in the 1960s and 1970s drastically challenged the enlightenment logic in theatre field. The new constitution approved in 1961 enabled a great change in Turkish political and social life by limiting the power of political parties with majority votes, bringing the concept of social state, providing judicial independence and helping the foundation of several culture-related institutions (e.g., Akşin, 2005; Kongar, 1993). Rediscovery of the world, new interpretations and a desire to be informed came along with this transformation (Tazegül, 2005). For the first time in Republican history, with their social movements and activism, workers, university students and other under-represented groups became dynamic and influential power groups in several domains (Kongar, 1993). As a result, a more pluralistic approach was adopted; new ways for expressing civil rights resulted in an enhancement of a critical voice, different ideas and civil involvement throughout the country (Akşin, 2005).

Overall, the growth of this intellectual scheme largely determined the surge of a new dominant logic in theatre field during the 1960s and 1970s: *Social-critique.* The new liberal environment paved the way for the expansion of cultural and artistic activities in general (Gürçağlar, 2008), where dealing with social problems in a critical flavor became possible, making the theatre field as a forum for debates (Şener, 1998) like several other cultural domains such as literature (Moran, 1994) and plastic arts and architecture (Ödekan, 1995). Under conditions where progressive ideas and movements were strengthened, theatre artists and organizations also found it much easier to focus on society's realities, its people and stories and to reflect them on the stage with a novel attitude (Erkoç, 1993). These two decades represent a period when not only theatre life became more lively, but theatre ideology also blossomed by the introduction of the opinions of modern play writers and implementers and by the discussion of different theatre theories. This is the reason why 1960s and 1970s are seen as the most successful period of Turkish theatre, and referred as its "Golden Age" (Erkoç, 1993; Yüksel, 1998).

At that point, theatre was no more treated as a means for enlightening the "ignorant" public. Until 1960s, Turkish theatre industry had not been affected at all from modern and advanced theatre streams; rather, development had always been on the

track of classic western drama, having realism and naturalism as its essence (Akıncı, 2003; Nutku, 2008). Thus, Turkish theatre under the enlightenment logic had rested against the realistic observation, dramatic composition and emotional expression properties of this theatre (Erkoç, 1993). However, with the emergence of the social-critique logic, things had pretty much changed and more creative and diverse implementations began to be made through the assistance of surrealist, epic, poetic styles and traditional eastern theatre forms (Belkıs, 2003) all of which were external to the general mainstream approach within the enlightenment logic.

The social-critique logic encouraged "social realism" (Halman and Warner, 2011) as an artistic view in theatre. From then on, changes in social relations, social movements and the new social classifications constituted the main focus of theatre (And, 1983; Belkıs, 2003). This new approach in Turkish theatre could be defined as examining every single social event and section, and observing them through critical lenses. That is, the function of theatre was not only confined to holding up a mirror to society and intellectual life; it also served as a vehicle of criticism, protest, opposition and resistance (Halman and Warner, 2011). With respect to themes, critique of social order was the primary concern; theatre focused on the problems of poor and disadvantaged social classes and interpreted these problems from a "public interest" point of view. Theatre field turned its interest to lives of people in shantytowns, prisons, suburbs of large cities, small towns and villages (Şener, 2003; Yüksel, 1998); harsh realities of life and poverty found fertile ground in the plays in a critical assessment (Şener, 1971). Similarly, the demands of rights of the modern citizen, transformation into a new family form from the traditional one, the conflict among individuals and generations, and the overall social unrest had an existence in the society which was too strong for theatre artists to ignore. With this thematic diversity, theatre's material was largely enriched (Belkıs, 2003; Çelenk, 2003).

With the social-critique logic, the possible ways for expressing these themes, that is, aesthetic and structural issues also became a focal concern for theatres (Şener, 1998). Theatre critics of the time argued that a great deal of conscious concern was given to *form* both in playwriting and staging (Sevinçli et al. 1994). The variation in aesthetic goals and assertions encouraged theatre groups to go beyond the classical formats that just enable to represent clichés (Şener, 2003). Play writers, dramaturges and directors undertook miscellaneous configurational trials with similar objectives (Erkoç, 1993). In this period, theatre people also wanted to break the patterns of western

theatre forms and therefore, applied new forms through diverse experimentations. These experimentations that basically used traditional theatre forms and folk art formats helped in bringing theatre closer to public taste. It was rather interesting that innovations were attained through reaching to the local sources accumulated across centuries (And, 1983).

Theatre scholar Ayşegül Yüksel (1995) had the following evaluation of the theatre field of the time:

> "The general understanding in theatre during the 1960s made the companies, artists, writers and the audience to learn two truths by heart: 1) theatre cannot be isolated from the society that it speaks to, as well as its problems, searches and orientations; 2) theatre can ensure a permanent audience if and only if it satisfies all the requirements on the stage. Our theatre in 1960s and 1970s had such a creative period when it was supported by the audience the most and it was able to build a strong connection with this audience in terms of both intellectual and artistic spheres." (Translation by the author)

In fact, benefiting from the verbal tradition of folk literature and revitalizing them became the greatest advances not only in theatre but in several art fields of the time (e.g., Moran, 1994). *Köy Romanı* (Village Novel) in literature was a good example of this development where the main focus was on village and rural life and the related social problems (Moran, 1994). Other fusions were made, for instance, between the western cabaret theatre and the comedy techniques of traditional theatre forms (Belkıs, 2003; Şener, 1998). Theatre companies also utilized some elements that were alive in folk culture such as folk stories, myths, anecdotes, folk songs and dances (Erkoç, 1993; Tekerek, 2001). All in all, these developments can be summarized as a new search for local forms and expression styles. It is notable that instead of the tendency to adapt western trends and orientations as under enlightenment logic, art fields headed towards forming a style that starts with the local (and unique) and goes to the universal.

Another observable change the social-critique logic provided was that private theater companies flourished and gave a new dimension to theater life. These companies which were located in larger cities such as Istanbul and Ankara both gave new impetus to social life and provided the ground for development of many distinguished play writers (Erkoç, 1993). Some theatre critics argue that the best playwriting in Turkish theatre was experienced in this period (e.g. Sevinçli et al., 1994; Şener, 2007) as number of domestic plays written and performed increased considerably (Katoğlu, 2005). While play writers who had written their first plays in previous decades began to offer their

more mature products, plays by younger writers started to be performed at the stages of both private and public theatres (Nutku, 2008). Besides this quantitative increase, play writers also confronted the opportunities of choosing and processing whatever material they want (Yüksel, 1998). Theatre historians put forward that art in general was reflecting the vitality, novelty and progress in social life and theatre mirrored this new outlook (Erkoç, 1993; Yüksel, 1995).

The broad spectrum of dramatic production at the two decades also reflects the impact of social-critique logic on the field and its components: From well-made family dramas to Brechtian works such as Sermet Çağan's *Ayak Bacak Fabrikası* and Haldun Taner's *Keşanlı Ali Destanı*, from light comedies to drama of innocent people brutalized by capitalism and imperialism, from striking village plays by Cahit Atay and Necati Cumalı to a black comedies by Melih Cevdet Anday; from Aziz Nesin's modernized version of Karagöz to Refik Erduran's Shakespearean tragedy about Justinian the Great, from musical dramas by Turgut Özakman to Turan Oflazoğlu's historical tragedies; from Orhan Kemal's prison drama to Orhan Asena's dramatizations of history and legend (e.g., And, 1981; Halman and Warner, 2011; Şener, 1998). As these examples suggest, the local play writers gave their most advanced products in these years. Rather than imitating the plays of other writers, they started to produce more authentic plays based on their own observations and these productions became the essential parts of theatre companies' repertoires. Scholar-critic, Sevda Şener (2007, p.42), observed the following about aspects of Turkish playwriting during these years:

> "The most conspicuous achievement of contemporary Turkish dramatic writing and production then was the conscious effort to create original native drama by making use of the formal and stylistic elements of traditional spectacular plays in a way to satisfy the modern taste and contemporary intellectual needs. The main challenge to such an attempt was to preserve critical sensitivity and to discriminate between the easy attraction of the spectacular and the pleasure of witnessing the true combination of form and content." (Translation by the author)

The changes were in no means specific to playwriting though; more care and attention were paid in the management of theatres, direction of plays, staging and design (Suner, 1995). Another indicator of the dynamism of the theatre field under social-critique logic was the introduction of the theatre magazine *Tiyatro 70* which was the longest-term theatre publication in Turkish history before 1990s (Çelenk, 2003). There were lots of other publications as well. Besides this, the efforts for unionization, the first

national Turkish theatre conferences and workshops arranged and the festivities organized constitute some of the other legs of the dynamism.

A Shift in the 1970s

Even though the social-critique logic continued to be influential until the year 1980, a part of the excitement left its place to economic and political depression in the 1970s. When ideological struggles and political tension prepared the grounds for the 1971 military intervention and democratic system was again on halt (Ahmad, 2008), theatre industry as well as all areas of cultural life were largely affected. Toward the end of the 1960s, there became a decline in the exciting atmosphere of the period and Turkish theatre already started to experience some form of a transition where the dominance of social-critique logic began to shake (Erkoç, 1993). The 1970s were also the years when violence and societal unrest was at its peak (Çelenk, 2003). Yüksel (1998) describes the transition in theatre field under such severe circumstances with the following words: "The 1970s, above all, represents a period in which the products grown from the seeds planted in the 1960s were consumed greedily and inconsiderately". In a way, Turkish theatre field became over-politicized and over-sensitive and lost its focus where the connection to artistic ideals and commitment to artistic creativity as well as its authentic sources deteriorated.

The increase and diversity as in the shape of a blowout in the 1960s first left its way to a "theatre inflation" (Nutku, 2008) in the early 1970s. This "over-crowdedness" of the industry (And, 1983) in turn led to a negative outlook regarding the intensity of the values and objectives of the social-critique logic where dedication of theatre companies to the social criticism idea and alternative and genuine ways of artistic expression left itself to the perceived pressures of financial requirements, lessening resources and struggle for survival (Şener, 1998). Although most of the private companies founded in Istanbul and Ankara during the 1960s were still giving performances, several of them disbanded and some of the artists founded their own companies (Erkoç, 1993). Because of this ongoing disintegration, the theatre companies of the time were not able to have strong staffing while they also became limited in terms their resources and opportunities (Nutku, 2008). Especially after the 1972-1973 theatre season, some of the private theatres started closing down, and within a couple of years they were considerably reduced in number. That is, many of the private theatres established after 1970 were not long lasting (Erkoç, 1993). The publicly-owned theatres

were not free from struggles and tensions, either. The separations at the societal level were also infusing unrest and ongoing discussions into İŞT and DT on issues such as decision of production, design of the organization, employees' personnel rights, the level of hierarchy, and the authority of the art directors and other managers (Şener, 1998).

The 1970s were also the years marked by the introduction of censorship and increased pressures on theatrical expression (Çelenk, 2003) where theatre companies were no longer free from external interventions and restrictions. The state was pursuing to control all theatre activities in the country through some newly established institutions and bodies such as the foundation of *Culture of Ministry* in 1971. In a way, theatre domain began to be much more centralized and closely monitored. All these changes at the political and societal level were continuously hampering the close connection that theatre companies built with the audience in 1960s (Çelenk, 2003).

The additional impact of the new commercialization scheme and economic ambitions in social life in the late 1970s similarly contributed to the transition of the social-critique logic to a new one which would grow to maturity in 1980s (Yüksel, 1995). It should also be noted that TV was first introduced to Turkish society in the 1970s which would be even a more integrated part of daily life and a major determinant of theatre art in the 1980s. Some critics evaluate this development as the start of the "defeat" of theatre against TV, casinos and the show world (Çelenk, 2003). As a summary of the above developments, several theatre researchers and historians like And (1983), Şener (1998), Nutku (2008) all treated the 1970s as a decade differing from 1960s in some important ways, the weakening of the ideological and symbolic effects of social-criticism being the most serious one.

Theatre Companies under Social-Critique Logic

Under social-critique logic, publicly owned theatres increased the number of their stages, began to perform higher number of local plays, and organized domestic and international tours (Katoğlu, 2005). As in previous decades, DT and İŞT continued to be the two most important public theatres. After *Adana State Theatre* was opened in 1966 and *Bursa* and *Izmir State Theatres* were founded in 1971 as additional branches of DT, *Istanbul State Theatre* was founded in 1978 (And, 1983). Besides enlarging and developing as an institution, DT also improved in terms of the criteria in the selection of plays and the care shown in staging of these plays. Thus as of the end of this period,

DT had stages in six different cities –six in Ankara, three in Istanbul, one each in Bursa, Izmir, Antalya and Adana- and regular tours across Anatolia (Katoğlu, 2005) (see Table 4.1). İŞT was also re-organized into five separate divisions with regulations issued and these divisions continued until 1980 (Suner, 1995; And, 1983). It should also be noted that tours abroad were arranged for introducing Turkish theatre to other cultures and establishing connections with international theatre (Nutku, 2008).

Private professional theatres also experienced a transformation with the social-critique logic. Unlike the situation under enlightenment logic private theatres became much more active in organizing and influencing the public opinion as well as their artistic performances (Nutku, 2008). Not only did the existing private theatres continue their activities in a larger scale, many new ones were founded in 1960s and early 1970s (Erkoç, 1993). In fact, these theatre groups granted an assorted, multi-dimensional appearance to theatre life by the plays they staged and largely transformed the field in terms of substance, form and design. The other important attribute of the private theatre companies in the period was their contribution to the art and cultural world as being more "political" (Halman and Warner, 2011) by deliberately and continuously focusing on political problems and their social outcomes.

A closer look at the private theatre companies of the time reveals the following: Yıldız and Müşfik Kenter established *Kent Oyuncuları* in 1961, which is one of the few private theatre companies that has survived until today. The Kenter siblings were both members of the *State Theatre* in Istanbul before establishing their own theatre company. *Kent Oyuncuları* can be referred as the second important attempt in private theatres category after *Küçük Sahne* since it hosted the premiers of quite a few important new Turkish plays across decades (Katoğlu, 2005). Several other theatre groups were set up in different regions of Istanbul such as Kadıköy, Fatih, Üsküdar and Zeytinburnu in the years 1960 and 1961. *Oraloğlu Tiyatrosu* and *Gülriz Sururi-Engin Cezzar Tiyatrosu* were also founded in the same years and they lived for a long period of time. *Arena Tiyatrosu*, which opened in 1962-63, had a short life, although it was considered to be one of the most successful groups with a high level of art. In 1963, actors from *Arena Tiyatrosu* established the *Ankara Sanat Tiyatrosu (AST)* under Asaf Çigiltepe which has continued to stage plays until the present day (And, 1983; Belkıs, 2003; Şener, 1998) and represents the third important private initiative in Turkish theatre history. Again many foreign and local plays were first performed on the stage of AST which also provided the very first examples of "epic theatre" in Turkey (Katoğlu, 2005).

The other well-known theatres which were established in the 1960s are: Genco Erkal's *Dostlar Tiyatrosu, Ulvi Uras Tiyatrosu, Alpago Tiyatrosu, Azak Tiyatrosu, Gönül Ülkü-Gazanfer Özcan Grubu, Münir Özkul Grubu, Nejat Uygur ve Arkadaşları* and *Gen-Ar Tiyatrosu* in Istanbul, and *Küçük Komedi Sahnesi, Başkent Tiyatrosu, Mithat Paşa Tiyatrosu, Drama Tiyatrosu* and *Halk Oyuncuları* in Ankara. Most of these private theatre groups went on tours throughout Turkey and some also went abroad. Most theatres established in these years produced children's plays as well (Nutku, 2008). Theatre tours were being made to all the big cities, and they were held regularly every season. Theatre activities became so much diffused that local administrations in regions and cities other than Istanbul, Ankara, Bursa and Izmir began to give serious support to theatre activities in their regions (Erkoç, 1998; Sav, 1998).

Activities did not only intensify on the professional level either; many amateur theatres, half-amateur youth theatres, and child theaters also enriched the variety in the field (Nutku, 2008). All these records refer to enhanced opportunities for meeting with the audiences in both private and public theatre companies in the 1960s, and particularly in public theatres in the 1970s. Halman and Warner (2011) give two nice examples as a summary of the nature of theatre activities of the time: in 1960, Istanbul audience had a choice of fewer than ten plays on any given day but of more than thirty by the end of the decade and the increase in Ankara in the same period was about five to twenty (Halman and Warner, 2011).

As a summary, the Turkish theatre under the social-critique logic strove to achieve self-renewal in aesthetic terms, to give voice to cultural and socioeconomic innovation, and to provide impetus to change. Theatre companies in this period enjoyed several different artistic motivations, goals and styles; theatrical activity exploded and remarkable strides were made in dramatic writing. Due to the encouragement of the social-critique logic, new themes were introduced, new realities and domains of the society are emphasized, national, local and ethnic elements are blended, new orientations in theory and practice were produced. But most importantly, the idealism and didactic tone of the enlightenment logic which was quite influential until 1960, lent itself to social-realism and critical interpretation for almost two decades of Turkish theatre. Yet, the year 1980 became a very important turning point for Turkey where the predominant institutional logic of the theatre field again shifted.

4.3.2.3. Marketization logic (1980-1999)

With the military coup in 1980 and the new constitution following it in 1981, the freedom environment of the previous period largely disappeared. There was yet another political and economical restructuring in the country and an important transformation in social life and cultural understandings came with the embracement of a free market economy (Ahmad, 2008). A process of gradual liberalization was put in motion (Boratav, 2009; Çavdar, 2003) where governments devoted much of their attention to a general effort geared towards reshaping the economy in the scope of a neo-liberal program that brought "full liberalization" (Çavdar, 2003). A major objective was making Turkey a part of the global market and keen efforts were made accordingly (Ahmad, 2008). In spite of the "liberal" outlook in economic terms, however, this period was commonly defined as repressive in political terms as social organizing and civil rights deteriorated at a large extent (Tanör, Boratav and Akşin, 2000) where various prohibitions and limitations were put on political activities related to political parties, unions, and associations (Zurcher, 2004).

This economic and political transformation brought some distinct institutions and concepts. One of the striking differences was that the ideology of the economic model adopted was much more diffused and influential on social and cultural life than it had ever been in Turkey (Boratav, 2009). One can claim that within the changing socio-economic outlook of 1980s, a "consumption society" was formed, stimulated by the power of media, the propaganda and advertisements (Ahmad, 2008). There was a rapidly increasing demand for the comforts and luxuries of modern life (Yüksel, 1995) which was coming along with a passive attitude towards social situations (Moran, 1994). The new ideals were occupying all domains of life and became an embedded part of the contemporary culture (Koraltürk, 2003).

These transformations in early 1980s brought a climate of change for theatre field as well in terms of both its symbolic meanings and structures, and introduced a new institutional logic. I refer to it as *Marketization* since the common norm in almost all art and cultural domains in Turkey became stronger preference towards market expectations and the commoditization of the artistic production.

Marketization logic was characterized by distinct properties in several dimensions. One of these dimensions was the perception of theatre as an art form; audiences' and society's attitudes towards theatre changed considerably (Yüksel, 1995).

Strong market forces as well as the change in life styles and individual preferences toward mass entertainment made theatres adopt a new aesthetic understanding where easy and cheaper performances were preferred. Indeed, from 1980s to the present, Turkish theatre has often been described as losing its critical impetus, having superficial contents, incoherent styles and ordinary performances (e.g., Şener, 1998; Yüksel, 1995). Producing shows that average audience will enjoy, meeting commercial expectations, and consequently creating a good financial performance became significant concerns for theatre groups (particularly private ones) under the marketization logic. Meanwhile, modern life began to form its own sub-groups and sub-cultures with their own ways of expression and artistic styles in theatre (Şener, 1998).

The new logic was also fed by the huge advancements in terms of public communications manifested by the introduction of new technologies, TV and video (Tanör, Boratav and Akşin, 2000). Particularly, the introduction of television into social life had a great impact on Turkish theatre; in 1980s culture in Turkey began to be perceived through TV and popular media (Zurcher, 2004). From this point onward, TV was considered to be the primary alternative to theatre for entertainment purposes. When media became an important domain having strong ideological and identity influences on cultural fields (Boratav, 2009) as such, market pressures have eventually been reflected on theatre and theatrical performances in terms of attaining the appeal level of TV shows so as to achieve the same kind of satisfaction for the audience (Erkoç, 1998; Yüksel, 1995). Thus, the preferences of the audience shaped by TV and popular media also changed what they expect from theatre as an art form and it became more of an entertainment domain.

Giving some examples might clarify this newly formed link between theatre industry and the popular domains of the market system: For instance in 1980s, some theatre groups started to play only musicals that were far more attractive to the audience while a related form of musical theatre, *cabarets* became widespread and considerably popular at stage (Şener, 1998). Actors well-known to the public from TV shows were taking part in these cabarets and a significant part of the audience was coming to watch the plays just to see these popular artists or celebrities live on stage (Şener, 2003). Another performance style -"stand-up"- was also introduced to theatre in this period where a single person makes some parody performances based on large improvisations (Yüksel, 1995).

There is a strong argument that marketization logic changed the priorities of the theatre people and companies as well. Above all, theatre began to avoid dealing with social issues and bearing a critical stance (Yüksel, 1995). Exploring socio-economic or political matters at broader levels was no longer a priority as it was when social-critique logic was prevalent in the field. For theatre people, language and rhetorical issues became much more important than the question of artistic existence and the essence of performances on stage (Şener, 2003). Some critics even argue that Turkish theatre lost a great deal of its former enthusiasm and creativity at that time (Çelenk, 2003) as reduction of costs, selling tickets, advancing in earning revenues and enhancing technical capabilities became the essential issues of artistic production (Nutku, 2008).

As the commercial pressures increased and threats on the organizations and financial budgets became tighter, more loosely coupled network type organizations have proliferated and more and more work was being outsourced (Şener, 1998). These years have also witnessed the foundation of "production theatres" which have been working based on single projects rather than preparing regular seasonal repertoires (Yüksel, 1995). Promotion, advertising and public relations drastically increased their importance and visibility after 1980s for theatre companies (Nutku, 2008) and the roles and duties in organizational structures became much more established and professional.

Many theatre experts argue that in the post-1980 theatre, playwriting was also altered. The successful play writers of 1960s and 1970s began to write novels, stories and in other literature forms rather than plays (Yüksel, 1998). Yet another group of new writers gave up writing theatre pieces because they could not be staged anywhere. The repertoires visibly moved away from recent social realities and instead, leaned towards the past; biographies of well-known historical characters, myths and tales individual (Şener, 1994; 2007). Instead of groups or communities, the individual became the focus of theatre (Katoğlu, 2005; Şener, 2007). Marketization logic also brought important changes in staging and design of theatres' performances, regarding the elements of stage layout, lights, décor, sound and music (Nutku, 2008).

Theatre Companies and Their Activities under the Marketization Logic

Dependence on box-office returns and subsequent financial problems paved the way to a new initiative for Turkish theatre as government started to give financial support to private theaters in 1982 (Çelenk, 2003; Nutku, 2008). The Ministry of Culture started the practice of giving subsidies to what were considered as successful

private theatre companies and the projects they would present (Sav, 1998) (Table 4.1). By supporting private theatre companies within this framework, the state sought to ensure that they continued to perform. Although the criteria for allocating the monetary assistance were somewhat ambiguous, and thus, pretty much debated, financial support from the state has been perceived as an essential step under prevalent market conditions. However, fiscal problems and lack of adequate number of theatre halls continued to make life harder for private theatre companies. In this period, many building owners transformed the theatre halls into other structures like shopping malls or entertainment places which were expected to be more profitable (Yüksel, 1995). Even the subsidization being received from the state could not put the professional theatres at ease and solve their vital problems. As a result, even the more experienced, pioneering theatres let themselves go along the new demands and expectations of the period.

Nevertheless there were other support mechanisms in the field for newly founded professional and amateur groups. Introduction of sponsorship, increased support from municipalities and other local administrations, developments achieved in theatre training in higher education, organization of international and national theatre festivals, contests, seminars and conferences were among these support mechanisms (Nutku, 2008) within the field. For instance, Istanbul International Theatre Festival (*İstanbul Uluslararası Tiyatro Festivali*) organized by İKSV (*İstanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfi*) gained an important position that has been hosting different theatre styles, experimental studies, and performance type activities with a strong visual impact (Karakadıoğlu and Elmas, 2008). Yet, even under these circumstances, the necessary infrastructural changes and reforming of old institutions could not be completed. Insufficiencies regarding theatre halls, technical equipment and other continued to weigh down many of the active theatre companies (Şener, 2003).

The field continued to grow in other aspects though, one of them being the further diffusion of theatre activities around the country. Particularly, after Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Bursa, DT launched several new branches in Anatolia such as Trabzon, Diyarbakır, Antalya, Sivas, Erzurum, Konya and Van in 1980s and 1990s. DT continued to spread over the country not only through opening new theater directorates but it also increased the numbers of its artistic and technical staff. In all, DT started performances in 12 different cities as well as increased the number of theatre halls in each city (Katoğlu, 2005) (Table 4.1). Parallel with the popularization of theatre in these years, several different theatre awards from private associations as well as government

agencies and local authorities began to be distributed each season in several different categories (Yüksel, 1998).

In brief, Turkish theatre industry was largely affected from the accelerating socio-cultural transformations, and consequently, the marketization logic dominated the field from the 1980s onwards up until 2000s. It is notable that Turkish theatre became rather silent towards social matters more than ever before and political and social pressures and increasingly commercialized audience expectations under the influence of popular media and culture are interpreted as some visible reasons of this withdrawal (Yüksel, 1995). The underlying cause is usually summarized as submission to new market forces and the resultant loss of intellectual stance. This tendency is argued to manifest itself most in the form of becoming contended with easy and entertaining performances. This extra emphasis on audience maximization has meant that sometimes content-wise weak, uncritical and structurally haphazard plays were written and staged (Şener, 2007).

On the other hand, a group of private theatre companies reacting to this mainstream model seemed to let themselves to the appeal of alternative artistic perceptions and performance styles (Şener, 1998). These new searches in theatre field as well as other cultural industries in 1990s can be regarded as a divergence from reality towards *postmodern* with an orientation towards "ideal" and "fiction" (Moran, 1994). Some critics argue that the contemporary form of life brought some sort of alienation and this had implications in both real life and artistic production in Turkey; thus, in the last quarter of the century beginning from early 1980s, the direction of social life and the artistic thrust in Turkey has turned towards being some kind of an inner questioning and reaching out the depths rather than a confrontation with external forces (e.g., Çelenk, 2008; Moran, 1994). For instance, Şener (1998) names the two major orientations that came to forefront as a result of this understanding in Turkish theatre as "introversion" and "search for an identity". All in all, the dismantling of many forms of social institutions, changes in economic, familial and personal lives, and an increasing emphasis on, and reflexivity about issues of market brought a certain dominant logic, marketization, to the Turkish theatre field and all field members were largely affected by it.

Table 4.1

Historical timeline of Turkish theatre field

Time-Period	**Events**
End of the 16th century and 17th century	First performances of *Shadow Theater (Hacivat and Karagöz), Kukla* and *Meddah* in Anatolia
17th and 18th centuries	First performances of *Orta Oyunu*
Tanzimat (Reformation) Period, 1839-1876	First encounters with and initial adoption of western theatre
Second half of the 19th century	Performances of *Tuluat* (an improvisation that combines *Orta Oyunu* and Western theatre model)
1860	First original Turkish play *Şair Evlenmesi* (The Marriage of the Poet) written by İbrahim Şinasi
İkinci Meşrutiyet (Second Constitution) Period, 1908-1922	Proliferation of theatre activities in "western sense". First complete translations and adaptations from Western classic plays (e.g., Shakespeare, Sophocles)
1914	First theatre conservatoire, *Darülbedayi* was founded in Istanbul by Andre Antoine
1923	Foundation of modern Turkish Republic
1931; 1934	*Darülbedayi* first affiliated with the Istanbul Municipality and then renamed as *Istanbul City Theatre* as the first publicly subsidized theatre
1932	*Halk Evleri* (Public Houses) and their drama branches were set up
1937	Establishment of the first state conservatory of Turkish Republic in Ankara
1940	*Köy Enstitüleri* (Village Institutes) founded, giving theoretical and practical theatre training to students in rural areas
1949	Conversion of *Tatbikat Sahnesi* opened in 1947 into *Devlet Tiyatroları* (State Theaters)
1951	Establishment of *Küçük Sahne* in Istanbul which is

	known as “the cradle of private theatres” in Istanbul
1957	Opening of first regional state theatres in Bursa and Izmir
1958	Foundation of first theatre education institute: The Theatre Institute in Ankara
1961	New constitution accepted which paved the way for a very lively theatre life and an enormous increase in the number of private theatres
1966	Adana State Theatre was opened
1978	Opening of Istanbul State Theatre
1978	Avni Dilligil Awards began to be distributed to successful theatre actors and directors
1982	Ministry of Culture started the practice of subsidizing private theatre companies
1987; 1988	State Theatres launched its Trabzon and Diyarbakır branches
1989	The first annual *İstanbul Uluslararası Tiyatro Festivali* (Istanbul International Theatre Festival) was organized by İKSAV.
1996	Afife Jale Theatre Awards was first organized
1997	Sivas, Van and Erzurum State Theatres were established

5.

METHODS

5.1. Data Sources

Plays, as the creative output of theatre companies, embody the core element of their identity that also best manifests the similarities and differences among them. Thus, discovering what plays theatre groups perform and the degree to which they perform plays representing diverse identities provides the basis for the level of their identity blending.

I studied all plays that were reported to be performed by a professional theatre located in Istanbul or Ankara[6] in the period between 1923 and 1999. The primary source for this data came from a comprehensive bibliography containing the whole list of plays staged by Turkish theatres starting from the year of foundation of the Republic in 1923 until the end of 1983. The bibliography was available in the historical book *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Tiyatrosu* (Turkish Theatre in the Republican Period) (1983) by Metin And who has been the most important theatre researcher, academic and historian in Turkey. For information on the plays that were staged between 1983-1999, my key source was *Tiyatro Dergisi* (Theatre Journal), a monthly periodical that regularly announces the repertoires and monthly programmes of the theatre companies and each new play added to their repertoires. I accessed the whole archive of this periodical and recorded the plays performed, their tags and summaries, the theatre companies

[6] The reason why theatre companies in other cities are not included in the dataset is the lack of observations. Even though the data for the last two decades of the study's time frame (1980s and 1990s) is more complete in that sense, there is still no reliable record covering the whole period from 1923 to 1999 in terms of the theatres outside Istanbul and Ankara. However, overall the number of theatre companies outside these two biggest cities account for 5% of the whole theatre population.

performing them and the years of performance. The journal did not cover the plays staged between 1983 and 1990, since it was first published in 1991. Thus I completed my data for this period from other theatre archives and publications. The most important of these archives were the ones belonging to *Devlet Tiyatrosu* (State Theatre) and *İstanbul Şehir Tiyatroları* (Istanbul City Theatres) –the two largest public theatres in Turkey- which do not only include their own repertoires but also information on plays performed by other theatres. My other key source for completing the play data for missing years was *Milliyet*, which is one of the major national daily newspapers in Turkey and whose archive is the only one that you can search online, covering all its issues published since 1950. The paper includes the program announcements from public and private theatres of the day, often supported by additional news articles and critiques on the plays. In fact, I examined every single issue of the newspaper in order to check the records in my dataset from 1950 to 1999 and made corrections and additions whenever necessary.

I am confident that there is no significant discrepancy between the different sources and almost all plays between 1983 and 1990 are covered. In order to check this, I compared the total number of plays performed in the field per year for two periods: i) between 1975 and 1982 and ii) between 1983 and 1990. The first eight years represent the beginning of a decline for Turkish theatre companies in economic terms when the number of plays produced considerably decreased. The historical analysis reveals that these unfavorable economic conditions of the late 1970s continued in the 1980s and affected the size of the theatre companies and their available resources in the same way up until the 1990s. Therefore, these two periods are comparable with respect to the number of plays theatres performed. A quick look at the figures indicates that between 1975 and 1982, on average, 86 plays were produced by the theatres in the field. This figure was 83 plays on average between 1983 and 1990, giving a support that completion of play data from supplementary sources for these years was appropriate.

Additional rechecks for the data were conducted by a careful examination of the other histories and bibliographies of Turkish theatre (Şener, 1998; Nutku, 2008; Karaboğa, 2011; Pekman, 2011; Özsoysal and Balay, 2011; Erkoç, 1993; Ünal, 1997; Akıncı, 2003; Belkıs, 2003; Çelenk, 2003).[7] As a result of this collection and recording phase, the final version of my play dataset consisted of 2701 separate theatre plays. On

[7] Details of all histories and bibliographies can be found in the References.

the other hand, my "organization-year-play" dataset, which involves every play performed by a certain theatre company at each year, consists of 6976 observations. This means that on average, a particular play was performed 2.58 times either by different theatres or in different years by the same theatre, or both. My "organization-year" dataset consists of 1846 observations. The final "organization-year" dataset where the dependent variable is calculated by 3-year moving windows instead of single-years (see Section 5.4) and on which the study hypotheses are tested includes 1120 observations. In this final dataset, 127 different theatre companies could be analyzed (See Appendix 1 for a list of all Turkish theatre companies included in the coding). Even though a few plays from particular theatre companies could have been overlooked in the data collection phase, neither any theatre companies nor the years in which they operate were omitted. Despite the fact that there is no way to calculate the exact proportion of plays that might have been overlooked, it is ensured that all available archival resources were examined to identify them.

5.2. Data Coding

To discover major organizational identities in Turkish theatre field across its seventy-seven years until 2000s, I coded all the plays in the dataset in terms of six dimensions.[8] These dimensions or their sub-categories are all dichotomous (binary) variables: 1) theatrical form; 2) genre; 3) thematic content; 4) origin; 5) classic play; and 6) emphasis on local context (Table 5.1).

I drew upon several sources for identifying what dimensions to consider as forming a theatre company's identity and how to code the data according to these dimensions. The first source was the comprehensive historical analysis that I carried out on theatre including large number of written documents by theatre researchers, academicians, historians and practitioners about how to assess the plays staged. My second major source for deciding on the coding was the interviews conducted with twelve theatre people including dramaturges, art directors, critics and researchers.

[8] In Chapter 4 (see Section 4.2), I identified five major dimansions of a theatre play. In data coding, I added one more dimension, namely, "emphasis on local context" in order to identify what extent Turkish context is relevant and emphasized in the play.

In forming the actual coding scheme, I pursued the following procedure: First, I randomly selected 200 plays and recorded all available categories for each of the dimensions identified. In addition to *theatrical form, origin of the play, classic work* and *local context* dimensions, I came up with eleven different categories for *genre* and thirty-four different categories for *thematic content* dimensions. Then, I took another random sample of 200 plays and applied my coding scheme to this sample in order to understand how exhaustive and appropriate it was. I also shared my scheme with academics in theatre and other interviewees and received their suggestions for improving it. After adjustments, the final form of the coding scheme was produced and applied to the entire dataset. However, it should also be noted that the coding capabilities were limited with the data and the information available on the plays. As stated above, there has not been any regular, well-organized dataset or archive in Turkey where plays performed by the theatre companies have been recorded. Finding detailed information on each play (e.g. number of acts, cast size, key artistic style, and other aspects regarding the stage performance) is even more problematic. Nevertheless, as shown in Table 5.4, I was able to secure information for a very large proportion of the dimensions that I coded.

The meanings and descriptions of the play dimensions listed in Table 5.1 were already provided within the general framework of "theatre identity" in Chapter 4, under Section 4.2.2. I will now explain how I operationalize and measure them in my empirical study.

5.2.1. Theatrical Form

As it is explained in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2, theatrical form, defined as either "open" or "closed" has a very important role in determining theatre identity since they describe two completely opposite aesthetic structures. Similar to what I did for the "local context" and "genre" measures, I reviewed several synopses and reviews of the plays in my dataset to identify the theatrical form. To achieve this, I looked for some keywords in these texts: Whereas the labels *Aristotelian drama, dramatic theatre, illusionist theatre, representational theatre / style,* and *classical structure* refer to "closed form"; *non-Aristotelian drama, non-dramatic theatre, epic theatre, Turkish traditional / folk theatre, presentational theatre / style, non-classical structure, demonstrative theatre,* and *narrative style* all refer to "open form" as the major

theatrical form utilized in the play writing and staging (e.g., Çalışlar, 1995; Pekman, 2002; Tekerek, 2001).

Since in modern theatre, "closed form" is the more strongly established and common artistic structure, it is automatically assumed as the default theatrical form while describing the plays and stage productions. It is the "open form" which is almost always explicitly identified with one of the above keywords. Following this, I coded a play as having "open form" (value "1") if and only if one of the above keywords was available. Otherwise, it was coded as having a "closed form" (value "0") as the only viable alternative. In addition, the coding was always checked from multiple sources whenever these sources were available.

5.2.2. Genre

There are simply too many genres of theatre to name them all. Nevertheless the main ones have been identified in the literature. I used several different archival sources for theatre genre information (e.g., Arıkan, 2006; Çalışlar, 1994; Downs et al., 2008; Pavis, 1998; Selen, 2003). In these sources, plays were classified along the following most common genre categories: comedy, tragedy, drama, tragicomedy, historical drama, documentary, fantasy, musical, operetta, cabaret (burlesque), epic, lyric, romance, melodrama, farce (commedia dell'arte), satire (black comedy), adventure, mystery, thriller and science-fiction.

After I started out with these genre categories, by taking the recommendations of the theatre people I interviewed, I collected them into eleven distinct broader genre categories (see Table 5.2) in terms of their closeness as depicted in the above theatre resources. Not to lose information, I did not apply any elimination or reduction on this list of main genre categories.

It should be noted that in some of these resources, the broader genres are further divided into numerous sub-genres. This is basically observed for *comedy* and *drama* genres. For comedy, classical comedy, comedy of manners, comedy of menace, character comedy, plot comedy, comedy of intrigue, situation comedy, comedy of humors, serious comedy, sentimental comedy, heroic comedy, musical comedy and etc; and for drama; bourgeois play, domestic drama, drama of youth, expressionist drama, didactic drama, closet drama, apocalyptic drama, ritualistic drama, religious drama, drama of attitude, existentialist drama, Jacobean drama and etc. can be listed as such

sub-genres or historical forms of the two broad genres (Arıkan, 2006; Çalışlar, 1995; Pavis, 1998). In addition to the fact that there is no substantial agreement on a complete list of these sub-genres, they are very rarely explicitly described and tagged on the plays. Thus, I limit my genre coding with the broader and largely agreed on eleven categories as shown in Table 5.2.

Yet, following the idea that a theatre play can have overlapping genres (see Chapter 4, Section 4.2), I assigned multiple genres to a play. That is, in attributing genres to plays, I used all the genres attributable to a specific play and coded as "1" if any particular genre is applicable.

5.2.3. Thematic Content

I identified themes of the plays in my dataset by an open coding technique (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The reason for this is that, as in the case of genres, theatre literature does not provide an established list of themes and all depends on the content of the unique play. With the first random sample of 200-observations, I coded every different theme I could see in order to conceptualize and include all possible themes in the data. Then I considered all of them together, compared them, merged the ones having the same content, renamed and modified. After having found the major themes in the data in this manner, I applied a rather selective coding technique with the second random sample of 200-observations. I coded this sample with the themes I had already identified and noted in mind and tried to understand how good this first scheme fits to the new sample. After this validation phase, I finalized my list with 34 themes (see Table 5.3 for the complete list).

Before conducting a cluster analysis for finding organizational identity profiles in the field, I performed a *multiple correspondence analysis (MCA)* to be able to infer the key underlying thematic groups in the data that will reasonably and practically distinguish plays regarding their content and present one of the important dimensions for identifying theatre identity. I extract these underlying thematic groups (factors) for the theme categories available in the data (Table 5.3) and these factors are then used in the cluster analysis.[9] MCA is a method for analyzing observations on categorical

[9] Since the association tests revealed an extremely significant association of two thematic categories with two genre categories, these two themes were omitted from

variables and it is usually viewed as an extension of simple correspondence analysis to more than two variables related to a common perceptual space (Abdi and Valentin, 2007; Hair, Black, Babin and Anderson, 2010). It is a compositional technique where the resulting factors are based on the association among a set of descriptive attributes (in this study, thirty-two theme categories). It can also be viewed as a generalization of principle component analysis where the variables to be analyzed are categorical (Greenacre, 2006). It provides dimensioning and mapping as *multi-dimensional scaling* technique where one can see the patterns with respect to what observations are compatible and clustered together as results are portrayed in a common perceptual map (Hair et al., 2010).

Among other compositional techniques, it is most similar to factor analysis by defining composite dimensions (factors) of the variables (here, theme categories) and plotting them on their scores on each dimension (Hair et al., 2010). But it extends beyond factor analysis as it can be used with nominal data whereas factor analysis can only be used with interval ratings. This capability of MCA enables it to be used in many situations where more traditional techniques are inappropriate. Since my play data includes nonmetric measures ("yes" and "no") on a list of 32 different thematic categories, I conducted MCA. As it is presented under Section 6.1.2, my MCA results show that the thematic content of the plays performed between the years 1923 and 1999 in the Turkish theatre industry can be compiled in seven major groups. Hence, I utilized these seven key factors in the operationalization of the identities of the theatre companies in the field.

5.2.4. Origin

I coded the origin of the play as "1" if its playwright is non-Turkish and the value "0" if he/she is Turkish.

5.2.5. Classic Play

As discussed in Chapter 4, what constitutes a "classic play" in theatre is not straightforward as the word "classic" may take different meanings in theatre. Above all,

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further analyses, resulting in a final list of 32-themes. Please see Section 6.1.1 for further information.

it refers to the plays which are written in historical eras before the beginning of the 20th century when "modern theatre" was established. Thus, my key criterion for detecting whether a play is a classic or not is the time it was written which is a well supported approach in the theatre literature (e.g. Archer et al., 2008; Çalışlar, 1995). Accordingly, pieces from Ancient Greek and Roman Theatres, Theatre of Middle Ages, Baroque Theatre, Renaissance Theatre, Classical English and French Theatres, as well as the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Theatres up to 1900s (which means including Chekhov, Strindberg and Ibsen plays of 1890s) were also considered as "classic" and coded as "1". That is, within a temporal sense, I identified a classic play as the opposite of a contemporary one. A play produced by a playwright of the late eighteenth century was also coded as a classic even though it was written in early twentieth century (for instance, the plays by Luigi Pirandello are like this, since he is accepted as a classic dramatist by all resources). It should be also noted that even though in this study "classic play" was assessed and measured in a *temporal* sense, they are also the productions which bring prestige to the theatre company putting them to its repertoire and staging them.

5.2.6. Local Context

Local context dimension refers to whether a domestic play (i.e., written by a Turkish playwright) explicitly identifies local social, political, economic, historical or cultural conditions in the country. In order to measure the existence of local context, the synopsis (and when available, more detailed description) of the plays (e.g., Çalışlar, 1994; 2006; Güllü, 2008; Selen, 2003; Şener, 2003), and the play reviews by critics (e.g., Karakadıoğlu and Elmas, 2008; Sevinçli et al. 1994; Şener, 2005) were analyzed. Whenever such an assertion was encountered in one of these texts, the play was coded as having a local context (coded as "1"); otherwise it was coded as "0".

5.3. Preliminary Analyses

5.3.1. Cluster Analysis for Discovering Organizational Identity Profiles

5.3.1.1. Rationale of conducting cluster analysis

To determine different clusters of play profiles in the field, I performed a cluster analysis (CA). After seven general thematic groups were identified by the MCA analysis (see Chapter 6, Section 6.1) and eleven broad genre categories were determined as explained above, I combined these dimensions with the other four play dimensions (origin, local context, theatrical form, classic play) as my variables for CA (a total of 22). I chose to perform a CA because it is the most appropriate analysis approach when the task is grouping cases of data based on similarities in some predetermined aspects; the characteristics they possess (Hair et al., 2010). Once the characteristics are selected, the classification of the data is suggested by natural groupings of the data, themselves (Aldenderfer and Blashfield, 1984).

Cluster analysis, as a descriptive and conceptual development technique, fits to my theoretical goal in this study as a means to an end in two ways: First, by reducing the entire play data into distinctive profiles based on a number of attributes, I can better understand the objectives, attitudes and orientations of theatre companies by looking at the group of plays they chose to stage. In this fashion, I am able to give a complete and clear description of their organizational identities with minimum loss of information. Second, I use the results of this cluster analysis (as different theatre identity profiles) to test my previously stated hypotheses regarding the relationship between particular conditions and identity hybridization since I primarily need to identify and measure the different identities that might be blended. In brief, the cluster solution received from CA methodology will be useful in discovering which distinct clusters of plays exist and what they represent in terms of theatre identities in the Turkish theatre field.

5.3.1.2. Cluster algorithm and procedure

Selection of hierarchical or nonhierarchical methods in CA is largely based on the sample size and it is advised to perform a two-step procedure for datasets where the sample exceeds 1,000 observations (Hair et al., 2010). Based on this advice, I followed a combination approach for my analysis consisting of two parts: i) a hierarchical

approach to select the appropriate number of clusters; ii) a nonhierarchical method (or *k-means algorithm*) that groups all observations using the predetermined number of clusters and initial seed points to provide more accurate cluster memberships and profiles. In this way, the advantages of the hierarchical method will be complemented by the abilities of the nonhierarchical method: Not only the results will be less susceptible to outliers in the data but the large dataset can also be analyzed since just the similarity of each observation to the cluster centroids will be required (rather than the calculation of similarity matrices among all observations as in the hierarchical method).

Applying the two-staged procedure, I first performed a hierarchical CA on the dataset. For this hierarchical analysis, *average-linkage* method was used as the grouping structure (Aldenderfer and Blashfield, 1984).[10] To select the most appropriate cluster solution to represent the data structure among a complete set of solutions generated by the analysis, I used two stopping rules as my criteria. Since there is a lack of evidence supporting any single stopping rule, I used multiple rules and looked for consistency among them.

The two stopping rules used are the Calinski and Harabasz (1974) *pseudo-F index* and *the Duda-Hart Je(2)/Je(1) index* (1973). For both rules, larger values indicate more distinct clustering. Along with the Duda-Hart Je(2)/Je(1) index, pseudo-*T*-squared measure was also utilized where smaller values indicate more distinct clustering. Applying these rules to the data indicated that the most appropriate number of clusters will be five: I found one of the largest Je(2)/Je(1) value that corresponded to one of the lowest pseudo-*T*-squared value. This strategy combined with Calinski-Harabasz results, indicates that the five-cluster solution is the most distinct in this hierarchical CA.

After determining the most suitable number of clusters as above, I performed a k-means analysis that would result in five clusters (k=5). One key dimension in performing this model was the choice of the similarity measure to be applied. My measure of category similarity is the Jaccard similarity coefficient (1901; 1908), one of the most widely used measures of similarity. The Jaccard index of the similarity of a pair of label sets amounts to a simple calculation on the extensions of the two labels. Let's assume we have observations *i* and *j*. In their comparison, *a* is the number of variables where observation *i* and observation *j* both had ones; *b* is the number of

[10] The result obtained by average-linkage method was compared with the ones from by single-, complete- and Ward's-linkage methods as alternative analyses. No significant difference was found.

variables where observation *i* is one and observation *j* is zero; and *c* is the number of variables where observation *i* is zero and *j* is one. Then formally, it denotes:

$$a / (a+b+c) \quad (5.1)$$

which is the proportion of matches when at least one of the vectors had a one. If both vectors are all zeros, this measure is undefined. Thus, the index takes values in the [0; 1] range, with 0 denoting perfect dissimilarity and 1 denoting perfect similarity.[11] [12]

5.3.2. Treatment of Missing Data

The data includes no missing observations in terms of theatre companies, that is, no active theatres were left out of the sample. Although there might be a few occasions where a theatre-year is incorrectly skipped, the actual realm of missing data comes from the individual plays that might not be listed in the bibliographies and other resources used as a part of the theatre's repertoire. The fragmented nature of the play listings for some years might also enter as a factor here. Because of this, some plays could not be coded but in fact performed by a theatre. As such, there may be some missing cases and unbalanced occasions across time; yet it is impossible to actually observe and calculate the rate of it.

Such occurrence of "dropouts" is a common situation in longitudinal datasets (Laird, 1988) and there are three basic assumptions: Data are *missing at random (MAR)* if the probability of being missing does not depend on the values that are missing. *Missing completely at random (MCAR),* on the other hand, is a process in which the fact that data is missing is completely independent of both the observed and missing values (Jamshidian, 2009) which would be a very relaxed assumption for longitudinal data structure. Yet another process is *missing not at random (MNAR)* where the data being missing depends on the missing values themselves (Jamshidian, 2009). In my data, there

[11] There exist large number of binary similarity measures, such as simple matching (Sokal and Michener, 1958), Pearson's coefficient (Pearson, 1900), Russell index (Russell and Rao, 1940) or Yule's Q (Yule and Kendall, 1950). For a detailed discussion of alternative similarity and dissimilarity measures, see Batagelj and Bren (1995). My preliminary results show that the main findings of this study apply to most of these other measures as well without any significant change of the resulting cluster structure.

[12] The initial cluster centers were taken as random. As a common rule, I also assured that no cluster contains less than 10 percent of observations in the data.

is no valid reason to assume that the theatre companies for which some play performances that are missing would automatically have higher (or lower) levels of identity hybridization at the time point (as the assumption of MNAR). Besides, even though the data being missing may depend on some independent variables (e.g. time period, theatre form, city, age), which is acceptable in MAR but not in MCAR (Ullman and Bentler, 2009), there is no reason or evidence to expect that it could depend on the dependent variable.

Fortunately, maximum likelihood (ML) estimation is consistent if the data are MAR (Little and Rubin, 2002; Rubin, 1976). Maximum likelihood and the expectation maximization (EM) algorithm, which I apply in this study, represent a good method for handling missing data since ML estimates are asymptotically (when the sample size is large) normal, unbiased and efficient (Jamshidian, 2009; Ullman and Bentler, 2009).[13] This model-estimating procedure assumes that the data on any variable X are not missing because of the true value of X (MAR assumption). When this is true, it will provide the best possible estimates of the population values (the maximum likelihood estimates) (Little and Rubin, 1987). But even if this assumption is not true, providing that relevant missingness is completely accounted by variables in the model, the estimations are the best possible (Cohen, Cohen, West and Aiken, 2003). In addition, whether the data are missing on X or on Y is not an issue in the ML procedure and the data missing on more than one categorical variable can also be handled through iterations.

With help of these estimations, in longitudinal studies, missing data is "ignorable" when it does not depend on the values that are missing (Longford, 2008; Rabe-Hesketh and Everitt, 2007). Particularly in multilevel modeling there is no need to have balanced design or equally spaced measurements (Hedeker, 2008): subjects -here theatres companies- may vary in their number of measurements by design or due to attrition and the variables missing at one point may be approximated by other available data (Cohen et al,. 2003). The valid assumption coupled with the fact that the estimation of my model parameters is based on ML approach, I am confident about obtaining consistent parameter estimates. The size of the sample is also large enough (n=1846 as single observation-years, which is >200) (Cohen et al., 2003) to use the above mentioned estimation.

[13] There are also results of simulation studies showing that ML performs very well under MAR mechanism. For further detail, please see Jaschidian (2009).

5.4. Hypothesis Testing

My general analytic strategy is to investigate the implications of a theatre's initial identity structure (identity imprinting) by taking particular institutional logic effects and other field-level institutional dynamics into account on the likelihood that the theatre will engage in identity blending and assume a hybrid identity. The defined time interval for examining these relationships is the period of Turkish theatre between the years 1923 and 1999.

Some key aspects of my analytical approach should be noted. First, in order to be able to test the hypotheses the final play data provided by cluster analysis (what identity category a play falls into) are matched with organization data (ID's of the theatre, founding year, organizational form, city, etc.), and in this combined dataset all observations become aggregated to the *organization-level*. That is, since the unit of analysis for this study is theatre as an organization, I arrange all observations in "organization-year" form.

Second, I perform a modeling technique called *moving window analysis*. For each "organization-year", I measure my time-varying variables, which are essentially calculated by using the play data, in three-year windows. That is, I conceptualize the structure of the repertoire of a theatre company for a certain year as the aggregate of all the plays it has performed in the last three years: the present year, previous year and two-years before. There are several reasons why I pool the data in windows of three years.

Perhaps more important than anything else, considerable number of theatre companies perform only one play within a year (34 % of all organization-years in my dataset); especially private, small-sized companies and this makes it necessary to use moving windows so that I can calculate the hybridization variable. Under these circumstances, a three-year period offers the advantage of a relatively short snapshot of a theatre company's career but not so short that there would be few theatres which had staged enough plays to produce variation in terms of whether the theatre has a pure identity orientation or a hybrid one, and the extent of its hybridity.

As another reason, the key informants that I interviewed (especially the dramaturges and art directors who are responsible for conducting a comprehensive exploration, selecting and casting the plays and adapting them to the stage) stated that a

theatre need some time to form a consistent artistic expression and outlook around a repertoire and it takes approximately three-four years for the theatre to achieve it. According to these informants, theatres cannot change their set of plays every year but stage the same plays for at least two or three successive years. This is not only because theatres need time to build a somewhat consistent artistic profile -a finalized selection in the eyes of the audience-, but also they should maintain it for some time not to cause confusions and make it easier for the audience and critics to recognize and choose. That is, three-year moving window also well represents the audience's and critics' memory (Leung, 2007).

Besides these, staging a particular play requires certain investment and resources in terms of copyrights, preparing the play to stage, selecting the cast, setting the roles, dialogues and actions right, the rehearsals before staging and preparing the costumes, equipments and decors tailored for this particular play. The investment and resources described make it necessary for the theatre company to continue to perform the selected plays at least for a couple of years. Obviously, some new plays may be added to the repertoire in each upcoming season but no theatre company changes its whole repertoire every year as it will be very impractical and inefficient in terms of all the costs incurred for a particular play. Considering all these theoretical and measurement aspects, identity compositions and hybridization levels of a theatre company were measured by looking at the past three years of plays performed by the theatre.

5.4.1. Study Measures

In the following discussion, I describe the dependent and independent variables used to test the hypotheses, as well as the control variables in my analyses.

5.4.1.1. Dependent variable

Identity Hybridity. To measure organizational identity hybridity, I created and used a contrast-weighted Simpson index. Simpson's (1949) index is commonly used in ecology as standard measure of the diversity of a distribution over a set of discrete categories.[14] This diversity index is a quantitative measure that takes a higher value

[14] An equivalent measure is known as the Herfindahl-Hirschman index (HHI) in economics.

when the number of categories into which a set of entities has been classified increases. It can take a value between 0 and 1 when we calculate the distribution of plays among different identity categories. It is equal to 0 when a set of plays fall into a single identity category (with no plays entering into another category) and approaches 1 when diversity is maximized. The formula is:

$$D = 1 - \sum (n_i /N)^2 \quad (5.2)$$

where;

s = the number of identity categories

i = a given identity category

n_i = the number of plays in category i

N = the total number of plays in the repertoire (for all identity categories).

In this formula, the number of plays in a particular category over the number of total plays performed within the same time interval (n_i /N) represents the *grades of membership* (GoM) of the theatre company for each identity category where the GoMs are converted into relative frequencies. As described earlier in the study, The GoM function is defined as the fraction of an organization's total engagement devoted to that category (Hsu et al., 2009).

In order to measure hybridity in a more rigorous way, I modify this index by taking into account category structures and to what extent they are separated from each other. For this, I integrate the measure of *category contrast* into the original index. According to Hannan et al. (2007), categories can be divided into two major types; namely, as having fuzzier or sharper (clearer) boundaries. They proposed the notion of *contrast* to refer to the degree to which a set (category) stands out from its domain, the clarity of its boundaries. The basic idea is that a relatively sharp category will stand out more from the background whereas a relatively fuzzy category will dissolve in the background. When the average contrast of a category or type is high, it contains few marginal members. Moreover, the members of a class will tend to have very similar feature values, ones that differ from those of the nonmembers of the category (Hannan et al., 2007). Members of the same category attend to the same features and pick out the same feature values as relevant. They suggested that this idea can be implemented empirically by calculating the contrast of a category as the average grade of

membership in the category among those with positive grade of membership. The formula for category contrast, C(*l* i) is:

(5.3)

$$C(l\,i) = \frac{1}{|i|} \sum (n_i / N)$$

It is argued that whether an organization has association in higher contrast versus lower contrast categories matters in several ways like affecting intrinsic appeal (Negro et al., 2010) and providing information about interpretability (Kovacs et al., 2011). I combine this information about the contrasts of the identity categories in theatre with the general diversity calculation and argue that this new measure I called as *contrast-weighted Simpson index* will capture a theatre company's engagement into different identities in a more complete and nuanced way. That is, the extent of blending will be higher when a company combines identity orientations that are sharper and clearer (less entangled with others) in general as opposed to the case where the company combines identity orientations that are already highly entangled or interchanged in the field. There should be a difference between these two cases in terms of the level of hybridization that occurs and takes this new weighted measure into consideration. As a result, this gives me not only a novel and theoretically appropriate measure but also one that has higher content validity considering the distances among identity categories. The formula is:

(5.4)

$$E = 1 - \sum ((n_i / N)^2 * C(i))$$

I should note that as it is described in the data section, both contrast and contrast-weighted Simpson index measures are calculated for three-year moving windows. As a final note, I also compare my novel measure of hybridity with two alternative measures: i) the common Simpson's index, and ii) the number of different identity categories the plays in the repertoire of the theatre falls into. Results of the statistical models performed with these two alternative measures of the dependent variable are presented in Table 6.11 and Table 6.12.

5.4.1.2. Independent variables

As Chapter 3 describes in detail, I focused on five key factors that can influence the level of identity blending of a theatre company at a given year, providing the bases of the five hypotheses that I examine. This section summarizes how I measure each of these factors.

Transition in Institutional Logics. To assess the influence of the transition of field-level institutional logic where the existing dominant logic is in decline and a new logic is on rise (to test Hypothesis 1), the formerly established periodization for Turkish Theatre is used (see Section 4.3). First, in order to identify the different historical stages characterized by a dominant logic, I divided the observation frame for Turkish theatre field from 1923 to 1999 into three periods as follows: Period-1, *Enlightenment* logic (1923-1959); Period-2, *Social-Critique* logic (1960-1979); and Period-3, *Marketization* logic (1980-1999).

Second, according to the beginning and ending points of each institutional period, I identified the years of transition for each of the three dominant logics above. Even though the change of field-level institutional logics is theoretically well established in organizational literature, there is no standard or generally-accepted measurement of logic transition and its exact time frame. Taking the attributes of the empirical context and the historical development of Turkish theatre into account, I determined the years of transition as the *4-years* before and after the changing points of institutional logics in the field. Then, I created a dummy variable for the years of transition within the complete observation frame from 1923 until 1999. Overall, the years from 1956 to 1964 (indicating the transition from *enlightenment* to *social-critique* logic), and the years from 1976 to 1984 (indicating the transition from *social-critique* to *marketization* logic) were coded as "1"; whereas the rest of the years were coded as "0".

Mimetic Processes in the Field. To measure the influence of institutional mimetic processes and the subsequent acceptance of identity blending within the organizational field, and to test its impact on identity blending probability of the focal organization (Hypothesis 2), I computed the diffuseness of hybrid identities across the field. This diffuseness is measured as the sum of the contrast-weighted diversity index scores of all theatre companies operating (which are active) at a given year divided by

the number of these theatres. Thus, this measurement calculates the availability and average acceptance of hybrid identities by other organizations in the field.

Institutional Complexity at Organization's Birth. To test Hypothesis 3, I utilized the concept of *institutional complexity* as it is defined in the literature as the environmental conditions where actors are influenced by varied signals and pressures stemming from multiple institutional logics that coexist in the field (Greenwood et al., 2010; Thornton et al., 2012). In simpler terms, "organizations face institutional complexity whenever they confront incompatible prescriptions from multiple institutional logics" (Greenwood et al., 2011, p.318). The simplest and most direct form of institutional complexity is determined by the number of logics existent in the field. That is, the higher the number of logics, the greater will be the complexity an organization faces with (Greenwood et al., 2011).

Following these assertions, I estimated institutional complexity of the historical period in which an organization was founded as follows: The foundation year (year of birth) of a theatre company was taken from the general bibliographies on Turkish theatre and archival documents of the theatre companies themselves. After recording the year of birth and determining which period it belongs to, next, I coded the institutional complexity of the company's birth period by creating a dichotomous variable: If the theatre was founded between 1923 and 1959 (in *Period-1*), institutional complexity was coded as =0; and if the theatre was founded at a later time (in either *Period-2* or *Period-3*), it was coded as =1.

The reasoning behind considering Period-1 as having minimum complexity (or being institutionally "noncomplex") whereas Period-2 and Period-3 as characterized by higher complexity was largely discussed in Section 2.3. Briefly, in Period-1 under the dominance of *enlightenment* logic, the Turkish theatre field was in a stage of establishment and early development with no substantial discussion, conflict or competition among different logics. That is, the field was not informed by plural logics; only a single logic was influential. However, both in Period-2 and Period-3, diverse social and cultural elements were sedimented and became widely available in the field. Even though a strong institutional logic was prevalent in each period (*social-critique* in Period-2 and *marketization* in Period-3), alternative approaches and conflicting ideas were enhanced and accumulated in the field due to the evolvement of the institutional environment.

Identity Hybridity at Birth. To measure the extent of blending of different identity orientations by a theatre company when it was first founded (to test Hypothesis 4), I follow the same approach as in above and use the contrast-weighted diversity index. To make it compatible with my dependent variable, I also measure it with a three-year time frame. That is, it is calculated on the three years of the theatre company's life after the performance of its first play on stage.

To avoid an overlap between the variables of identity hybridization at present and at birth with respect to observation year, I enter the former variable into analysis only for the years after the first five years at founding. As an example, if the theatre staged its first play in 1990, hybridization at birth is calculated with the play data of the years 1990, 1991 and 1992. Then the closest year for calculating and taking the dependent variable of hybrid identity into analysis for this theatre company would be 1995, where the dependent variable would be calculated with the three-year window of 1993, 1994 and 1995. In this way, any possible correlation-by-design will be avoided since no single year will overlap between the defined dependent and independent variable. If the theatre company lives less than six years (which means the necessary time frame for calculating both variables without an overlap does not exist), I leave identity hybridization at present and at birth out of the analysis for these observations.

Category Contrast of the Central Identity Claim at Birth. To test Hypothesis 5, I examined the contrast level of the identity category which entails the central claim by the organization at its founding. In order to identify which identity category received the strongest claim from the organization at its birth, I utilized the calculated *GoM*s of a theatre in each identity category as an aggregation of the first three years of its founding and then, averaged for one observation year. As such, if the *GoM* score of the theatre exceeds 0.50 in a category adopted –which is the measure of the strongest presence of the theatre regarding this particular identity claim- then it is coded as "1", if not, it is coded as "0" (= a dummy variable). Again, in order to avoid time overlap with recent hybridization, this variable was included as a covariate only for the sixth and subsequent years of observation for any given theater company.

After determining the central identity claim at birth as depicted above, I used the category contrast score belonging to the strongest claim as the final measure of my

independent variable.[15] If more than one identity category were equally strong, for instance if two different identity categories has the same largest share among theatre's all identity claims, then I calculated the average level of the category contrasts belonging to these equally prominent categories. As proposed in Chapter 3, if the strongest identity claim of an organization at its founding belongs to an identity category with higher contrast, the organization will be less likely to have a hybrid identity in later years. Hence, once the hybridity level of initial organizational identity was taken into account, this variable will let me to understand and measure the impact of hybridization at category-level.

5.4.1.3. Control variables

Overall Number of Plays. In order to account for the resource abundance within the theatre field in a given year, I calculate and control the overall number of plays performed in that year by all active theatre companies. This is an important variable because it provides a good proxy for the impact of the social and economic conditions (e.g. development level, education, income, general interest and support for art and etc.) of the time on the field. If the number of all plays staged in a year is high, then we can assume that there are larger resources and opportunities for the theatre companies to combine different identity claims, thus should be controlled. A similar and alternative control measure could be the total number of theatre companies active in a given year but since these two variables are highly correlated, I did not include the latter in my models.[16]

Age of the Field. In order to account for any compounding effect between the institutional complexity at birth and the mere effect of aging of the field, I included the age of the field as another control. It was measured by calculating the difference between the current year and the first year of the theatre field, which is 1923.

Number of Plays by the Theatre. The size of a theatre company and the financial and other resources largely determined by it may have an important effect on the level

[15] See the formula and further explanation for calculating category contrast under the description of the dependent variable of this study.
[16] All study models were run with each of these variables separately included; there was no important change in the findings.

of its identity hybridity. However, one can present contrasting ideas regarding the impact of size and whether it increases the tendency of an organization to blend or maintain a pure identity. Several routines are likely to be institutionalized as an organization gets larger, making the organization resistant to change in its core defining features. However, small and young organizations may face fewer inertial forces than larger and older ones and thus, may find it easier to change established identity claims or recombine them with new ones. Considering these arguments, in order to represent the size of the theatres, I use the total number of plays staged by a theatre in a given year as a control variable. I also consider it as a proxy for resource availabilities of the theatre since it is not possible to gather data on annual sales or profits.

Organization Type. As discussed in Chapter 4, there are two distinct organization types in the Turkish theatre field: private theatres and public theatres. In order to control the impact of these two distinct governance forms on the probability of identity hybridization, an "organizational form" binary variable was created where a theatre company was coded as either "private" or "public", private taking the value "1"; and public "0".

Theatre's Age. As in the case of organization size, models of structural inertia suggest that by increasing age and experience, changes in the organization's core properties can create important liabilities of newness for the organization (Carroll and Hannan, 2000; Hannan and Freeman, 1989). In his model of organizational learning, March (1991) also emphasizes that old organizations are more likely to elicit exploitation while newcomers will increase exploration (i.e., search, discovery and finding more creative solutions). Indeed, several studies have shown that organization age is negatively associated with the inclination to initiate change and experimentation. In support of this argument, new organizations could also be thought as "less-established" entities, manifesting their characteristics and combining diverse, sometimes competing identity claims might have higher probability for less-established organizations.

There are also studies on cultural industries revealing that new and independent artists or groups are more likely to bring diversity and creativity to the industry. For instance, it has been found that in music recording industry, new performers create more musically diverse recordings than their established counterparts (Dowd et al., 2005).

Following the same logic, one may think that young theatre companies can also be more willing to "try" different things and blend diverse identity claims just for the sake of experimenting as well as because they will be feeling less similarity and consistency pressures. That's why, I also control for the theatre company's age in my analysis.

Location. In Turkey a very high portion of theatre groups are and have been established in two cities: Istanbul and Ankara. When we examine the theatres located in these two cities, it is observed that a very high number of them are established and perform their plays in Istanbul. But other than this numerical domination, Istanbul has some other important characteristics that are different from Ankara: Organizations, especially art organizations in larger cities are more likely to have access to information and diverse resources and ideas compared to smaller ones. Thus, it can be suggested that theatre companies located in Istanbul, which is the largest city in Turkey and labeled as the capital of culture and art in the country, can shelter much more diverse identities. Moreover, Istanbul is also regarded as having a different kind of cultural ambience feeding intellectuals and artists with diverse ingredients.

Even though it is the capital of Turkey, Ankara is a much smaller city relative to Istanbul (approximately less than one third of Istanbul's population) and considered to have historically limited cultural resources, which suggests that resources are more available for theatre companies in Istanbul. I control these possible cultural effects of location by creating a dummy variable where Istanbul has the value "1", and Ankara has "0".

Demand for Particular Identities. An alternative explanation to the likelihood and prevalence of hybrid organizational identities can be that they are demanded in the market. That is, instead of an organization's actual orientation or decision for integrating different identity claims as a genuine reflection of "who they are", such identity blending might be a result of the pressures on the organization to be involved in different identity categories because important external audience groups wish or demand so. In order to control for this effect, I used the mortality rate in the previous year for i) organizations with purer identities and, ii) organizations with more hybrid identities, separately. If the contrast-weighted Simpson index of the theatre last year (calculated as a 3-year window) was below the general average of the index, then the organization was coded as having a "pure" identity; otherwise, it was coded as having a "hybrid" identity.

The mortality rates of each of these identity clusters were calculated by the number of organizations closed down in the previous year. The expected direction of these relationships is that if the rate of mortality (failure) among hybrid identity organizations is high and the rate among pure identity organizations is low, then, a focal organization will be more likely to avoid a hybrid identity since the rate of failure signifies a rejection and disapproval by the market (because the hybrid identity is regarded as unsuccessful) and a demand towards a pure one. I included both of the mortality rates in my models.

Resource Concentration. In resource partitioning theory, a field is composed of two major groups of organizations with distinct strategies: *Generalists* and *specialists.* In ecological terms, these two groups of organizations are basically different from each other in terms of their niche width, namely, the variance in resource utilization over positions (Hannan and Freeman, 1989). The basic argument in resource partitioning theory is that generalist organizations in the environment might actually benefit from participating in multiple activities and hold membership in multiple identity categories if they can achieve larger scale (Carroll, 1985). Hence, while most of the large organizations in a field are generalists, most small organizations are specialists. The resource-partitioning model also predicts that increased concentration among generalists in a field enhances the life chances of specialists (Carroll, 1985). In light of these discussions, one may argue that adaptation of a hybrid identity might also be related with the resource concentration level in the field.

In order to take this possible impact into account, I calculated the annual level of consolidation. This will at least partly control for the above resource partitioning explanation and account for the overall power of the generalist and/or largest organizations in the field. To do that, I followed Carroll (1985)'s measurement and estimated the concentration level by means of the *Gini index* (or *Gini coefficient*) of inequality (Gini, 1912). This index takes a value of "0" for an exactly equal distribution and a value of "1" for extreme inequality (or concentration) in a field.

5.4.2. General Analysis Strategy

My analyses consist of *multilevel modeling* as this method accounts for within organization clustering by allowing both a year-level and an organization-level estimate

of variance. This type of modeling offers several advantages including: i) ability to properly analyze unbalanced data; ii) more accurate and generally more conservative standard errors and significance tests; iii) stronger claims of causality due to controlling for any confounding year-level clustering; and iv) the opportunity to explore potentially revealing differences between clusters (in this study, organizations) (see Goldstein, 2003). Furthermore, between-organization differences in sample size have little or no effect on results (Browne and Rasbash, 2009). The use of multilevel models can be further justified by the following three considerations.

5.4.2.1. Improvement on repeated measure ANOVA model

Multilevel regression analyses (or mixed effect models) of longitudinal data have similar goals to those of the repeated measures ANOVA but they expand the investigation of effect to include not only the "fixed" variables considered in the ANOVA but also the coefficients of individual subjects' equations predicting the dependent variable as "random" independent variables. That is, this method uses an alternative type of model that explicitly includes *random effects* for the subjects (Agresti and Finlay, 2009) where one can easily test the stable and changing differences between subjects on levels in the dependent variable.

The distinction between random effects and other parameters in the model is that the random effects are treated as unobserved random variables rather than as parameters. That is, the terms in the model for the subjects are assumed to come from a particular probability distribution with unknown variance. This is very helpful because otherwise (like in repeated measures ANOVA) the number of parameters that need to be estimated could be enormous if each subject term were treated as a parameter rather than a random effect (Agresti and Finlay, 2009). The model also includes *fixed effects* (ordinary parameters) for the predictor variables for which the analysis uses all the categories of interest. Because the set of variables is a mixture of *random* and *fixed effects*, the model is referred to as *mixed model.*

5.4.2.2. Unbalanced data

Particularly, the ability to deal with very unbalanced data structures is a key reason for adopting multilevel modeling (also see Section 5.3.4). In fact, multilevel

regression models can cope with many kinds of unbalanced data problems, in particular those of attrition for some subjects, variable timing of assessments (unequal intervals) or missing observation points and data with only a single data point for some subjects (Cohen et al., 2003). Removing the disadvantage of traditional ANOVA and MANOVA models, it permits observations at different time points and it can accommodate subjects in the analysis when some of their observations are missing which results in greater analytical power. The traditional approaches would discard much of the information. Furthermore, it assumes that the missing data are MAR, which means that the probability an observation is missing does not depend on the value of the unobserved response (Agresti and Finlay, 2009). Thus, the formulation as a two-level model allows for the efficient estimation of a covariance matrix with missing responses when missing is MAR (Browne and Rasbash, 2009). Inference assumes normality but this assumption becomes less important with larger sample sizes.

5.4.2.3. Flexibility and estimation options

The independent variables in multilevel analyses have the full flexibility of the regression procedures. This flexibility in the characteristics of the available data and the ease of employment of all data makes multilevel model estimations much more advantageous to alternative models. In addition, multilevel analyses usually offer more options with regard to link functions and error structures and allow for testing the fit of the data to such models (Cohen et al., 2003).

Considering the aspects discussed above I applied a multilevel (mixed) model strategy to my data. First and foremost, it makes it possible for me to use the data to predict the organizational-level effects. Since my data is structured at two levels (the theatre company itself and repeated time measures of it every year) a multilevel model becomes the best choice. Standard multiple regressions assume that the observations from the same subject are independent. Clearly, in the presence of multiple levels and clustering, this assumption is false and can lead to incorrect inferences. Furthermore, my data is quite unbalanced since not every theatre company has an observation at every year and all time points are not the same for all theatres. Obviously, theatre companies are active only in particular years (not the entire observation frame from 1923 to 1999) and there are also some missing data points for some theatres. Since the

year of assessment for each subject is a part of its prediction equation in multilevel modeling, it becomes the most appropriate analysis strategy.

But even a more important reason is a theoretical one: One of my key motivations in this study is to find out the effect of several organization-level factors as well as field-level factors on organizational identity hybridization. Since my focus is on exploring the differences between higher-level units by also considering time serial dependency (as it will be explained below), multilevel model provides a proper framework for it.

5.4.3. Multilevel Modeling for Longitudinal Data

Observations in a dataset may not be independent, such as students from the same school, employees of a particular firm or individuals who live in a particular neighborhood. Dependency among subset of cases within a dataset as reflected in all these examples is referred to as *clustering* within data (Cohen et al., 2003) and ignoring this clustering will generally cause standard errors of regression coefficients to be underestimated (Browne and Rasbash, 2009). This dependency also arises in longitudinal data when we take repeated measures on a single subject over time -*serial dependency*-, that is, repeated measure models of longitudinal data can be very-well fitted in a multilevel framework. The important idea is that the measurements are nested within a subject; they measure the same quantity but at different times.

The interest in such repeated measures applications on modeling is multiple: i) it might be the overall trajectory of how subjects on average change over time (the population fixed effects); ii) of developing a trajectory for each subject; and iii) in modeling the subject differences from both level-1 and level-2 predictors (Petersen, 2011; Snijder and Bosker, 1999). The last one, modeling the subject differences from predictor variables, is also the key motivation in this study since I want to understand whether and how theatre companies differ in terms of the structure of their identity claims. I measure identity hybridization level of each theatre company once a year for a period of several years and I would expect that the hybridity measures from any one theatre company would be more correlated with one another than the hybridity measures across theatres companies.

When individuals are clustered into groups, we may have multiple levels of measurement, at both the individual level and the group level. For students in schools,

for example, we may measure characteristics of the students (individual level) and characteristics of the schools that will impact all students in them (group level). As I already mentioned, measures taken on multiple levels may as well be treated in multilevel models (equivalently termed as *hierarchical linear models, mixed models* and etc.), which employ random effect regressions (Goldstein, 2003; Kreft and Leeuw, 2002; Snijder and Bosker, 1999). In this framework, the group or cluster level is the *higher-level (level 2)* whereas the lowest level of aggregation, the individual observations are referred to as the *lower-level (level 1)*, giving multiple data points from each higher-level group. In longitudinal data, the individual measurements at each point in time would be the lower-level (level-1 units), and the subject from whom these multiple observations have been gathered would be the higher-level (level-2 units).

For the data in this study, each observation year of a theatre company constitutes the lower-level (level 1) whereas the theatre company itself represents the higher-level (level 2) in the multilevel model.

Although multiple levels of analyses of clustered data and repeated data are mathematically the same, some translation and clarification on thinking might be required to link these two key applications. In longitudinal data with a number of organizations measured over time, we can estimate an overall regression equation that characterizes, on average, how these organizations change over time. The regression coefficients in these overall regression equations are referred to as the "fixed effects" of the analysis. The multilevel analysis also allows for measurement of relationships of predictors of the dependent variable separately for each subject (individual organizations). This includes the variance due to individual differences in the intercepts of the equations. There is another variance component associated with the variance across individuals in the slopes in these equations. A third variance component is the covariance between the individual slopes and intercepts across all the individuals. These variance components are the "random effects" in the multivariate model. I will now explain these random regression models and their components in more detail.

5.4.4. Random Intercept and Coefficient Regression Models

Random coefficient (RC) regression models (as opposed to ordinary least squares (OLS) or fixed effects models) provide a highly flexible approach to the handling of clustered data. When data are clustered, the RC model provides accurate

estimates of relationships of individual level predictors to the dependent variable while at the same time taking into account clustering and providing accurate estimates of the standard errors of regression coefficients (Cohen et al., 2003). RC model also permits the analysis of multilevel data within a single regression model.

In any single random coefficient regression analysis, we conceptually have a whole series of regression equations, one for each group, each with its own intercept and slope. Within the analysis, there is a distribution of these intercepts and a distribution of the slopes. The term *random coefficient regression* stems from the assumption that the intercept and the slope are themselves random variables. If there is no variation among the intercept across the groups and no variation among the slopes across the groups, than the random coefficient regression model is equivalent to fixed OLS regression.

There are three types of regression equations in the random coefficient regression model. First, there are level-1 (lower level) regression equations, one for each group in the dataset. Second, there are level-2 regression equations that carry the group structure inherent in the data. That is, the identity of the groups within the analysis is embodied in the level-2 equations. Third, there is an overall regression equation, *the mixed model* equation that combines the level-1 and level-2 equations. It "mixes" the two levels in that it contains terms from both the level-1 and level-2 models.

In addition, as I have already mentioned in the previous section, there are a set of *variance components* that summarize the differences among the groups. In fact, this is a concept not employed in OLS regression; variance components are a hallmark of random coefficient models. In random coefficient regression models there are three different sources of random errors or deviations: (1) the level-1 random errors, from random variation in the Y scores; (2) the level-2 deviations of the random intercepts around the population intercept, and (3) the level-2 deviations of the random slopes around the population slope. Each of these sources of random deviation can be summarized as a variance. First we have the level-1 variance and it is typically assumed to be constant across groups and bears no group subscript here. At level-2, we have the variance of the level-1 random intercepts around the population intercept. At level-2, we also have the variance of the level-1 random slopes around the population slopes. Thus, each of these variances is a *variance component* of the model.

There is actually one more variance component in the RC regression model; the random intercepts and slopes may also covary. Thus a third variance component is estimated: the covariance between the level-1 slopes and intercepts across groups and this term might provide interesting information from a theoretical perspective.

To underline the difference once more, in fixed effect regression analysis (or OLS), we have only one variance component. In RC regression, however, we have the level-1 variance component, plus two level-2 variance components. If these last two components are zero, then there is no effect of clustering or group on the outcome of the regression equation; the random coefficient model is equivalent to an OLS regression that ignores group membership.

Finally, we can organize all these parameters of the RC regression model into two classes, referred to as *fixed effects* and the *random effects.* The population regression intercept and slope (regression coefficient) are referred to as the *fixed effects.* The variance components are referred to as the *random effects.* For a clarification and general summary, Table 5.5 shows all of these properties of a multilevel (mixed effects) regression estimate.

5.4.5. Estimation Procedure and Study Models

The approach to estimation is also a key difference between standard regression models and multilevel regressions. The parameter estimates in multilevel modeling are obtained by maximum likelihood (ML) estimation, or alternatively by a related method, restricted maximum likelihood (REML). In ML estimation, a distribution (model) for the data is assumed and the likelihood function based on this distribution is formulated and maximized with respect to the model parameters (Jamshidian, 2009). Then the maximizing parameter values and their standard errors are used to make inferences.

The fixed and random parts of the model (the fixed effects and variance components) are estimates using iterative (deterministic) procedures (Browne and Rasbash, 2009). The estimation begins with an initial estimate of one set of parameters (e.g. the fixed effects) and uses these values in the estimation of the other set (e.g. the variance components). The new estimate of the second set are used to update those of the first set, and the procedure continues in this manner until the process converges.

Estimation of variance components involves algorithms that produce MLEs.[17] Confidence intervals are available for the fixed effects and for the variance components.

I ran four successive multilevel (mixed-effects) ML regressions in this study: first one as the null model to assess between-organization level differences (random intercept only) (Kreft and De Leeuw, 2002), second one including the year-level predictors (a conditional intercept model), third one including both year-level and organization-level predictors as control and independent variables (an improved conditional intercept model), and a fourth one as a random slope model.

I examined tests of significance of both fixed and random effects in these models. Tests of the fixed effects are made against the standard error of the fixed effect, resulting in a z test. Degrees of freedom for the test depend on whether the predictor is at level-2 predictor or a level-1 predictor. For level-1 predictors, the *df* depends on the number of individual cases, groups and level-1 predictors. For level-2 predictors, the *df* depends on the number of groups and number of level-2 predictors. Meanwhile, each variance component is tested for significance of difference from zero by a chi-square test.

Yet, my key approach in this study is a *model comparison approach*, based on likelihood ratio tests of nested models (Cohen et al., 2003). This is the same form of test as in the testing of nested models in logistic regression. A likelihood ratio $\chi 2$ test is used to test whether the model fit is significantly worse when additional predictor variables are entered (between model-1, model-2 and model-3) and the variance components are changed (between model-3 and model-4) across the models specified.

5.4.5.1. Null model: variance component only

First, the null model was run in order to identify the variance component only - without any predictors. In this model specification, we can also calculate *the intraclass correlation (ICC).* The ICC measures the proportion of the total variance of a variable that is accounted for by the clustering of the cases (Shrout and Fleiss, 1979). It can also be conceptualized as a measure of the extent to which members of the same category (in this study, measures in different time points within a theatre) are more similar to one another than to members of other categories (measures belonging to another theatre)

[17] See Chapter 3 of Raudenbsuh and Bryk (2002) which provides details on the estimation of the multilevel model and on the hypothesis testing within this model.

(Cohen et al., 2003). If we let (σ^2_{u0}) represent the amount of variance that is due to differences among theatres and (σ^2_{e0}) represent the variance among yearly scores of the theatre, then the total variance is given as (σ^2_{u0}) + (σ^2_{e0}). Then the expression for ICC measure can be represented as follows:

$$ICC = (\sigma^2_{u0}) / (\sigma^2_{u0}) + (\sigma^2_{e0}) \quad (5.5)$$

ICC ranges from 0 for complete independence of observations to 1 for complete dependence. The higher the value of this correlation, the more similar two observation years from the same theatre are, which means that the "clustering" effect of the higher-unit (theatre company) is stronger. Therefore it shows that modeling the data in a multi-level (mixed effects) format is necessary.

5.4.5.2. Model-2: random intercept with level-1 factors

To specify multivariate random-intercept models, I treat each theatre as a level-2 unit and the within-theatre measurements (in my case theatre-year observations) as level-1 units. As the next step from the null model, I first estimate a model with only year-level (level-1) factors without including organizational-level (level-2) variables. The basic explanatory variables in this second model are a set of general time-varying factors.

5.4.5.3. Model-3: random intercept with level-1 and level-2 factors

Then as the next step, I also include theatre-level variables to the model, for instance, identity hybridity level at birth, contrast level of the main identity claim at birth and organization type. Here, the model estimates of the parameters become the usual between-organization estimates of the variance and covariance. This model also represents my basic model in the study and I will evaluate and compare the results of the other models against this model.

We can explain the logic of these last two random intercept models as follows: Once I make the model a multilevel (mixed) one, I can have a different prediction line for each theatre company where theatres differ in terms of their intercept only which gives rise to a set of different lines. In this way I will have a specific regression line for

each theatre but they will all be parallel to each other. We can extend the equation for a standard regression model to represent the random intercept model like the following:

$$y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_1 x_{ij} + e_{0ij} \quad (5.6)$$

Here y_{ij} is the identity hybridity score for the *i*th year of the *j*th theatre. β_{0j} is the intercept for the *j*th theatre, β_1 is the slope coefficient for the predictor variable, x_{ij} is the predictor variable for the *i*th year of the *j*th theatre, and e_{0ij} is the departure of the *i*th year of the *j*th theatre from the theatre's predicted line. The intercept for the jth theatre is expressed as:

$$\beta_{0j} = \beta_0 + u_{0ij} \quad (5.7)$$

where β_0 is the average intercept for all the theatres in the sample, and u_{0ij} is a random departure for the *j*th theatre. Substituting it into the random intercept model, we have:

$$y_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{ij} + u_{0ij} + e_{0ij} \quad (5.8)$$

In this basic multilevel model, we assume that:

$$u_{0ij} \sim N(0, \sigma^2_{u0}),$$
$$e_{0ij} \sim N(0, \sigma^2_{e0}).$$

These equations show us one of the major differences between multilevel and standard regression models. Multilevel model has two random variables for modeling the unexplained variance: a theatre-year level random variable e_{0ij}, and a theatre-level random variable, u_{0ij}. Standard multiple regression only has one random variable for modeling the unexplained variance, often called as the error term.

I estimate four parameters in these random intercept models. Two of them, β_0 and β_1, are like standard multiple regression coefficients: they give the average prediction line from which the *j*th theatre's line is offset by a random departure u_{0ij}. As I mentioned before, these regression parameters are called the *fixed part* (or *fixed parameters*) of the model. Fixed parameters are denoted by β; level-2 random departures (effects) are denoted by *u* and level-1 random effects by *e*.

5.4.5.4. Model-4: random slope

In the random coefficient context, I also specified a different model which allows the variance of the slopes to be nonzero. Theoretically, I do not have any solid reason to prefer this more complex model but what I want to do is to compare this less restrictive model with the more restrictive one (model-3) that forces the variance component to be zero. By this way, I will see what one can expect from such a random slope model.

I will give an example from the empirical context of this study so that the difference between Model-3 and Model-4 can be clarified: In terms of the random intercept model (Model-3), independent variables explain a disparity among theatre companies which remains constant across years. For instance, a theatre company that exhibits a more hybrid identity than other theatres in its early years will always present the same amount of difference regarding hybridization. However, according to random slope model (Model-4), such a theatre with higher hybridity in its early years of performance can move ahead of other theatre companies by becoming increasingly hybrid over the years. That is, a random slope model will consider and allow for such an increasing divergence based on the initial starting points of the theatres.

What Model-4 implies is that we can extend the random intercept model (Model-3) to allow for the possibility of theatres having different slopes by allowing the slope coefficient β_1 to vary randomly at theatre-level. Now, the theatre-specific regressions are not parallel anymore. That is:

$$y_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{ij} + e_{0ij} \quad (5.9)$$
$$\beta_{0j} = \beta_0 + u_{0j}$$
$$\beta_{1j} = \beta_1 + u_{1j}$$

u_{0j} and u_{1j} are random departures (random effects) at the theatre level from β_0 and β_1. They allow the *j*th theatre's summary line to differ from the average line in both its slope and intercept. u_{0j} and u_{1j} follow a multivariate normal distribution with mean 0 and covariance matrix Ω_u. Since in this model we have two random variables at level-2, Ω_u is a 2x2 covariance matrix.

One additional multilevel analysis was also produced for the data that consists of only private theatre companies (excluding public theatres). My motivation for

performing this additional analysis was to check the strength of the study results with the complete dataset by including "the number of plays performed by the theatre" as another control variable since it was dropped from the previous analyses because of its high correlation with "organization type". Finally, as further checks I ran two more multilevel models using either "number of different identity claims" or "simple diversity index" (Simpson's index) as the dependent variable. These model analyses will be discussed under "sensitivity tests" after the results.

I ran all of my analyses via maximum likelihood (ML) estimation for fitting the model. I preferred ML estimation against maximum restricted likelihood (REML) because it is the recommended one when the data is not balanced (e.g., Cohen et al., 2003; Jamshidian, 2009). Moreover, it is appropriate for comparing models with different fixed-effects specifications via likelihood-ratio (LR) tests and has the advantage of being easy to explain.

Besides others, one additional appealing aspect of multilevel (or mixed) models is the freedom of using various covariance structures for the random effects (Agresti and Finlay, 2009). One possibility is the *independent* structure that allows for a distinct variance for each random effect and assumes that all covariances are zero. *Exchangeable* structure on the other hand specifies one common variance for all random effects and one common covariance. An *identity* (or *identical*) structure assumes that all variances are equal and all covariances are zero. Finally, it is also possible to use an *unstructured* approach that makes no assumption about the variance pattern and allows for all variances and covariances to be distinct. I chose this last option for the analysis of Model-4 so that the covariance (and correlation) is not set to be zero. But since each of the first three models represent a single variable random-effects specification; covariance matrix is automatically set to *identity*.

Table 5.1

Play dimensions used as the variables in cluster analysis (CA)

Dimensions	**Description**
Theatrical form	Open form =1; close form =0
Genre	Each of the eleven genre categories are coded as “1” and “0”
Thematic content	Each of the seven theme categories are coded as “1” and “0”
Origin	Turkish (local) playwright =1; foreign playwright =0
Classic play	If the play is considered as a classical work =1; otherwise = 0
Local context	Explicit emphasis =1; no explicit emphasis = 0

Table 5.2

Genre categories used in the study

Category	**Content**
Genre-1	Drama
Genre-2	Comedy
Genre-3	Tragedy
Genre-4	Romance; melodrama
Genre-5	Historical; documentary
Genre-6	Fantasy; epic
Genre-7	Psychological
Genre-8	Thriller; adventure; science-fiction
Genre-9	Satire (black comedy)
Genre-10	Vaudeville; farce
Genre-11	Musical; operetta; cabaret

Table 5.3

Thematic categories coded and used in multiple correspondence analysis (MCA)

Category	**Description**
Th-1	Economic injustice, class conflict, poverty, distorted socio-economic system
Th-2	Capitalism/ market economy, imperialism, capital class, power of money, new world order, consumption society
Th-3	Bourgeois and their life style
Th-4	Authority, power, oppression and rebellion towards them
Th-5	Problems of the economic-political system
Th-6	State, institutions and their corruption
Th-7	Art, artist, artistic activity, creativity
Th-8	Cultural conflict, changing cultural values, urbanization, migration to cities
Th-9	Problems of rural life, life in province
Th-10	Westernization, modernization, civilization, western-eastern duality, modernity
Th-11	War and peace
Th-12	Customs and traditions, social morals, patriarchy, taboos
Th-13	Puritan thought, fanaticism ,ignorance, religion, conservatism
Th-14	Intellectual, intellect, relationship between idealist person and society
Th-15	Solitude, escape, alienation, fear, withdrawing self, feeling of defeat and helplessness, search for identity, lack of communication
Th-16	Fascism, racism, discrimination, ethnic issues
Th-17	Egoism, self-interest, greed, conspiracy, hypocrisy
Th-18	Moral conflict, material vs. inner values, good vs. bad, right vs. wrong
Th-19	Truths and lies, reality and imaginary
Th-20	Life and death, murder, violence, revenge
Th-21	Justice, rights, guilt-innocence, responsibility
Th-22	Technology and science, humanity and nature
Th-23	Personal relations, love, marriage, cheating, jealousy
Th-24	Family, conflict among different generations, aging
Th-25	Women and related themes (e.g. gender rights)
Th-26	Joy, optimism, hope, happiness
Th-27	Childhood and youth
Th-28	National identity and ideals, patriotism, fighting of independence, republic
Th-29	Historical events, fairy tales, mythological stories
Th-30	Freedom, enlightenment, revolution, democracy, fight for civil rights
Th-31	Personal effort, existence, improvement, success, questioning
Th-32	Destiny, life struggles, fatalism
Th-33	Friendship, solidarity, commitment, honesty, fidelity, altruism
Th-34	Misunderstanding, mixed identities, tags

Table 5.4

Proportion of missing observations for all coded dimensions

Variable	Number of observations that could be coded	Proportion of missing observations
Total sample of plays	2701	
Origin (whether the playwright is local or foreign)	2648	% 2.0
Origin in terms of country	2445	% 9.5
Name of playwright	2619	% 3.0
The year play was written	2289	% 15.3
Genre(s) of the play	2483	% 8.1
Theme(s) of the play	2475	% 8.5
Size of cast	1576	% 41.7
Number of acts	1424	% 47.3
Context (whether the play involves Turkish context)	2454	% 9.1
Open form (whether the play is in open form or not)	2449	% 9.3
Classic (whether the play is a classic piece or not)	2458	% 9.0

Table 5.5

Parts of the multilevel (mixed effects) regression model

A. Coefficient in level-1 equation for group *j*.

- Level-1 regression intercept in group *j*.
- Level-1 regression coefficient (slope) in group *j*.

B. Fixed population regression coefficients: *Fixed part of the model*

- The population regression intercept
- The population regression coefficient for the regression of the dependent variable on the level-1 predictor
- The population regression coefficient for the regression of the dependent variable on the level-2 predictor

C. Residuals and variance components: *Random part of the model*

1. Residuals:
    - Level-1 error for year *i* in group *j* (level-1 equation)
    - Random deviation of the intercept of an individual group *j* from the overall population intercept (level-2 equation)
    - Random deviation of the regression coefficient of an individual group *j* from the overall population regression coefficient (level-2 equation)

2. Variance components:
    - Variance due to random error at level-1
    - Variance of the random intercepts
    - Variance of the random regression coefficients
    - Covariance between the errors of the random regression coefficients and the random regression intercepts

Note: Adopted from Cohen et al. (2003). *Applied multiple regression/ correlation analysis for the behavioral sciences.* Third Edition. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum (p.54).

6.

FINDINGS

My empirical analysis is composed of two parts: (1) presenting theatre identity categories manifested by the chosen play dimensions and determining hybridity levels of each theatre company across years in terms of these categories; and (2) testing the study hypotheses regarding hybridization. Sections 6.1 and 6.2 explain the findings for each part in detail.

In order to test the hypotheses regarding predictors of hybrid organizational identities, first the identity categories in Turkish theatre should be identified. To achieve this, I first explored the relationships among the theatre identity dimensions and their relevant sub-categories for detecting possible high associations or any other unexpected situations. As another stage of data preparation, I conducted a MCA on the 32 theme categories (Table 5.3) for finding the underlying broader thematic factors for the plays performed in the field. After these preparations, I utilized CA methodology and ran an analysis on the twenty-two attributes belonging to the six main play dimensions; *theatrical form, genre, thematic content, origin, classic play* and *local context* which provided me the identity categories in Turkish theatre.

I used the results of this initial part for determining the hybridity levels of the theatre companies in the field by calculating their membership in each identity category first for each year, and then, for the three-year moving windows. After displaying the general trends of the data and the descriptive statistics of the study variables, I present the results regarding tests of the hypotheses. I also provided the findings from some sensitivity tests and alternative estimations in order to check the robustness of the study results.

6.1. Discovering Identity Categories

6.1.1. Relationships between Play Dimensions

Prior to further analyses, I examined the associations between play dimensions which are all in the form of binary variables. That is, if a play possesses a certain attribute, it was coded as "1", if not, as "0". For example, if the play can be listed under the genre of "comedy" (has comedic properties); it took "1" as value. There is said to be an *association* between two categorical variables if certain values of one variable tend to go with certain values of the other (Agresti and Finlay, 2009). Thus, associations can be regarded as the correlation coefficients designed for use with nominal data. For example, if we can consider the affiliation between whether the play is a "comedy" or not and whether the playwright is "local" or "foreign" and try to understand if there is a significant association between these two attributes.

First, I constructed contingency tables where the number of plays –their distributions- can be observed at all combinations of possible outcomes for all the binary variable pairs in my study. After this initial investigation I examined whether these pairs are statistically dependent or independent. Two categorical (or binary) variables are *statistically independent* if the population conditional distributions on one of them are identical at each category of the other (Agresti and Finlay, 2009). I wanted to assure this independence and not to code similar things with different attributes. In order to test independence, I conducted *chi-square tests* as well as some other nominal association measurements: *Phi coefficient* (Yule, 1912)*, Cramer's V* (Cramer, 1946) and *Pearson's contingency coefficient* which are all used when both variables are dichotomous. A large value for χ^2 suggests that the variables are associated; if the *P*-value is very small, strong evidence exists that the variables are associated. If the *P*-value is large, the variables are considered to be independent. Phi, Cramer's V and the contingency coefficient are other chi squared-based measures of nominal associations which are adjusted for factoring out sample and table sizes, Cramer's V being the most widely-used among all.

I conducted the three above tests which have been frequently recommended in the literature for identifying associations between binary variables. They all produced consistent results and I did not find any significant association that can cause a problem in further inspections of the data except the following: i) genre-5 *"historical play"* and

theme-29 *"historical/ mythological themes, fairy tales",* ii) genre-11 *"vaudeville/ boulevard theatre"* and theme-34 *"misunderstandings, mistaken identities, playing tags",* and iii) *origin* and *context.*

A closer look reveals that the first two associations point to a coding of very similar contents. In order to avoid any threat of multicollinearity or bias, I discarded *theme-29* and *theme-34* from my analyses. Although the association between origin and context was the highest one among all, it was also very well expected since if a play includes or emphasizes a local context, it should first and foremost be "local", that is, written by a local playwright. Yet, as they have different theoretical meanings and are both important concepts for the research, I kept them in the analysis.[18] Overall, only two theme categories were omitted from the further analysis of the study, resulting in final 32 categories (for descriptions of each theme, see Table 5.3).

6.1.2. Results of Multiple Correspondence Analysis and Descriptive Statistics for Play Data

I conducted my MCA on these 32 theme categories for discovering the underlying broader theme groups. In interpreting MCA results, the first task is to assess the relative positioning of the attributes; the associations between them in terms of their proximity in the perceptual map. Analysis results providing the coordinates for each theme (Table 6.1) and their visualization in the MCA plot/map (Figure 6.1) indicates that several patterns indeed emerge: The attributes that fall in close proximity (having high association) reveals that the data was composed of seven underlying thematic factors. For example, *Themes-1, 2, 5* and *6* as described in Table 5.3 appear to fall in very close proximity on the map; forming one factor. Similarly, *Themes-4, 11, 16* and *30* composes a group on their own; another factor. After examining and interpreting the content of the seven emerged factors, I listed them in Table 6.2.

After reducing theme categories into seven factors as above, a total of 22 play attributes (one as *theatrical form*, eleven as *genre*, seven as *thematic content*, one as *origin*, one as *classic play* and one as *local context*) belonging to the six play dimensions were left to be used in discovering the identity profiles in Turkish theatre.

[18] I ran my successive cluster analysis both with and without the "context" variable as a validation and no significant difference was found in the resulting clusters.

Table 6.3 shows the descriptive statistics – the relative frequency distributions- of the observations based on these dimensions and attributes.

As the table shows, 48% of the plays in the dataset are written by local playwrights and 34% of them have an explicit emphasis on the local context. 77% of the plays in the dataset follow the rules of closed form whereas only 23% of them use open form. In terms of genre distributions, the largest categories are observed as drama (32%) and comedy (25%), followed by tragedy (11%), satire (13%), historical (10%) and musical (10%) plays. As of what themes the plays include, a rather even distribution is obtained. Yet, among the seven general themes identified, the theme that consists of daily life, close relations and family seems somewhat more prominent than the others, as 34% of all plays carry such a theme, followed by the general theme for economic conditions and their social impacts (29%). On the other hand, the least common umbrella themes appear to be *theme-2* (16%) which covers the concepts of war-peace, freedom and independence and *theme-7* (12%) representing subjects like life and death, justice and responsibilities.

6.1.3. Cluster Results and Identity Profiles

6.1.3.1. Cluster results

Table 6.4 shows the chi-square results, variable means and standard deviations from the nonhierarchical cluster analysis and the five clusters that the CA produced. In order to examine the distinctiveness of the groups and the overall fit of the cluster solution one-way ANOVAs are performed to examine whether there are statistically significant differences between clusters on each of the clustering variables. However, since both the dependent and independent variables are categorical variables in this study, I performed a *chi-square test*.[19] The independent variable is cluster membership (which of the five clusters each observation was placed by the clustering process) and the dependent variables are the 22 clustering variables (the play attributes). The highly significant chi-square statistics on Table 6.4 provide evidence that each of the five

[19] Application of the chi-square test requires the sample size to be large enough. A rule of thumb states that this condition is met when none of the frequencies are below five. If it is not the case, it is recommended that the method known as *Fisher's Exact test* is used. Accordingly, when a cell has less than five observations, I performed a *Fisher's Exact test* instead of *chi-square*.

clusters is in fact distinctive. The visual inspection of the clusters and mean values are also provided in Figure 6.2.

Then, to interpret the resulting clusters I carefully examined each cluster in terms of the cluster variate. This stage in the profiling process is based on the interpretation of the mean values of each cluster variable and the differences between these values across clusters. I also assigned a label to each of them which describe the nature of that cluster. The resulting clusters, number of observations in each of them, their key properties and the labels are summarized in Table 6.5.

6.1.3.2. Cluster profiling

Based on the significant contrasts observed, the data includes the following theatre identity clusters, which I have labeled as 1) Entertainment; 2) Western high-brow; 3) Local high-brow, 4) Social critique, and 5) Avant-garde (Table 6.5). The most notable features of these five clusters can be summarized as follows:

Perhaps the key unique feature of the Entertainment cluster that separates it from others is that it presents the highest number of plays with *Theme-4* (personal relations, family, marriage, ordinary life) in 98% of the cases. That is, almost all of the plays within this cluster have such a theme and the other theme category that comes closest only has a value of 14% *(Theme-3).* The second noticeable characteristic of this cluster is the considerably high percentage of plays (31%) in the "light comedy" (farce/ vaudeville) genre whereas this genre category is almost non-existent in the other clusters. "Comedy" (47%) has also a strong presence in this cluster while other genres are rather irrelevant. In fact, this strong emphasis on the light comedy style accompanies with light themes what makes this identity cluster to deserve the label "Entertainment". Other distinguishing factors worth mentioning for the cluster are the high rate of foreign plays (83%) and the dominance of closed form as the theatrical form (94%).

Western High-Brow cluster shows by far the highest level of *Theme-2* (Freedom, independence, war and peace, authority, and etc.) with 49% and a notably higher level of *Theme-5* (Ideals and morals, right and wrong, good and bad, and etc.) with 54% than all other clusters. It carries the highest proportion of plays with *theme-7* (life and death, justice, guilt, responsibility, etc.) as well. Another feature differentiating this cluster appears to be the high amount of plays in the genre category of "tragedy" (31%) while it is almost undetectable in others. Genre category of "suspense, thriller, and science-

fiction" also reaches its highest level (13%) in this cluster when compared to others. Regarding the amount of plays written by foreign playwrights and the proportion of plays that can be regarded as *classics*, Western High-Brow cluster again represents the highest levels of all: Almost all of the plays in this cluster have foreign-origin and more than half of them are classics. These last two properties supported by the particular choice of themes and genres as explained, I believe, justify the label "Western High-Brow".

Unlike other clusters, Local High-Brow cluster has an existence and a much more even distribution across different theme categories (except *theme-7*). Yet, again as a unique attribute, it is composed of only Turkish plays (written by Turkish playwrights) while the only cluster closer to this level of local dominance is Social Critique with 73%. Similarly, it is observed that the plays within this cluster put the strongest emphasis on the local context; the local socio-cultural conditions (83%). Moreover, it is characterized by the largest presence of "historical / documentary" type plays, which might also be associated with the emphasis on context. The 25% presence of this genre category is significantly higher than in all other clusters. It also represents the "most serious" cluster as comedy as a genre has the lowest percentage (only 10%).

Social Critique cluster differs from others as regards to the high level of plays (83%) with *theme-1* (Economic system and its social effects). Besides this dominant theme, the cluster also presents the highest level of *theme-3* (Culture, cultural change, western vs. eastern cultural values, modernity, etc.) with 39%, compared to other clusters. Another notable characteristic that defines this cluster is the widespread use of *open* theatrical form with almost 76% of plays performed in this form whereas its occurrence is either little or non-existent elsewhere. This cluster also differentiates from others with the significant reliance on "black comedy/ satire" (which refers to comedy with a critical flavor) as genre (46%) while the closest level of this genre category in others is only 7%. Another notable aspect is that it involves higher proportion of plays (19%) that can be defined as "musicals" or "operettas" than other clusters. The choice of genre combined with the criticism of economic and social life as the primary theme is what makes this unique identity "Social Critique".

Finally, Avant-Garde identity cluster is purely characterized by *theme-6* (e.g. inner self, existence, alienation, happiness, psychological processes) as all plays within the cluster share this theme whereas it has very low levels in each of the other clusters. Other factors making this cluster unique are the relatively high rates of "epic/ fantastic"

(26%) and "psychological" (26%) dramas compared to their lack of relevancy in other clusters. While 80% of the plays in the cluster are written by foreign playwrights, 15% of the plays have open form (the second highest level after Social Critique cluster). It is also worth mentioning for describing this cluster that even though it contains several Turkish plays, none of them has a local context as the emphasis is clearly on the inner world in all senses of the world instead of the outer one.

6.1.3.3. Validating the cluster solution

In order to validate the resulting clusters three strategies were employed. These include: (1) replication of the cluster for randomized split-half samples (Aldenderfer and Blashfield, 1984; Hair et al. 2010); (2) conducting a multi-dimensional scaling (MDS) analysis, and (3) comparing the results with an outside variable.

First, to evaluate the internal consistency of the final clusters, the dataset was divided into two random samples. Nonhierarchical cluster analysis with the *Jaccard* similarity measure was conducted separately on these two samples. The mean levels of the variables for the 5-groups and the associations between them in each sample do seem very similar to those obtained by whole data which confirms that the five clusters were replicated by the split-half samples taken.

As a second validation strategy, I performed a MDS analysis. Several MDS methods have been suggested in the literature to accommodate the spatial analysis of binary data and discussed as an important method for grouping observations (Kruskal, 1964). To compare it thoroughly with the CA method used in this study, I wanted to run the procedure on exactly the same data. However since MDS analysis is not that applicable for large sizes of data because of high computation complexity (Hair et al., 2010), I took four different random samples each representing 5% of the data. This was also the optimum choice in order to be able to read and interpret the MDS map. The model was a non-metric one since the relation between observation's similarities or distances is not linear while *Jaccard* similarity measure was chosen for computation so as to have results comparable with the ones from CA. I evaluated the results in terms of the following: a) visual inspection of the MDS map in order to see whether the field is a homogenous one or different clusters do in fact exist; b) analyzing the common properties of the observations which are closest to each other and form a distinct group on the map.

Results indicated that observations do not scatter homogenously in any of the four maps. Instead there are certain groups of observations in each map which are located separately and distantly from each other, each map indicating such 5 or 6 groups. This gives a general validation that Turkish theatres have performed multiple categories of plays which are significantly distinctive. Next, I examined the features of the plays located in a cluster on the MDS map and found out that they have features highly resembling to the ones obtained in the CA analysis. That is, MDS results largely supported the ones obtained by the cluster analysis.

As a final way of validation, I ran the same cluster analysis with the single change of including "adaptation" variable as a way of assessing criterion validity. The profile of the clusters across related variables not used in the clustering can be used in assessing validity, which is an established practice in the literature (e.g., Ketchen and Shook, 1996; Hair et al., 2010). This *criterion related validity* can be evaluated through significance tests with selected variables that were not used to form the clusters but known to vary across clusters (Aldenderfer and Blashfield, 1984). Since the technique uses a test statistics rather than the researcher providing the meaning of the results, significance tests with such external variables offer a solid tool to check the validity of a cluster solution (Ketchen and Shook, 1996).

Adaptation is one such related variable; it refers to whether a foreign play was subject to a modification and adapted to Turkish context or not. It is a variable which has a theoretically based relationship to the other clustering variables but was not included in the actual analysis. Given the relationship, different mean levels of adaptation should be seen across the clusters. In fact this was actually what was found: The variable showed different mean levels across the resulting clusters. Moreover, general structures of the five clusters remained unchanged with the inclusion of this additional variable.

6.2. Results of Hypothesis Testing

6.2.1. Descriptive Statistics

Before presenting the correlations and other descriptive statistics, I will give a brief description of the data to ascertain its outlook and general properties across the time interval of my analysis.

6.2.1.1. Number of theatres and plays

When one observes the total number of plays staged each year beginning from 1923 until 1999 (see Figure 6.3), it can be suggested that in the first period (until 1960s) considerably fewer number of plays were performed. For this period the average number of plays per year was 57, where only 22 plays were staged in 1923 (the minimum level). This could be well expected as the Turkish theatre field was newly instituted and developing then. In the second period, this picture entirely changes as the number of plays staged at theatre halls begins to increase rapidly, the year 1960 being a real milestone for the change onwards.

The increase has its peak in 1971 when 183 plays were performed by theatre companies in that year while the average number of plays per year for the entire period was 130; almost double the figure in the previous period. Nevertheless, this upward trend seems to come to a halt when the number of plays staged significantly decreased at the end of 1970. The decline remains intact in the 1980s as well. Yet, we observe another increase in the second half of 1990s which seems to go on the same way into 2000s. The average number of plays performed in this third period was 104.

The number of theatre companies was relatively low in the first period when only 13.19 companies were performing in a year, on average. In the second period, the number of newly-established companies was so high that, on average, 35.76 companies were opening their curtains in a year. Even though 1980s experienced a big fall in the number of theatres (that is, a lot of them stopped performing), it was yet to increase in 1990s again and reach almost the same size of the theatre population (35.29 on average) as in the second period.

When we look at the average number of plays performed by a single theatre in a year (again, see Figure 6.3), the outlook becomes quite different than the figures of the total number of plays. The average number of plays performed by a theatre was highest in the first period with 4.35 plays. Even though this number decreased somewhat in the second period (3.77 plays), a relatively steady trend is observed up until the end of 1970s. However, the third period seems to be in sharp contrast to the previous ones as theatres began to perform considerably lower number of plays in a season; only 3 plays on average.

6.2.1.2. Average grade of memberships

If we first consider the distribution of plays into different identity claim categories in Turkish theatre field across the whole observation window (see Table 6.6), it is observed that the largest number of plays fall into entertainment category (26.0 %) followed by social-critique (23.8 %). An even distribution is identified across the other three categories (local high-brow 19.1%; western high-brow 17.1%, and avant-garde 14.1 %).

When we look at how this composition changes across different time periods in Table 6.6, one can see very important differences. In the first period, a considerable portion of all plays performed were representing "entertainment" as organizational identity claim (39.5 %), that is, we can talk about the dominance of entertainment as the notion of theatre in the first decades of the field. The next two important identity claims following entertainment though were quite different in nature: western high-brow (22.2%) and local high-brow (19.5%). In fact, if we combine them in a broader category of "high-brow" plays, this new category becomes the most significant organizational identity in the period: (41.7 %).

The second period introduces a very different picture from the above as "social-critique" identity exercises a dominant stance (31.0 %) compared to others. While "entertainment" category seems to shrink and decrease to a 25.3 % level of all plays performed, the rest of the plays seem to distribute rather evenly to the other three identity categories. A different composition yet again is exhibited in the third period. Although "social-critique" identity has almost the same weight (29.2 %), one observes a very significant enlargement in "avant-garde" category (21.5 %) in this last period compared to the previous period, sharing an equal magnitude with "local high-brow" identity (21.8 %). Meanwhile "entertainment" as an identity claim appears to lose its share in the third period and becomes the smallest identity category of all (12.8 %).

When we examine average grade of memberships of theatre companies into five identity categories (in three-year moving windows), we see that largest GoMs by theatre companies belongs to "entertainment" identity until 1960s (Figure 6.4). However, from this point on "social-critique" identity is observed to be adopted more and more by theatre companies and despite some fluctuations it remains the identity category with the largest GoM until 2000s.

Even though first "local high-brow" and then "western high-brow" identity claims of theatre companies began to increase in the second half of period-1, these two categories seem to follow low GoM rates in a steady way for the rest of the years in the observation window. One can also observe from Figure 6.4 that the average GoM to "avant-garde" identity was very low both in the first and the second periods but the GoM of theatre companies to this category gradually increases in the third period. In fact, as a result of this enlargement average GoMs to "avant-garde" and "social-critique" identities seem to even up in the last years of 1990s.

Finally, an overall examination suggests that the five identity categories have the following average GoMs by theatre companies across the whole observation frame: Enlightenment, 29%; social-critique, 28%; local high-brow 16%; western high-brow 14% and, avant-garde, 13% (Table 6.6).

6.2.1.3. Average level of identity hybridization

We observe that the average number of different identity categories with which a theatre company is involved by performing at least one play representing a particular category is 2.69 (in three-year moving windows). While on average, theatre companies' involvement in two identity categories constitute 32%; the average rate of their involvement in three categories is 27%. While in 17% of all theatre-years companies stage plays belonging to one single category (which refers to complete identity purity), higher levels of hybridity in terms four and five different identity categories seems to be less prevalent (12% of all theatre-years, each). Overall, these values support one of the assertions of this dissertation that hybrid identities may be more prevalent within an organizational field than it has been generally assumed.

As a final point, the average contrast-weighted diversity index for theatre companies in each year can be examined in Figure 6.5. The general average for this variable is 0.71 (while the minimum score is 0.22, the maximum is 0.92). Apart from these numbers the trend line over years as it is shown in Figure 6.5 suggests that in the first period, average identity hybridization by theatre companies gradually increases and in the second period it reaches its highest levels. Despite some certain rises and falls, the third period seems to be characterized by relatively lower levels of hybridity compared to previous high levels.

6.2.1.4. Means, standard deviations and correlations

Table 6.7 provides means, standard deviations and pairwise correlations of the study variables. The table reveals several significant positive and negative correlations. Even though none of these correlations are unusual or abnormal, the strong correlation between "organization type" and "number of plays by organization" variables (0.78) seems to have the possibility to pose a problem for getting parsimonious analysis results. Since two predictors become increasingly correlated, the estimates for individual regression coefficients also become more and more unreliable, a problem that is reflected in large standard errors (Cohen et al., 2003). In order to avoid probable multicollinearity by including these two highly related variables in the same model, I dropped "number of plays by organization" from the analyses. However I performed additional analyses in order to account for its effect as a control (see Section 6.2.3).

6.2.2. Predictors of Hybrid Organizational Identity

Table 6.8 presents the results of hypothesis testing based on multilevel (mixed effects) linear regressions. Model 1 in the table presents the result for the empty model with no predictors. Model 2 adds the level-1 variables to the model (and tests only Hypothesis 4) whereas Model 3 adds all terms (both at level-1 and level-2) for testing all study hypotheses together (Hypotheses 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5). After the missing values were accounted for, number of observations (organization-years) analyzed in these models is 1094, belonging to 127 different groups/clusters (theatre companies).

The null model provides the population regression intercept (See *fixed part* in Table 6.8) as well as the variance terms due to random error and the random intercept (see *random part* in Table 6.8). Since I did not specify any other effects here, the fixed part only includes a constant term. The components of variance available let us to calculate the *intraclass correlation* (ICC) indicating the percentage of variance attributable to organizational membership (Kreft and De Leeuw, 2002).

The composite score of ICC is found to be 0.48 which signifies that an important part of the total variance indeed emerges from the differences among theatre companies. This in fact reflects the importance of building a multi-level estimation and indicates the significance of between-organization differences on identity hybridity in the study. Finally, the likelihood-ratio (LR) test which compares the model to ordinary linear regression (model without a random intercept) is highly significant (Chibar2 =539.39,

p<0.001).[20] This is in fact a predictable result since the dependent variable; level of hybrid identity of a theatre company, across years would be expected to be correlated.

When we add the general time-varying factors (level-1 predictors) to this basis structure, we get Model 2 (see Table 6.8). We now have other coefficients at the fixed part of the estimation for the level-1 predictors specified. This is again a random intercept model but it is now "conditioned" on some variables. The results at Table 6.8 indicate that total average hybridity in the field, signifying the influence of mimetic processes, has a very significant effect (β= 0.76, *p*< 0.001). In terms of the effect of shifting from one dominant logic to another, we can again see that institutional transition in the field through institutional logics is important and significant (β= 0.05, *p*< 0.01). The four control variables; field age, concentration of resources in the field, the rate of failure of pure identity theatres as well as hybrid identity theatres are also significant in this model.

Model 3 in Table 6.8 shows another conditioned random intercept estimation and this time level-2 (theatre level) predictors were also included in the model. This is in fact the complete model that I can test all my hypotheses. Random part of the model is composed of both year-based and theatre-based variables. Here, the two study hypotheses (Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2) regarding field-level institutional effects receive substantial support. As in Model 2, total hybridization in the field, that is, to what extent other organizations adopt hybrid identities is significantly related with the identity hybridity of the focal organization (β= 0.71, *p*< 0.001). This constitutes important evidence in terms of the effect of the behaviors of other organizations on the focal organization's identity. The result hints us that organizations monitor others in the same field while defining "who they are". When others blend different identity claims, the focal organization is likely to emulate them and mimic this behavior. Hence, the model supports what was predicted by Hypothesis 2.

Again, results from Model 3 indicates that transition of logics in the field significantly predicts identity hybridity of the organization (β= 0.04, *p*< 0.05). To be specific, when a dominant institutional logic is losing its power and is descending whereas another logic starts to become increasingly influential and stronger, organizations are indeed affected by this conflict and change in the environment and

[20] LR test statistic here is not the usual chi-squared with one degree of freedom but a chibar2 because the two models being compared differ only with respect to the variance component in question.

become more likely to integrate multiple identity claims. Model results indicate that periods of institutional transition have a significant positive impact on the likelihood of hybridization when compared to other times when a single dominant logic remains rather unchallenged. Thus, transition of institutional logics emerges as an important predictor of the hybridity level of organizational identity, giving full support to Hypothesis 1.

In terms of the impact of the institutional complexity at a theatre company's birth, however, no relationship is found. This lends no support for Hypothesis 3 in Model-3, which is the same as the result yielded in random slope model (Model-4).

Hypothesis 4 asserts that an organization's identity hybridity level in the first years of its founding is likely to factor in its present identity hybridization as an imprinted effect. Hence, it refers to an imprinting effect of organizational characteristics (here, this characteristic is the earlier form of organizational identity itself) rather than environmental conditions at founding. Supporting this assertion, Model 3 reveals a strongly significant relationship between organization's initial and current identity ($\beta = 0.38$, $p < 0.001$) regarding the extent that distinct claims are brought together. That is, theatre companies that exhibited higher identity hybridization in their early organizational history are more likely to have a hybrid identity at later stages of their lives. Since this means former hybridization of identity does influence the current hybridity of a theatre company, Hypothesis 4 is strongly supported.

With respect to Hypothesis 5 which proposes another imprinting effect, however, no significant effect is observed. According to Hypothesis 5, if the central identity claim of an organization at its birth belongs to a high contrast category, the current identity hybridization is expected to be lower. The assumed negative relationship ensues from the fact that if an organization has a strong commitment to an identity category which is much more distinctive and visible from the rest (high-contrast category), then it will be more likely to continue this strong commitment at later years, and thus, avoid blending multiple categorical claims. Yet, the results from Model-3 do not indicate such a relationship and support Hypothesis 5. This implies that the category contrast of the central identity claim at the theatre company's birth might not have a lingering impact (at least which is independent of the hybridity level at birth) on the likelihood of its current identity hybridization.

Overall, these findings advocate that integrating level-2 time-invariant variables indeed leads to an improved model. That is, not only it indicates significant support for

three of the five study hypotheses together, by taking all of the independent and control variables into account, but also that Model-3 is a well-fitting specification among the first three models.[21]

Even though Model 3 is my ultimate random intercept estimation with all study predictions being tested, I also ran an additional random slope model, (Model-4, see Table 6.8). Model 4 represents an extension of Model 3 to allow a random slope on *theatre age* as a time indicator. Here, the assumption that the theatre-specific regression lines are parallel is relaxed by introducing a random theatre-specific slope. I also specified the covariance matrix as *unstructured* to avoid setting the covariance matrix to zero.

Before interpreting the parameter estimates, I tested whether the model fits better than the random intercept model using the likelihood ratio test. The conservative LR test produced reveals that the random-slope model (Model-4) fits better to the data then the constraint model (Model-3) ($\chi 2$ (2) =76.71, p<0.001).

Table 6.8 demonstrates that the intercept and slope estimates are quite similar to those for the random-intercept model. Actually, both the coefficients and significance levels for hypothesized predictors are almost the same as they are in Model 3 (see the last two columns in Table 6.8). Namely, the effect of the transition between dominant institutional logics was again found significant (β= 0.04, p< 0.01). Similarly, the average level of hybridization in the field, and the mimetic processes implied by it, were found to be significantly predictive of the identity hybridity level of a focal organization (β= 0.65, p< 0.01). Yet again in agreement with Model-3, organization's current identity hybridity is significantly predicted by its initial identity at its birth and how hybrid it was (β= 0.34, p< 0.001) in Model-4. The insignificant results in Model-4 do not constitute a departure from Model-3, either. In contrast to what is predicted, neither field-level institutional complexity (Hypothesis 3) nor the category contrast of the organization's strongest identity claim at its founding years (Hypothesis 5) did significantly explain its current identity hybridization.

As a general evaluation of all models taken into consideration, we can conclude that the multilevel random effects regressions seems to fit the data in a very good way and most of the hypothesized relationships received considerable support in terms of

[21] Since the number of observations differ across the two models, I cannot run a LR test for identifying any fit improvement from Model-2 to Model-3.

both field-level institutional factors at present and organization-level early identity-based imprinting effects.

Finally, several control variables, total number of plays performed in the field at a particular year (reflecting the density of the theatre population), concentration of resources in the field, failure rates of organizations with pure identities and with hybrid identities, and the type of a theatre company regarding how it is financed and governed were found to have a significant relationship with the dependent variable in Model-3 and Model-4. We can examine specific impacts of each of these variables as follows:

According to Model-3, overall number of plays performed by theatre companies in the field has a significant relationship with identity hybridity of the organization ($\beta = 0.05$, $p < 0.01$). This might imply that when the general capacity and demand in the field is large, organizations may have larger freedom and opportunity to perform plays from different identity categories while it might not be that way when the overall size of the field is rather small. But this impact is not evident in Model-4. Another factor which is consistently significant in Model-3 and Model-4 is the concentration level of resources in the field. This finding supports the idea that a resource partitioning indeed occurs: When there is higher concentration in the field, the theatre companies in general are much more inclined to dedicate themselves to a single identity category, and thus, embrace purer identities (to enhance their survival chances). The negative impact ($\beta = -0.28$) which is significant at $p < 0.001$ level in Model-3 seems to support this explanation.

Another control variable which is found consistently significant in both models is the type of the theatre company in terms of whether it is publicly or privately financed and governed. With this respect, subsidized (publicly-owned) theatres are found to be more likely to integrate different identity claims within their organization than their private counterparts ($\beta = 0.13$, $p < 0.01$ in Model-3). One implication of this finding might be that when theatre companies possess larger resources and have a certain motivation in terms of being appealing to different expectations and tastes in the society as in the case of subsidized theatres, they become more likely to adopt a hybrid identity. Lacking such a structure and motivation, private theatres seem to concentrate on fewer identity claims.

Number of theatres holding a pure identity that failed and closed down in the previous year was also found to be significantly related with a focal organization's identity hybridity at present year. That is, Model-3 and Model-4 results show that when

mortality of theatre companies having a pure identity increases in the field, an organization's probability of embracing a hybrid identity also increases as it is expected. The failure rate of hybrid identity-organizations was also found to be significantly related with the dependent variable again in the expected way. That is, when mortality of theatre companies having a hybrid identity increases in the field, an organization's probability of embracing a hybrid identity decreases. Thus, these two have the predicted opposite influence on a focal organization's identity hybridity at present time.

No significant effect for the rest of the controls; namely, field age, theatre age and theatre location, was found in any of the models run. One and only exception is field age's significant relationship (β= -0.09, p< 0.05) with the dependent variable in Model 2. Other than this finding, the above mentioned variables do not seem to affect organization's identity hybridity.

6.2.3. Sensitivity Tests and Alternate Estimations

To increase the confidence in the above analysis results, I ran some similar models as well as the same model with an alternative approach. Since *organization type* and *number of plays performed by the theatre* variables are highly correlated (0.78), a danger of multicollinearity arises. In general the symptoms of multicollinearity includes: a) very large standard errors for the affected variables, and b) extreme sensitivity of results such that coefficients flip signs after even minor changes in the model specification (Green, 1993). In the context of my preliminary analyses, similar symptoms were observed. Thus I ran my models without the *number of plays by theatre* variable. But then I performed an additional multilevel model with the data of only private theatre companies so that I could check the robustness of the study results with the complete dataset by including this omitted variable as an additional control. My expectation here was that the new model with a subset of the dataset would lead to similar conclusions. That is, similar predictors would be found as being significant as in the original model.

The results of this rerun model were indeed in this direction. Table 6.9 shows that when compared to previous ones, the new results for private theatres only are quite robust and stable in terms of magnitudes and significance levels. The comparison between Model-3 under each regression estimation yields interesting findings: The same variables hypothesized in the study, namely, average hybridity level in the field

signifying the strength of mimetic forces (β=0.75, $p < 0.001$), organization's identity hybridity at birth (β= 0.31, $p < 0.001$) and transition in field-level institutional logics (β= 0.05, $p < 0.01$) were all found to have significant effect on the dependent variable; present identity hybridity of the organization. Other two predictions regarding institutional complexity and category contrast of central claim at organization's birth (Hypothesis 3 and Hypothesis 5) were not supported, again following the results of the main model.

The control variables of resource concentration and failure rates of pure identity theatres and hybrid identity theatres as indicators of opposite demand factors in the field were also found significant like in the original analysis with the complete dataset. In general, all variables entered into the model have very similar coefficients and signs as in the previous analysis. Yet it is observed that the new control variable -number of plays performed by the theatre- has no significant relationship with the dependent variable. This might imply that one can be confident about the robustness of the previous results which were conducted without including this variable.

Second, I ran the full model (with complete dataset including both private and public theatre companies) with another estimating procedure; *generalized estimating equations (GEE)* (Liang and Zeger, 1986) instead of the regressions with MLEs since the data might be considered having a non-normal distribution. So far I assumed that my dependent variable is a continuous variable. However, it may be regarded as a type of discrete data since it is a proportional one where it can take values between 0 and 1 ("contrast-weighted diversity index" variable is not exactly like this though; it takes values between 0.22 and 0.92. But it still reflects a proportion that does not exceed 1.00). It is a common practice to use the binomial distribution to fit models of proportional data rather than a normal distribution. Generally, modeling binomial data with a logit function is known as logistic regression (Browne and Rasbash, 2009) and is not in itself a multilevel technique. However, there are procedures and software packages that translate logistic regression into multilevel form.

First described by Liang and Zeger (1986), GEE is an extension of the generalized linear model to allow for correlated observations. It characterizes the marginal expectation (average response for observations sharing the same covariates) as a junction of covariates, thus it can be used to estimate marginal effects just like ordinary logistic regression. However, the dependence among units nested in clusters is taken into account in using GEE. Marginal effects can be consistently estimated, even

if the dependence among observations within a cluster is not properly modeled (Rabe-Hesketh and Skrondal, 2005). The standard errors are usually based on the sandwich estimator, which takes the dependence into account. That is, it takes into account the correlation between observations in general linear regression models by the use of empirical (sandwich/ robust) variance estimator (Rabe-Hesketh and Skrondal, 2005).[22]

The results by GEE estimation (see Table 6.10, Model 3) are found to be strongly consistent with the general pattern identified in the original analyses with maximum-likelihood method. All proposed independent variables; that is, transition of field-level institutional logics ($\beta= 0.26$, $p< 0.001$), the degree of institutional imitation (average hybridity) across the field ($\beta= 3.79$, $p< 0.001$), and organization's identity hybridization at birth ($\beta= 1.75$, $p< 0.001$) are found statistically significant. Again following the results of the MLE models, institutional complexity at organization's birth and the category contrast of the strongest identity claim by the organization at its birth were not found significant.

In other words, while Hypothesis 1, 2 and 4 were strongly supported in the predicted direction, Hypothesis 3 and Hypothesis 5 were not supported. These coefficients belong to Model 3 under Table 6.10, which is specified as the model using Huber-White sandwich estimators (robust standard errors) and interchangeable covariance structure. But none of the above statistically significant results change in Model-4 which was again estimated with robust standard errors, but this time with an independent correlation structure. These findings provide further validity to my previous MLE estimates in terms of the supported hypotheses.

As of the control variables, consolidation level in the field, type of theatre (as public or private) and failure rates of pure identity theatres as well as hybrid identity theatres were again found to have significant impact on organizational identity hybridization (Table 6.10). Field age, total number of plays performed in the field, theatre's age and theatre's location as other controls included do not have any significant relationship with the dependent variable. In brief, by yielding very similar results, GEE estimates give more confidence in the findings of the original estimates (Table 6.8) regarding the support for study hypotheses.

[22] I originally attempted to use Stata's "xtmelogit" command which is specifically designed to run multilevel models with binomial distributions however it does not accept my dependent variable (contrast-weighted diversity index) as a discrete data with a binomial distribution and fail to run the analysis.

As a final sensitivity test and alternative estimation, I ran two more multilevel models with MLE procedure using either *number of different identity claims* or *simple diversity index* (Simpson's index) as measurements of my dependent variable instead of the *contrast-weighted diversity* measure that I created and utilized. I treat them as two possible alternative measures of identity hybridity and thus, would like to examine how much the results from these alternative measures will converge with the ones from my primary analysis. The two dependent variables were again computed within the three-year moving windows frame as the contrast-weighted Simpson measure.

By looking at the findings (Table 6.11 and Table 6.12), we can put forward that the two alternative measures of organizational identity hybridity produce results that are consistent with the original one. According to Table 6.11, except for the period effect which turns out to be insignificant, the estimations with *Simpson's diversity index* appears to support study predictions in a very similar way as the contrast-weighted form of the index utilized. For conditional intercept model with both level-1 and level-2 predictors (Model-3), the transition in institutional logics ($\beta= 0.04$, $p< 0.05$), the average hybridity in the field ($\beta= 0.56$, $p< 0.001$) (Hypothesis 2), and hybridity at birth ($\beta= 0.31$, $p< 0.001$) (Hypothesis 4) all significantly predicts the present hybridity level of a theatre company's identity. No support was found for Hypothesis 3 and 5. Among all control variables included, only resource concentration, failure rate of pure-identity theatres and being a publicly-owned company have significant impact over hybridity calculated by Simpson's index.

The situation is almost the same with *number of different identity claims* measure as the dependent variable (see Table 6.12). Again in terms of a comparison by Model-3, the main model, transition of institutional logics ($\beta= 0.22$, $p< 0.01$), the average hybridity in the field ($\beta= 0.60$, $p< 0.001$), and organization's identity hybridity at birth ($\beta= 0.43$, $p< 0.001$) all have significant intact effects on the dependent variable as predicted. Following the results of the previous models, the impact of institutional complexity at organization's birth turns out not to be meaningful whereas no category contrast effect as an imprinting factor was detected.

To summarize, alternative measures of organizational identity hybridization support the findings of the study in a substantive manner which brings larger confidence about the theoretical predictions made and the respective statistical modeling that is chosen to examine them.

Table 6.1

Thematic content coordinates in MCA

Theme Category	Coordinates		Contribution to Inertia [a b]	
	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
Th-1	-3.58	-2.71	0.048	0.027
Th-2	-4.37	-2.90	0.063	0.028
Th-3	-0.70	-3.49	0.001	0.027
Th-4	-6.04	4.45	0.095	0.051
Th-5	-4.31	-4.04	0.063	0.056
Th-6	-3.06	-4.01	0.036	0.062
Th-7	3.12	2.31	0.015	0.008
Th-8	-0.05	-4.69	0.000	0.038
Th-9	0.15	-4.03	0.000	0.021
Th-10	-0.18	-4.33	0.000	0.038
Th-11	-6.81	8.77	0.068	0.114
Th-12	1.28	-4.15	0.004	0.041
Th-13	-0.72	-3.05	0.001	0.015
Th-14	-0.47	1.86	0.001	0.009
Th-15	4.10	2.55	0.051	0.020
Th-16	-7.71	8.68	0.071	0.089
Th-17	-1.28	-0.23	0.005	0.000
Th-18	-1.99	-0.59	0.012	0.001
Th-19	2.47	-0.63	0.017	0.001
Th-20	0.60	5.45	0.001	0.087
Th-21	-0.17	5.26	0.000	0.055
Th-22	-0.16	1.78	0.000	0.004
Th-23	2.65	-0.78	0.041	0.003
Th-24	3.06	-0.77	0.023	0.001
Th-25	2.13	-1.77	0.009	0.006
Th-26	4.53	2.33	0.048	0.013
Th-27	2.79	-0.25	0.007	0.000
Th-28	-3.44	2.22	0.013	0.005
Th-30	-6.91	5.07	0.102	0.055
Th-31	4.45	2.48	0.044	0.014
Th-32	4.93	3.59	0.042	0.022
Th-33	4.71	2.93	0.038	0.015

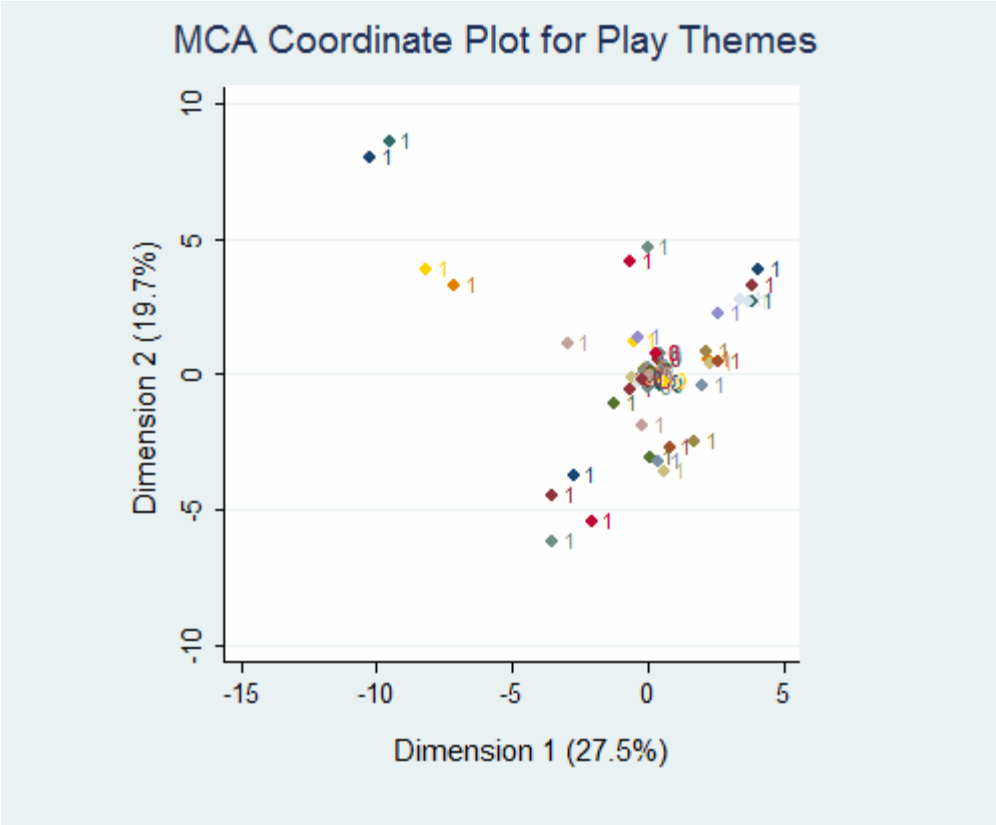
N= 2477

[a] Proportion of dimension's inertia attributed to each category.

[b] Method: Burt/ adjusted inertias

Figure 6.1

Representation of play themes on the MCA coordinate plot



Notes: Coordinates are shown in standard normalization.
The different colors represent different themes which are all binary variables.
The visible labels of "1" signify the presence of a theme on the coordinate plot. Non-presence of each theme is also indicated on the plot with a "0" however, since the "0"s are collected on the same coordinate point (0, 0) they cannot be visibly separated like the "1"s.

Table 6.2

Thematic groups in Turkish theatre based on MCA

Theme 1:	Economic system and its social effects
Theme 2:	Freedom, independence, war and peace, authority and suppression
Theme 3:	Culture, cultural change, western vs. eastern cultural values, modernity
Theme 4:	Personal relations, family, marriage, ordinary day issues
Theme 5:	Ideals and morals, right and wrong, good and bad, pursue of self interest
Theme 6:	Inner self, existence, alienation, happiness, psychological processes
Theme 7:	Life and death, justice, guilt, responsibility

Table 6.3

Frequency distributions of play dimensions

Play Attribute	Proportion	Std. Dev.	N
Origin	0.48	0.50	2648
Local context	0.34	0.47	2454
Genre-1	0.32	0.47	2483
Genre-2	0.25	0.43	2483
Genre-3	0.11	0.31	2483
Genre-4	0.05	0.22	2483
Genre-5	0.10	0.30	2483
Genre-6	0.08	0.32	2483
Genre-7	0.07	0.25	2483
Genre-8	0.05	0.21	2483
Genre-9	0.13	0.34	2483
Genre-10	0.07	0.27	2483
Genre-11	0.10	0.30	2483
Theme-1	0.29	0.46	2475
Theme-2	0.16	0.36	2475
Theme-3	0.23	0.42	2475
Theme-4	0.34	0.47	2475
Theme-5	0.26	0.44	2475
Theme-6	0.26	0.44	2475
Theme-7	0.12	0.33	2475
Theatrical form	0.23	0.42	2449
Classic work	0.20	0.40	2458

Table 6.4

Chi-Square results of mean cluster characteristics: Means and standard deviations

Variable	Cluster-1	Cluster-2	Cluster-3	Cluster-4	Cluster-5	χ^2
Origin	0.17 (0.38)	0.01 (0.10)	0.99 (0.07)	0.73 (0.44)	0.20 (0.40)	1400.00***
Local context	0.00 (0.04)	0.00 (0.00)	0.82 (0.38)	0.71 (0.46)	0.00 (0.00)	1600.00***
Theatric form	0.06 (0.24)	0.06 (0.23)	0.06 (0.24)	0.76 (0.43)	0.15 (0.36)	1100.00***
Classic work	0.22 (0.41)	0.51 (0.50)	0.04 (0.19)	0.18 (0.39)	0.12 (0.32)	336.66***
Genre-1	0.07 (0.24)	0.51 (0.50)	0.52 (0.50)	0.10 (0.30)	0.52 (0.50)	521.41***
Genre-2	0.47 (0.50)	0.11 (0.32)	0.10 (0.31)	0.33 (0.48)	0.12 (0.33)	307.56***
Genre-3	0.02 (0.13)	0.31 (0.46)	0.17 (0.38)	0.05 (0.42)	0.05 (0.23)	251.64***
Genre-4	0.10 (0.30)	0.04 (0.21)	0.04 (0.19)	0.00 (0.04)	0.07 (0.26)	60.70***
Genre-5	0.01 (0.09)	0.15 (0.36)	0.25 (0.43)	0.07 (0.25)	0.04 (0.20)	210.33***
Genre-6	0.01 (0.11)	0.05 (0.22)	0.05 (0.22)	0.07 (0.25)	0.26 (0.57)	200.58***
Genre-7	0.01 (0.07)	0.04 (0.21)	0.04 (0.19)	0.01 (0.10)	0.26 (0.44)	336.49***
Genre-8	0.05 (0.21)	0.13 (0.34)	0.01 (0.10)	0.00 (0.04)	0.07 (0.26)	107.45***
Genre-9	0.04 (0.18)	0.04 (0.20)	0.01 (0.10)	0.46 (0.50)	0.07 (0.26)	664.77***
Genre-10	0.31 (0.46)	0.01 (0.11)	0.02 (014)	0.01 (0.10)	0.01 (0.08)	512.53***
Genre-11	0.15 (0.36)	0.03 (0.18)	0.07 (0.25)	0.19 (0.39)	0.04 (0.20)	104.04***
Theme-1	0.04 (0.20)	0.20 (0.40)	0.24 (0.43)	0.83 (0.37)	0.08 (0.27)	1100.00***
Theme-2	0.02 (0.14)	0.49 (0.50)	0.21 (0.41)	0.13 (0.33)	0.01 (0.11)	471.28***
Theme-3	0.14 (0.35)	0.23 (0.42)	0.36 (0.48)	0.39 (0.49)	0.11 (0.31)	172.59***
Theme-4	0.98 (0.15)	0.06 (0.23)	0.23 (0.42)	0.10 (0.30)	0.19 (0.40)	1300.00***
Theme-5	0.08 (0.27)	0.54 (0.50)	0.40 (0.49)	0.19 (0.39)	0.20 (0.40)	319.62***
Theme-6	0.03 (0.18)	0.01 (0.11)	0.24 (0.42)	0.08 (0.27)	1.00 (0.05)	1600.00***
Theme-7	0.06 (0.23)	0.33 (0.47)	0.09 (0.28)	0.03 (0.16)	0.19 (0.39)	248.96***

N=2442
Standard deviations are given in the parenthesis.
***Difference between clusters is statistically significant (p<.001)

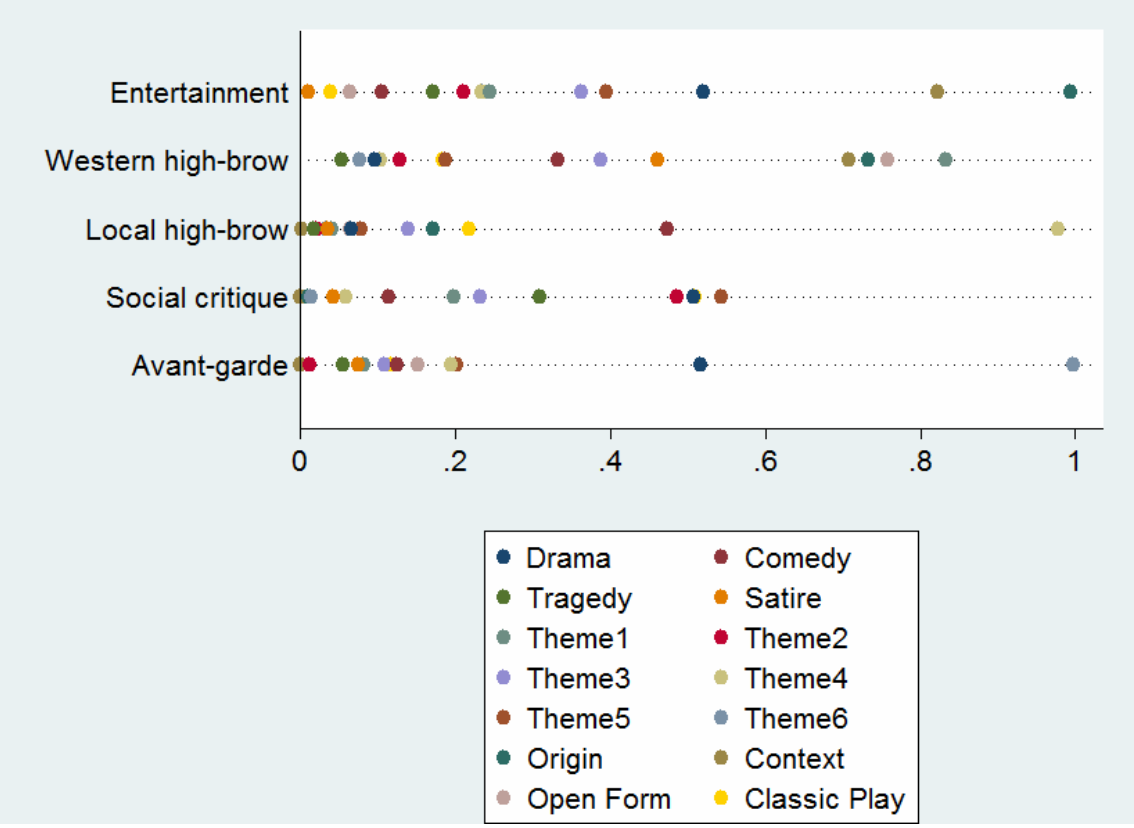
Table 6.5

Resulting identity clusters and number of observations in each of them

Identity Cluster	Number of Obs.	Genre	Thematic Content	Origin, Context and Theatrical Form	Classic Work
Entertainment	536	Comedy, vaudeville	Private relations, family, daily life	Foreign, no context, closed form	1/4
Western high-brow	547	Drama, tragedy, suspense	Life-death, peace-war, freedom	Foreign, no context, closed form	1/2
Local high-brow	538	Drama, historical	Moral choices and ideals; other themes	Local, context, closed form	None
Social critique	379	Comedy, satire, musical	Economic system; cultural change	Local, context, open form	Very few
Avant-garde	442	Drama, psychological	Existence, inner self, alienation	Foreign, no context, closed form	1/4

Figure 6.2

Cluster centers for five identity profiles



Note: The dots represent mean values of each variable.

Figure 6.3

Total number of plays performed in the field and average number of plays performed by a single theatre company, 1923-1999

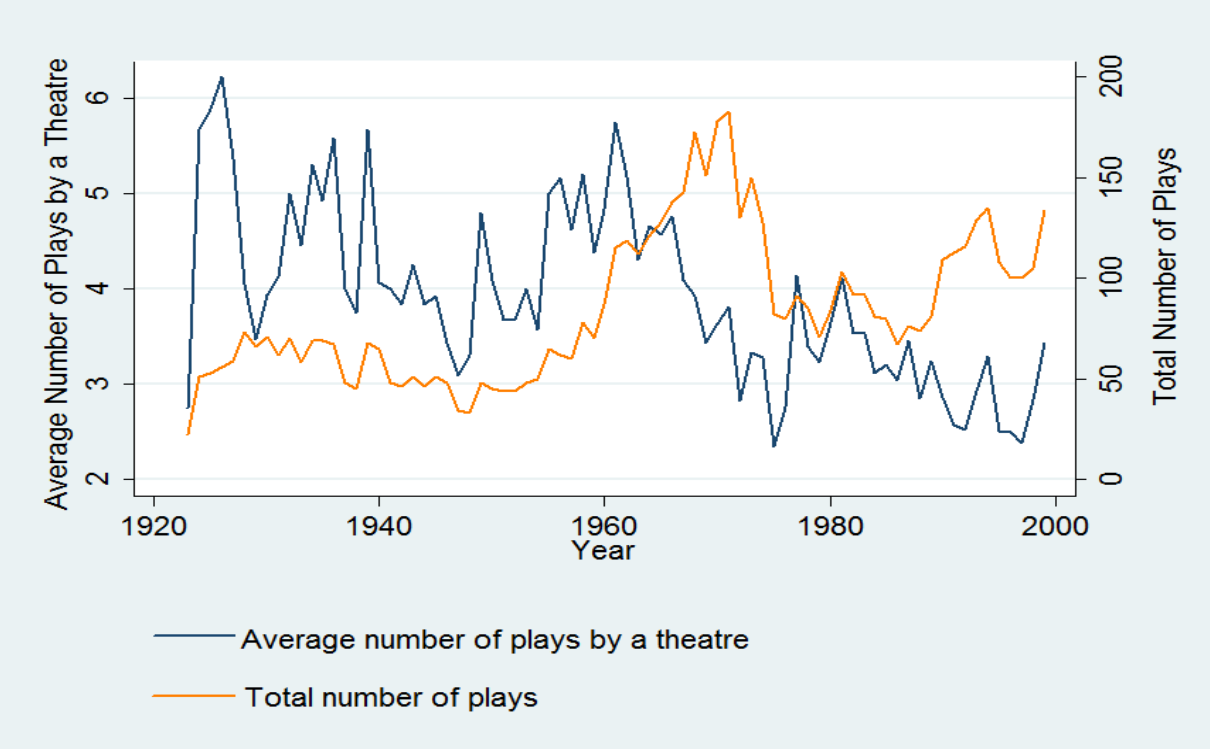


Table 6.6

Distribution of plays by identity claims, 1923-1999

Years	*N* of plays	Identity Claim				
		Entertainment	Western high-brow	Local high-brow	Social critique	Avant-garde
1923-1959	2043	807 (39.5)	453 (22.2)	398 (19.5)	202 (9.9)	183 (9.0)
1960-1979	2465	623 (25.3)	365 (14.8)	409 (16.6)	763 (31.0)	305 (12.4)
1980-1999	1979	254 (12.8)	290 (14.7)	432 (21.8)	577 (29.2)	426 (21.5)
Total	6487	1684 (26.0)	1108 (17.1)	1239 (19.1)	1542 (23.8)	914 (14.1)

Note: Numbers in parentheses are percentages.

Figure 6.4

Average grade of memberships by theatre companies to identity categories, 1923-1999: Three-year moving windows

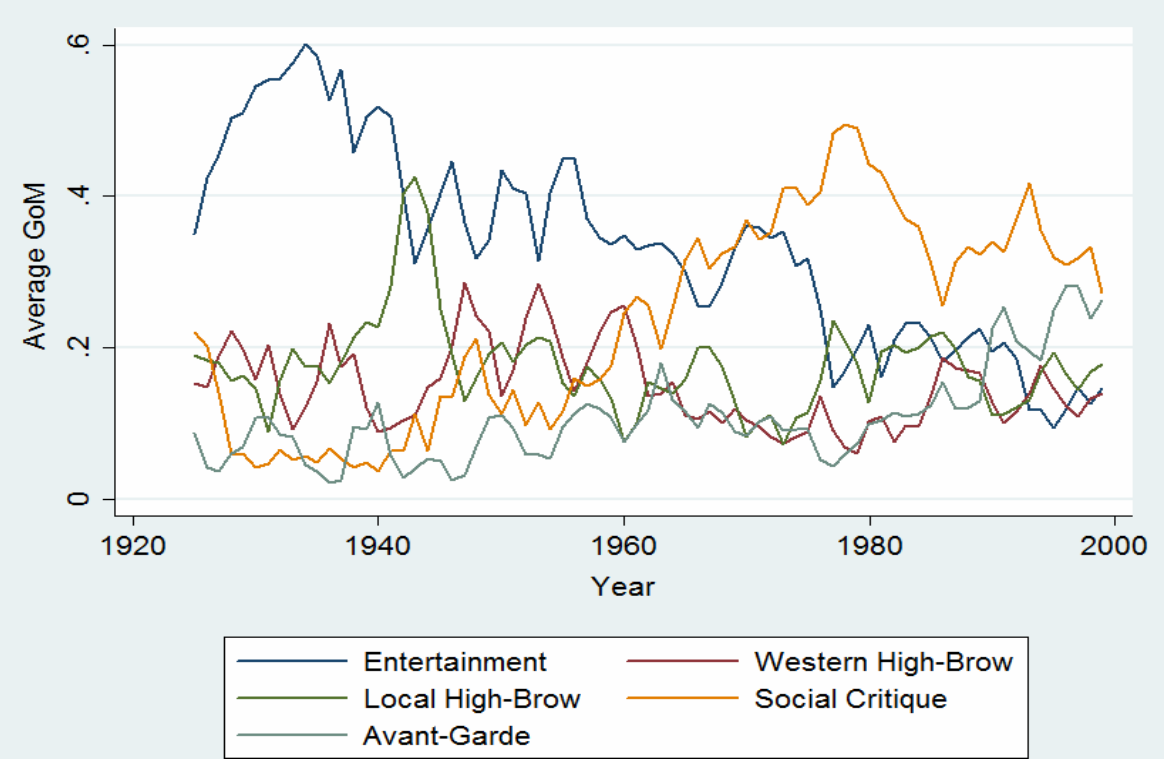


Figure 6.5

Average contrast-weighted diversity of identity profiles exhibited by theatre repertoires, 1923-1999: Three-year moving windows

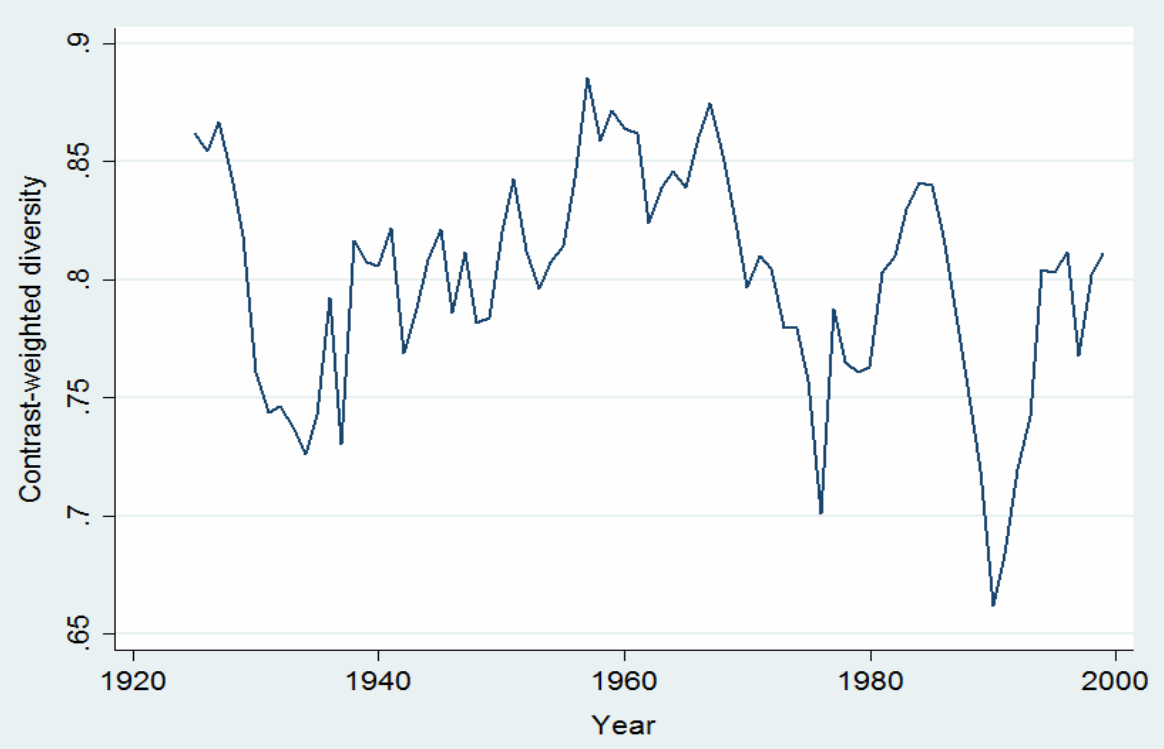


Table 6.7

Descriptive statistics and correlations for study variables

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.Identity hybridity	0.71	0.16						
2.All plays performed in the field	102.86	38.89	.04					
3.Field age	0.48	0.05	-.14***	.45***				
4.Resource concentration			.00	-.31***	-.21***			
5.Mortality: pure identities	1.99	1.98	-.06*	.06**	.17***	.09***		
6.Mortality: hybrid identities	0.67	0.88	-.11**	.10***	.11***	-.09***	.69***	
7.Theatre age	10.66	12.02	.20***	-.03	.20***	.03	-.09***	-.14***
8.Theatre type	0.09		.39***	-.07**	.03	.04	.00	-.02
9.Location	0.19		.06	.12***	.11***	-.08**	.01	.02
10. Average identity hybridity in the field	0.79	0.05	.31***	.07**	- .28***	.04	-.38***	-.24***
11.Transition of institutional logics	0.09		.17***	-.04	-.14***	.25***	-.09***	-.07**
12.Institutional complexity at birth	0.61		-.31***	.50***	.63***	-.29***	.18***	.15***
13. Identity hybridity at birth	0.72	0.15	.43***	.01	-.18***	.03	-.13***	-.09***
14.Category contrast of central identity at birth	0.55	0.10	-.19***	-.03	.18***	.00	.09***	.09***

Table 6.7 (cont'd)

Variable	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Identity hybridity								
2.All plays performed in the field								
3.Field age								
4.Resource concentration								
5.Mortality: pure identities								
6.Mortality: hybrid identities								
7.Theatre age								
8.Theatre type								
9.Location	.41***	.09***						
10. Average identity hybridity in the field	-.07**	-.01	-.01					
11.Transition of institutional logics	-.01	.01	.01	.36***				
12.Institutional complexity at birth	-.31***	-.23***	.15***	-.20***	-.19***			
13. Identity hybridity at birth	.24***	.20***	-.05	.17***	.09***	-.29***		
14.Category contrast of central identity at birth	-.14***	-.11****	.05	-.17***	-.09**	.21***	-.60***	

Notes: N=1094. Standard deviations are not shown for binary variables. P-values are calculated for a normal distribution.
*p<.05, **p<.01, *** p<.001

Table 6.8

Maximum likelihood estimates for antecedents of organizational identity hybridization: All theatre companies

Variable	Model 1: Random Intercept Only	Model 2: Conditional Intercept (Level-1 Predictors)	Model 3: Conditional Intercept (Level-1 & -2 Predictors)	Model 4: Random Intercept and Slope
Fixed part				
Control variables:				
All plays performed in the field		0.03 (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Field age		-0.09* (0.04)	0.01 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)
Resource concentration		-0.33*** (0.08)	-0.28*** (0.08)	-0.27*** (0.08)
Mortality: pure identity theatres		0.02*** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)
Mortality: hybrid identity theatres		-0.01** (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)
Theatre age		0.03 (0.12)	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.15 (0.13)
Theatre type: Public			0.13** (0.04)	0.13** (0.04)
Location: Ankara			0.00 (0.02)	- 0.01 (0.02)
Predictor variables:				
Transition of institutional logics		0.05** (0.01)	0.04* (0.01)	0.04** (0.01)
Mimetic processes in the field		0.76*** (0.08)	0.71*** (0.08)	0.65*** (0.07)
Institutional complexity at birth			-0.04 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)
Identity hybridity at birth			0.32*** (0.07)	0.34*** (0.07)
Category contrast of central identity claim at birth			0.11 (0.12)	0.08 (0.11)
Constant	0.68*** (0.01)	0.27** (0.08)	-0.07 (0.13)	-0.01 (0.13)
Random part (SDs)				
Constant	0.11 (0.01)	0.10 (0.01)	0.08 (0.01)	0.14 (0.01)

Age							0.01	(0.00)
Residual	0.11	(0.00)	0.10	(0.00)	0.10	(0.00)	0.09	(0.00)
Correlation (age, constant)							-0.69	(0.09)
ICC	0.48							
Log Likelihood	737.71		877.98		800.76		841.72	
Wald (χ2)			139.29		224.36		194.85	

Notes: N=1094 (Number of theatres: 127). Numbers in parentheses are standard errors.
*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001, two-tailed test
Theatre type, location and institutional complexity at birth were entered as dichotomous variables.
ICC: Intra-class correlation

Table 6.9

Maximum likelihood estimates for antecedents of organizational identity hybridization: Private theatre companies only

Variable	Model 1: Random Intercept Only	Model 2: Conditional Intercept (Level-1 Predictors)	Model 3: Conditional Intercept (Level-1 & -2 Predictors)	Model 4: Random Intercept and Slope
Fixed part				
Control variables:				
All plays performed in the field		0.03 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
Field age		-0.08* (0.03)	0.01 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)
Resource concentration		-0.39*** (0.09)	-0.32** (0.10)	-0.32** (0.09)
Mortality: pure identity theatres		-0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)
Mortality: hybrid identity theatres		-0.01* (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)
Theatre age		0.08 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.13 (0.14)
Number of plays performed by the theatre			0.08 (0.09)	0.06 (0.09)
Location: Ankara			0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Predictor variables:				
Transition of institutional logics		0.06** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)
Mimetic processes in the field		0.86*** (0.09)	0.75*** (0.09)	0.78*** (0.09)
Institutional complexity at birth			-0.04 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)
Identity hybridity at birth			0.31*** (0.08)	0.33*** (0.07)
Category contrast of central identity claim at birth			0.10 (0.13)	0.08 (0.12)
Constant	0.67*** (0.01)	0.14 (0.09)	-0.12 (0.15)	-0.06 (0.15)

Random part (SDs)								
Constant	0.10	(0.01)	0.09	(0.01)	0.08	(0.01)	0.12	(0.02)
Age							0.01	(0.00)
Residual	0.12	(0.00)	0.11	(0.00)	0.11	(0.00)	0.10	(0.00)
Correlation (age, constant)							-0.76	(0.09)
ICC	0.42							
Log Likelihood	580.86		668.86		630.64		665.26	
Wald ($\chi 2$)			193.28		198.09		170.57	

Notes: N=955 (Number of theatres: 121). Numbers in parentheses are standard errors.
**p*<.05; ***p*<.01; ****p*<.001, two-tailed tests
Location and institutional complexity at birth were entered as dichotomous variables.
ICC: Intra-class correlation

Table 6.10

Generalized estimating equations (GEE) models: Antecedents of organizational identity hybridization

Variable	Model 1[a]	Model 2[b]	Model 3	Model 4
Control variables:				
All plays performed in the field	0.30 (0.21)	0.26 (0.42)	0.26 (0.21)	0.18 (0.21)
Field age	-0.51** (0.18)	-0.05 (0.95)	-0.05 (0.30)	0.06 (0.31)
Resource concentration	-1.31** (0.44)	-1.58 (1.60)	-1.58** (0.47)	-1.55** (0.48)
Mortality: pure identity theatres	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.09 (0.09)	0.09** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.03)
Mortality: hybrid identity theatres	-0.04** (0.02)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)
Theatre age	0.20 (0.30)	-0.29 (1.09)	-0.30 (0.39)	-0.45 (0.35)
Theatre type: Public	0.88*** (0.16)	0.89 (0.74)	0.89*** (0.14)	0.89*** (0.11)
City: Ankara	-0.08 (0.12)	0.06 (0.35)	0.06 (0.12)	0.19 (0.13)
Predictor variables:				
Transition of institutional logics		0.26 (0.32)	0.26*** (0.07)	0.11* (0.09)
Mimetic processes in the field		3.80* (1.48)	3.79*** (0.56)	3.62*** (0.61)
Institutional complexity at birth		-0.25 (0.57)	-0.25 (0.17)	-0.32 (0.19)
Identity hybridity at birth		1.75 (1.41)	1.75** (0.44)	1.66*** (0.47)
Category contrast of central identity claim at birth		-0.35 (0.95)	0.29 (0.60)	0.27 (0.62)
Constant	1.39*** (0.27)	-1.55 (1.89)	-2.89** (0.76)	-2.38*** (0.85)
Wald χ^2 (13)	65.70	16.38	158.21	229.08
Correlation structure	Exchangeable	Exchangeable	Exchangeable	Independent

Notes: N=1094 (Number of theatres: 127). Numbers in parentheses are standard errors.
*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001
Theatre and institutional complexity at birth were entered as dichotomous variables. Link: logit; family: binomial.
a Model with control variables only. *b* Without Huber-White sandwich estimators (without robust standard errors)

Table 6.11

Maximum likelihood estimates with Simpson's index as dependent variable

Variable	Model 1: Random Intercept Only	Model 2: Conditional Intercept (Level-1 Predictors)	Model 3: Conditional Intercept (Level-1 & -2 Predictors)	Model 4: Random Intercept and Slope
Fixed Part				
Control variables:				
All plays performed in the field		0.02 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Field age		-0.06 (0.05)	0.04 (0.08)	0.04 (0.08)
Resource concentration		-0.32** (0.11)	-0.30** (0.12)	-0.22** (0.11)
Mortality: pure identity theatres		0.02* (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
Mortality: hybrid identity theatres		0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)
Theatre age			-0.10 (0.09)	-0.15 (0.17)
Theatre type: Public			0.20*** (0.06)	0.18** (0.06)
City: Ankara			0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Predictor variables:				
Transition of institutional logics		0.04* (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Mimetic processes in the field		0.64*** (0.09)	0.56*** (0.09)	0.58*** (0.09)
Institutional complexity at birth			-0.05 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.05)
Identity hybridity at birth			0.31*** (0.06)	0.36*** (0.06)
Category contrast of central identity claim at birth			0.11 (0.15)	0.08 (0.15)
Constant	0.46*** (0.01)	0.32*** (0.09)	0.40*** (0.11)	0.45*** (0.11)
Random part (SDs)				
Constant	0.15 (0.01)	0.14 (0.1)	0.11 (0.01)	0.16 (0.02)
Age				0.01 (0.00)

Residual	0.15	(0.00)	0.15	(0.01)	0.15	(0.00)	0.14	(0.00)
Correlation (age, constant)							-0.75	(0.09)
ICC	0.50							
Log Likelihood	394.72		432.74		440.07		472.90	
Wald (χ2)			78.69		137.06		130.94	

Notes: N=1120 (Number of theatres: 127). Numbers in parentheses are standard errors.
*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001, two-tailed test
Theatre type, location and institutional complexity at birth were entered as dichotomous variables.
ICC: Intra-class correlation

Table 6.12

Maximum likelihood estimates with number of identity claims as dependent variable

Variable	Model 1: Random Intercept Only	Model 2: Conditional Intercept (Level-1 Predictors)	Model 3: Conditional Intercept (Level-1 & -2 Predictors)	Model 4: Random Intercept and Slope
Fixed Part				
Controls variables:				
All plays performed in the field		0.52*** (0.15)	0.44** (0.15)	0.28 (0.15)
Field age		-0.70* (0.27)	0.09 (0.34)	0.23 (0.34)
Resource concentration		1.59** (0.54)	-1.50** (0.54)	-1.34** (0.51)
Mortality: pure identity theatres		0.07* (0.03)	0.07* (0.03)	- 0.08* (0.03)
Mortality: hybrid identity theatres		0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Theatre age			-0.57 (0.37)	-1.36 (0.74)
Theatre type: Public			1.27*** (0.24)	0.84*** (0.24)
City: Ankara			0.06 (0.13)	-0.01 (0.13)
Predictor variables:				
Transition of institutional logics		0.25** (0.09)	0.22** (0.09)	0.17* (0.09)
Mimetic processes in the field		0.63*** (0.10)	0.60*** (0.09)	0.54*** (0.09)
Institutional complexity at birth			-0.35 (0.20)	-0.38 (0.20)
Identity hybridity at birth			0.43*** (0.05)	0.49*** (0.05)
Category contrast of central identity claim at birth			0.44 (0.45)	0.14 (0.64)
Constant	2.60*** (0.08)	1.76*** (0.44)	1.26** (0.44)	1.29** (0.43)
Random part (SDs)				
Constant	0.77 (0.06)	0.73 (0.06)	0.43 (0.04)	0.62 (0.09)
Age				0.05 (0.01)

Residual	0.75	(0.02)	0.71	(0.02)	0.71	(0.02)	0.65	(0.02)
Correlation (age, constant)							-0.72	(0.10)
ICC	0.49							
Log Likelihood	-1378.88		-1324.84		-1281.55		-1238.40	
Wald (χ2)			113.46		268.84		228.47	

Note: N=1122 (Number of theatres: 127). Numbers in parentheses are standard errors.
**p*<.05; ***p*<.01; ****p*<.001, two-tailed test
Theatre type, location and institutional complexity at birth were entered as dichotomous variables.
ICC: Intra-class correlation

7.

DISCUSSION

7.1. Why Hybrids?

Although in recent years there have been significant number of studies that deal with multiple, unstable or fragmented identities in general (e.g. Gioia et al., 2000; Glynn, 2000; Gioia et al., 2010) and hybrid identities in particular, only a few studies deal with why and how such hybrid identities emerge in the first place (Illia, 2010). The common approach shared by the existing theoretical and empirical studies on hybrid identities does not go beyond the acknowledgement of this particular type of organizational identity and providing some descriptions of it. Moreover, whenever a closer scrutiny has been adopted, the focus is largely on the outcomes of these identities; namely, the negative ones regarding how they are punished by the audience (Hsu, 2006; Zuckerman et al., 2003) and thus, how pure identities are preferred to them. There is an apparent lack of knowledge and a research agenda concerning under what conditions hybrid identities are adopted.

In this dissertation, I formed five distinct hypotheses which I believe cover my assertions on the possible predictors of hybrid organizational identities; namely, field and organization-level factors. To be specific, I developed hypotheses for testing first the particular influences of transition and institutional imitation effects; and then, imprinting effects in terms of complexity of institutional logics at the time of founding, the hybridity level of initial identity and the category contrast level of central identity claim at an organization's birth.

7.2. Findings of the Study and Implications

As the first step of my empirical investigation, I developed a measurement appropriate for estimating hybrid organizational identities. While substantial discussions and arguments on the predictors of identity hybridity is missing, organizational literature also lacks a shared definition and measurement of the phenomenon. This study proposes both a useful and a theoretically meaningful operationalization of the concept by utilizing important assertions of categories literature (e.g., Hannan et al., 2007; Hsu et al., 2009). I believe that I was able to capture hybrid organizational identity in a more complete and nuanced way by taking grade of membership and category contrast notions (Hannan et al., 2007) into account. What's more, I have also tested my propositions with possible alternative measurements and compared the findings from these different models. Thus, along with its theoretical focus and findings, this study can also empirically contribute to the research on organizational identities consisting of diverse claims.

My analyses on a dataset of Turkish theatre field and the theatre companies' identity hybridization produce notable findings. To begin with, this study shows that hybrid organizational identities may indeed be more prevalent in a field than it has been generally assumed in the categories literature. Both the average number of different identity categories with which a theatre company is involved in and the average contrast-weighted diversity index of a theatre indicate it is a rare occurrence that a theatre company performs plays only from a single identity category. In other words, along the years, considerable number of companies in Turkish theatre brought plays from at least two separate identity categories together into their repertoires. Thus, before anything else this study supports the prediction that hybrids might be more frequent and common than we think.

Generally, several study propositions get full support from the empirical results. First, as it was hypothesized, the findings reflect that when dominant institutional logics in a field are shifting and the field is experiencing significant transformations in terms of general beliefs and narratives, organizations will be much more likely to blend diverse identity claims. Since no single institutional logic is absolutely dominant at such periods of transition (Thornton et al, 2012), organizations in the field will be struggling to decide and behave in high level of uncertainty regarding which institutional elements as symbols and practices are more useful and acceptable (e.g., Purdy and Gray, 2009; Dunn and Jones, 2010; Murray, 2010). Different meanings (and terminologies and narratives) shaped around contesting logics (Thornton et al., 2012) will then lead to hybrid identity claims of the organizations. At times

of such institutional transition, contradictions between the old established logic and the new coming one will reinforce a new atmosphere and order for organizational identity formation, characterized by higher number of contrasting values rather than fewer and similar claims.

According to the study findings on the transition of institutional logics, the same effect is observed in the Turkish theatre industry. Namely, the transition from the dominant enlightenment logic to the social-criticism logic between late 1950s and early 1960s, and from the social-criticism logic to marketization around late 1970s and early 1980s brought high levels of ambiguity as well as new models, frameworks and vocabularies about what theatre is and what it should be, all now available to the existing theatre companies. Uncertainty combined with such proliferated ideological and cultural resources during these two institutional transitions in the field seems to be deeply reflected in organizational identities in terms of the courage and capability for combining different identity claims in a single identity. Yet, when the new institutional logic in each case becomes more and more prevailing and ultimately "replaces" the old one, the symbolic and practical elements of it began to be more widely accepted and adopted by the theatres. This is why, study results show that in contrast to the times characterized by the above mentioned institutional logic shifts, the remaining years in the field were marked with particular dominant assumptions leading theatre companies towards a purer identity due to the fact that there is higher resistance to some logics in favor of the other.

An important implication of the institutional perspective is that fields evolve over time, and thus, the dynamics between multiple institutional logics do not stay constant; they also change and transform (Thornton et al., 2012). Nevertheless, even though there is considerable theorization and empirical description regarding how fields experience such transitions and how they might have drastic outcomes (e.g., Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Rao et al., 2003; Seo and Creed, 2002), there are very few attempts for actually differentiating and measuring the effect of the evolution of institutional logics on organizational identity. Regardless of how the form of change is defined and coined; replacement (e.g., Rao et al., 2003), segregation (e.g., Purdy and Grey, 2009), assimilation (e.g., Muray, 2010) or expansion and contraction (e.g. Reay and Hinings, 2009), such transitions have an important impact on how organizational identities are shaped in the field. Hence, this study allows me to make a contribution in terms of specifying one of the essential institutional conditions of identity hybridization.

There is also empirical support for the study hypothesis claiming that along with the transition of institutional logics, what is going on within the organization field in terms of

imitation processes and the general level of legitimacy attained (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Scott, 2008; Haunschild and Miner, 1997), will also influence an organization's identity hybridity. In fact, I found that when other theatres engage in more blending activities and combine different identity claims in the field, -following the practice of these similar organizations whether in terms of imitation or emulation-, the focal theatre company becomes more likely to have a hybrid identity as well. This finding provides support to previous studies claiming that there are indeed institutional mimicry mechanisms active within a field (e.g., Haunschild and Miner, 1997; Korn and Baum, 1999; Kraatz and Zajac, 1996); these mechanisms have also a considerable impact in determining what extent an organization might adopt an identity with a higher level of hybridity.

This is again an essential finding because even though imitation processes were largely discussed and established in organizational research (e.g., LaBianca et al. 2001; Kraatz and Zajac, 1996; Elsbach and Kramer, 1996), there have been very few studies dealing with how such mechanisms could be a factor in the blending of diverse identity claims and formation and persistence of hybrid identities. Rao, Monin and Durand's (2003; 2005) studies can be regarded the first attempts in terms of showing how organizational fields can be composed of different collective identity categories that are tied to field-level institutional logics as well as examining how imitation mechanisms make it easier for organizations to combine claims belonging to different collective identities (Rao et al., 2005). I believe that by quantitatively depicting to what extent blending practice is supported by the amount of adoption of hybrid identities in general, my study can enhance the understanding of the relation between logics and collective identities (Wry et al., 2011) and how a focal organization follows the others, those which it shares similar attributes in the same collective category.

Turning to institutional effects that I proposed through imprinting at founding, I found no significant impact of institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2010; Greenwood et al., 2011) at birth on the organization's future identity hybridization. It may well be that the measurement used in this study, namely, the dummy variable representing whether the theatre company was founded in the first period of the Turkish theatre or in the ones following this initial period, might not be enough to account for the possible impact of institutional complexity at organization's founding. Institutional complexity is probably not that straightforward and cannot be grasped by this rather low-refined measure in a satisfying way. My very assumption regarding this effect was that competing and recognizable institutional demands can only develop in time by the accumulation of different ideas and meanings; that

is, when the field matures. Thus, I proposed that in Period 1, under the dominance of enlightenment logic, there could be no other influential logic that would contradict and contrast with it since the field was very young; hence, there would be no institutional complexity. However, as time passes, diverse dominant logics and the discussions and seemingly incompatible expectations developed around them will accumulate in the field. Hence, the institutional complexity would be higher as the field evolves.

As it is stated in Chapter 6, the two major procedures (MLE and GEE) that I run for the same models generated the same finding with respect to institutional complexity and no significant effect was found. How can we explain the lack of evidence for the proposed relationship and what might be the possible implications of it?

A first explanation can be that, the dummy variable utilized in accordance to the periodization established for the Turkish theatre indeed does not capture the essence of institutional complexity at organization's birth. That is, by dividing the history of the field into three main institutional periods each indicating when a theatre company was founded; we might not be observing the exact institutional conditions that are imprinted on the theatre. Thus, the measurement of this proposed independent variable might be in need of improvement in the sense that some facets other than the sheer number of different institutional logics should be integrated into it (Greenwood et al., 2011).

Besides the issue of a better measurement, the direction of the relationship between particular processes within the Turkish theatre field and the level of institutional complexity emerged in this field might also be somewhat different. My assumption for Turkish theatre was that institutional complexity will gradually increase across historical periods as new artistic frameworks, ideas and discussions were continuously added by each new dominant logic. However, the study findings show that sometimes the dominant logic of a particular period might remain quite influential even if the broad societal conjuncture supporting it and other field-level dynamics has changed. An example to this is the prevalence of social-critique identity (in terms of the plays performed on the stage) in Period-3 under marketization logic.

Indeed, how institutional complexity actually occurs and develops across time is an important theoretical question waiting for investigation. If we can become more knowledgeable on when and how sharp contestations between institutional logics occur in a field and how these logics are prioritized by organizations at different times, we can better predict and operationalize this concept. It is also probable that different fields show different patterns of institutional complexity because of historical and contextual factors. It might increase or decrease in a consistent way or fluctuate as in more of a turmoil. Empirically

identifying and theorizing about such different patterns and processes of institutional complexity will help us to better understand the phenomenon.

As a last comment on institutional complexity, it is also probable that this effect might somewhat be compounded with the hybridity level of the initial organizational identity at birth. That is, the imprinted effect of institutional complexity at birth might be partially embedded in the initial organizational identity and representing itself through it. If it is the case, then, these diverse impacts should be further separated from each other in an empirical analysis.

Nevertheless, overall this study provides significant support and contribution to the recent suggestions and calls for studying the connection of organizational identities to institutional logics and how these logics are blended paving the way to hybrid identities. Multiplicity, evolvement, and transition of institutional logics across an organizational field is a useful focal point for studying organizational identities (e.g., Greenwood et al, 2011; Kraatz and Block, 2008), especially for a topic like identity hybridization which until very recently remained as a poorly-investigated phenomenon. As Thornton et al. (2012) put it, as "identities…are a key categorical element of institutional logics, there is tremendous benefit to be gained by bridging communities of scholars who study institutional logics and identity" (p.180). I believe that in this dissertation, I achieved providing at least some contribution by developing a research design that attend to both institutional field dynamics and organizational identity variation across a field, as well as a specific attention to the imprinting processes of identity formation which will be discussed below.

My hypothesis claiming that if an organization had a hybrid identity at birth, it will also be more likely to a have hybrid identity at later years gained strong support. Indeed, the data shows that if a theatre begins its life with a hybrid identity, it shows a greater orientation or possibility to blend different identity claims in the next phases of its life. However, if the theatre's initial identity is a purer one, which means that its membership is limited to one single identity category or a few, its propensity for hybridization becomes lower.

This implies that when an organization's initial identity during its founding was constructed over multiple and diverse claims, this actually makes the organization more adaptive to changes and uncertainties as it is more familiar with different ideologies and values and the ways for integrating them from the very beginning of its life. This flexibility gained at founding can explain how organizations differ in their capability to expand or change their sense of self and its presentation; that is, to what extent they can attain the

expectations of different internal and external groups and multiple identity categories shaped by these audiences' collective perceptions.

This finding might have relevant implications about the ongoing debates on the prevalence of hybrid identities in a field; whether these types of identities, which presumably have negative influences on the success and survival of the organization, can very well be adopted and maintained when the organization possesses the necessary capabilities and resources and they are appreciated by several audiences. By looking at this finding, I believe we can better understand why seemingly two very similar organizations can be quite different in their realization of multiple identities based on their organizational history and very first identity.

This finding also contributes to the integration of the imprinting perspective to organizational studies in new and interesting ways. As it was discussed in Chapter 2, until recently, the focus of the literature on imprinting effects was largely limited to either the characteristics of the founder as an individual actor (e.g., Baron, Hannan, and Burton, 1999; Boeker, 1989; Eisenhardt and Schoonhoven, 1990) or the general competitive conditions surrounding an organization at founding (e.g., Meyer and Brown, 1977; Swaminathan, 1996). Some studies now have begun to assess the long-term impact of the features and practices of organizations as social entities as well as the immediate social and institutional conditions at their early years of existence (King et al., 2011). Still, there are only a few studies (e.g., Johnson, 2007; Kroezen and Heugens, 2012) which have developed a renewed interest on early identity-related factors and how they can shape the organization in the following years regardless of the current conditions. As best as I know, this study constitutes one of the very first examinations providing evidence regarding how organization's current identity formation is linked to its initial identity in terms of the multiplicity of claims the organization makes or is able to make.

With respect to the role of imprinting effects concerning initial identity, I also proposed that once the organizational hybridity level is accounted for, the category contrast level of the central identity claim of the organization will also have a part in the configuration of the current identity and ability of hybridization: If the central identity claim at birth belongs to a high-contrast category, this will make it more difficult for the organization to make multiple claims at later times since a high-contrast category is more closely associated with stronger, exclusive identity commitments. That is, when a category has sharper boundaries, representing a higher degree of contrast, consensus about the content, meaning and

distinctiveness of this category will be higher (Hsu et al., 2011) and thus, expectation for a full membership (purer identity) from a member organization will increase.

Yet, the analyses results do not provide empirical support for this assertion. This lack of evidence can be interpreted in two ways: either category contrast at birth does not have an impact on the organization's later identity hybridization or this impact manifests itself in different and more complicated ways than it is assumed. As of the second option, the operationalization of the central (strongest) identity claim in this study might not be the most appropriate one. In other words, the centrality of an identity claim might only manifest itself when an organization has a very large attainment at this identity category when compared to its GoMs to other categories. Thus, rather than simply applying the contrast level of the category in which the organization has a highest claim, perhaps one should consider an identity claim as central only for observations which has a presence at this category above a predetermined level. Maybe then, the impact of contrast on hybrid identities can become clearer and more obvious than it is now.

In order to refine the possible influence of category contrast of the strongest claim at birth, one might also examine the general *compatibility* of this central claim with others. The content of the claim, that is, the actual values or the ideology that is carries can be considered for measuring the effect of this compatibility. This suggests that a set of organizations might not consistently claim some others as rivals or opponents (Hsu et al., 2011) solely looking at their GoM levels as it is generally assumed in category framework. In other words, organizations making claims to a high-contrast category might only be marginalizing certain organizations possessing claims to incompatible categories whereas they may be more receptive to the idea of making claims to categories compatible with the central claim. If this is true, the notion of category contrast can be enriched by taking the actual contents and value-compatibilities of different identity categories.

If there is no problem with the measurement though, we can reason that category contrast at birth will not contribute to the explanation of later identity hybridity. This implies taken-for-grantedness of an identity category (Hannan and Freeman, 1989) at the founding and how it affects current organizational identity decisions might be better captured with another notion and formulation. It can be argued that in particular fields and under certain conditions high contrast might not necessarily mean that all organizations are assigned the same common label (Hsu et al., 2011). It might take more than this for the legitimation and exclusiveness of a certain identity category which will deteriorate the prospect of identity hybridization. In a similar vein, somehow institutionalization across time might not be enough

that would normally increase the distinction between categories and making them sharper. This is because, "the overall contrast of identity categories within a field will increase with the overall level of institutionalization of categories" (Hsu, et al. 2011, p.118). If necessary institutionalization is lacking like this, early category contrast might not be reflected in later identity claim-making.

As a final discussion on the topic, possible impact of the category contrast of the central claim at birth can also be linked and conditioned to the extent that new entrants to the category (organizations making claims to this category for the first time) perceive it as a taken-for-granted one. It is asserted that new entrants have a higher expected GoM, thus they naturally contribute more to a high-contrast category (McKendrick and Carroll, 2001). But this might not always be the case. If newcomers are reluctant to commit more to this category, it may weaken the imprinting effect of the once high-contrast category on the focal organization. If the focal organization as well as its audience realizes that, in time, the category becomes fuzzier by weaker incoming commitments. Then, the organization can also avoid the initial expectations resulting from the category being a high-contrast one and involve in higher level of identity blending. Research on categorization systems has typically focused on fields that are already well established and highly institutionalized (see Ruef and Patterson, 2009 as an exception). However, Turkish theatre cannot be considered as a well-established field, at least in its early periods. Thus, this might be another reason why we cannot observe the proposed link of category contrast to the dependent variable.

Regardless of this failed proposition though, in terms of both the significant finding about early hybridization level and the overall empirical examination and respective discussions, this study provides a new insight to the perception of imprinting effects, attracting much needed attention to hybrid identities potentially seeded by organization-level differences in the background and the early experience, capability and knowledge around it that become embedded within the organization. I believe that within imprinting literature, a new research stream with great potential will be the special focus on how organizational identities are shaped by such early decisions and practices of the organization as well as the institutional environment surrounding it. As it is depicted in this study, it is also worth investigating in which ways imprinting not only constrains or limits organizations in their future endeavors but it may also encourage and enable them.

There might also be implications with respect to some of the control variables considered in this study. For instance, my analyses indicate that public and private organizations in the same field may indeed differ in terms of the level of identity

hybridization. Since public (nonprofit) and private (for-profit) organizations represent distinct organizational types in terms of their motivations, organizational structure, resources, funding, and relationships, the expectations and demands from the audiences of these organizations can also be different.

Such differences are actually observable in the Turkish theatre field: While public theatre companies, in general, have annual repertoires with plays representing diverse identities, private theatre companies are observed to be more inclined to continue with the same identity claim. Hence, they try to emphasize one identity claim as much as possible so that it becomes more visible and recognizable for external constituencies. However such issues should be investigated in more detail. I believe future research might greatly contribute to the understanding of how hybrid identities can be shaped by other organization-specific attributes, especially if they were imprinted at the founding or in the very early history of the organization.

The other significant finding of this study worth mentioning and further discussion in organizational research is how field-level dynamics other than logics or similar institutional patterns may also factor in the emergence of hybrid organizational identities. Namely, the concentration and allocation of resources within the field, certain positions and relationships of organizations to each other in terms of their identities as well as how hybrid identities are actually evaluated, and perhaps, demanded by different audiences will broaden the horizons for understanding particular structures of organizational identity.

7.3. Study Limitations and Directions for Further Research

Seeking to reveal some important predictors of hybrid organizational identity, this study has a number of limitations. An empirical limitation is the fact that hybrid identities are conceptualized and measured only through the plays staged by the theatre companies. If some other organizational indicators of identity hybridity can be identified and measured along with artistic offerings, we might get a clearer picture of the implications of the proposed predictors on the identity of a theatre. I also think that, regardless of the empirical setting, further studies can refine the predictors of identity hybridity by looking into alternative organization, field and even, societal level dynamics as I sought to do in this study. As the interest on hybrid identities in terms of how and why they exist is quite recent and as there are many

unanswered questions on the topic, all theoretical and empirical suggestions will be welcomed.

For instance, some findings from this study imply that it would be a good idea to integrate the *content* of the identity claims and their *compatibility* with each other when considering identity hybridity. We may argue that identity categories available to organizations can be classified in terms of how much they are aligned or consistent with each other. This can particularly have an implication in the examination of identity effects at founding: If the central claim at birth is more compatible with others claims, the likelihood of a hybrid identity at later years might increase. Thus, the central identity claim at birth and its category contrast level might also have a critical impact on organization's future hybridization based on its compatibility with other claim categories. By having a focus on the contents of the identity claims, we can also draw the general map of a field in terms of what particular hybridity profiles are there and which ones are the most influential.

An alternative research agenda might also be developed, concerning the imprinting theory and how it can add to the study of possible predictors of hybrid identities. The investigation of early founding effects might go a few steps beyond of what was provided in this dissertation. That is, with necessary focus and available data, future research might look further into where the initial organizational identity itself comes from. While I had a limited intention to shed some light onto the organization and field-level structural conditions of identity hybridization, another set of important questions can be brought up regarding what kind of a role organizational actors, particularly the founder(s) play in the identity emergence process both at the early days of the organization and subsequent reformulations and change. By this way, we might become more confident about how specific organizational identities are constructed within the organization as well as how collective identity categories are built within an entire field. For instance, how do institutional logics provide resources for the construction of original categories? How institutional elements available in the field are really utilized and assembled by actors? One would expect that study of such questions will greatly enhance to the assessment of identity creation and change in organizational fields.

Finally, I believe that one last path for understanding hybrid identities and how they change a field calls specific attention to the general evolution patterns of a field or industry in terms of the pure and hybrid identities attained and how they are structured. For example, the pattern of hybrid identities across 77-years of the Turkish theatre somewhat indicates a pattern in which hybrid identities might be more common at the beginnings and ends of certain historical periods whereas pure identities are more prominent in between. Such

empirical investigations can help us how field dynamics can also have an influence on the prominence and timing of hybrids. Related to this, how frequent an organization be able to change its identity from pure-to-hybrid, or hybrid-to-pure and what really predicts such identity changes can be an interesting research area. As a complementary suggestion, different industries, or organizational fields can be compared in terms of their evolution, specific patterns and dynamics informing different organizational identity structures. The comparison of fields which are distinct in terms of some important characteristics such as institutional stability, complexity and maturity might provide a valuable opportunity to assess to what extent the formation of hybrid organizational identities depend on these conditions.

Appendix

Turkish theatre companies in Istanbul and Ankara, 1923-1999

Code	Name
ABS	Ankara Birlik Sahnesi (Ankara Birlik Tiyatrosu)
ABT	Ali Baba Tiyatrosu
ACK	Açık Tiyatro
AD	Avni Dilligil Tiyatrosu (Çığır Sahne)
AET	Ankara Ekin Tiyatrosu
AF	Ayfer Feray Topluluğu
AGTH	Ankara Gunesi Temsil Heyeti
AHOT	Ankara Halk Oyuncuları Tiyatrosu
AHT	Ankara Halk Tiyatrosu
AKKT	Küçük Komedi Tiyatrosu
AKS	Aksanat Prodüksiyon Tiyatrosu
ALH	Ali Hürol Tiyatrosu
ALS	Altıdan Sonra Tiyatro
ALT	Alpago Tiyatro
AMKM	Anya Manya Kumpanya (Mete Inselel Tiyatrosu)
AMS	Ankara Meydan Sahnesi
AO	Ankara Oyuncuları
AONS	Ankara Öncü Sahnesi (Öncü Sahne)
AP	Ali Poyrazoğlu Tiyatrosu
ARAT	Ara Tiyatrosu
ARE	Arena Tiyatrosu
AAA	Asuman Arsan Topluluğu
ARO	Atilla Revü Opereti
AST	Ankara Sanat Tiyatrosu
AZT	Azak Tiyatrosu
BAB	Bakırköy Belediye Tiyatrosu
BAK	Tiyatro Bakış
BASKT	Başkent Tiyatrosu
BBT	Beş Basamak Tiyatrosu
BHT	Bakırköy Halk Tiyatrosu (Halkevi Tiyatrosu)
BKM	Beşiktas Kültür Merkezi Oyuncuları (BKM)
5S	Beşinci Tiyatro
BLV	İstanbul Bulvar Tiyatrosu (Erdinç Dinçer)
BOY	Bakırköy Oyunculari
BPBT	Bayrampaşa Belediye Tiyatrosu
BST	Bakırköy Sanat Tiyatrosu
BSTS	Burhanettin-Seniye Tepsi Skeç Topluluğu
BT	Bizim Tiyatro -1
BT2	Bizim Tiyatro -2 (Zafer Diper Tiyatrosu)
BUL	Bulunmaz Tiyatro

BVT	Bulvar Tiyatrosu (Istanbul Bulvar Oyuncuları)
BIL	Bilsak Tiyatro Atölyesi
CAS	Cağdaş Sahne
CB	Cevdet Bey Tiyatrosu (Cevdet Güldürür)
CEP	Cep Tiyatrosu
CET	Cihat Tamer- Ercan Yazgan Tiyatrosu
CEV	Çevre Tiyatrosu (Altan Erbulak Topluluğu)
CKT	Cuvaldız Kabare Tiyatrosu
CO	Cumhuriyet Opereti
CRT	Çağdaş Repertuvar Tiyatrosu
CS	Cemal Sahir Opereti
CVT	Cemal Vuruşkan - Memduh Tuncalı Tiyatrosu
DAT	Dat Production
DE	De Tiyatrosu
DGT	Doğu Tiyatrosu
DKKT	Devekuşu Kabare Tiyatrosu
DOY	Dönem Oyuncları (Dönem Sahne)
DRA	Drama Tiyatrosu
DST	Dostlar Tiyatrosu
DT	Dormen Tiyatrosu
DTAN	Devlet Tiyatrosu Ankara
DTIS	Devlet Tiyatrosu Istanbul
DUS	Düş Oyuncuları
EET	Erdem Ener Tiyatrosu
EFT	Enis Fosforoğlu Tiyatrosu
ENV	Enver Demirkan Tiyatrosu (Virgül Tiyatrosu)
ESEK	E.S.E.K. Tiyatro Topluluğu
ET	Ege Tiyatrosu
Et.T	Eti Tiyatrosu
EV	Tiyatro Oyunevi
EYB	Ercan Yazgan - Bülent Kayabaş Tiyatrosu
FAT	Fatih Tiyatrosu
FOR	Tiyatro For a
FT	Ferah Tiyatrosu
FIL	Tiyatro Fil
GA	Gen-Ar Tiyatrosu
GKKT	Gülsüm Kamu - Kamu Tiyatrosu
GOK	Gökkuşağı Oyuncuları
GSEC	Gülriz Sururi- Engin Cezzar Topluluğu
GT	Gazete Tiyatrosu
GUGO	Gönül Ülkü-Gazanfer Özcan Tiyatrosu
GUN	Tiyatro Günbay
HAN	Tiyatrohane
HAT	Hale Tiyatrosu
HO	Ankara Halk Oyuncuları Tiyatrosu
HOP	Halk Opereti (Yeni Halk Opereti)

HP	Halide Pişkin ve ArkadaŞları
HSO	Halk Sahnesi Oyunculari (İstanbul Halk Tiyatrosu)
HIT	Hilal Tiyatrosu
IBT	İstanbul Güç Birliği Tiyatrosu
ID	İsmail Dümbüllü Tiyatrosu
IKT	İstanbul Komedi Tiyatrosu
IMG	Tiyatro Imge
INT	İnkilap Tiyatrosu
ISO	İstanbul Opereti
ISET	İstanbul Şehir Tiyatrosu
IST	İstanbul Sanat Tiyatrosu
IT	İstanbul Tiyatrosu
IV	İstanbul Vodvil Tiyatrosu
KAR	Kartal Sanat Işliği
KAT	Karşı Tiyatro (Ahmet Uğurlu)
KB	Kenan Büke - Aziz Basmaci Tiyatrosu
KEK	Kelaynak Kabare
KEL	Kel Hasan Tiyatrosu (Şark Tiyatrosu)
KO	Kent Oyuncuları (Yıldız- Müşfik Kenter)
KOZ	Koza Tiyatrosu
KS	Küçük Sahne
KSO	Kardeş Oyuncular
KUM	Kumpanya
KIT	Kadıköy İl Tiyatrosu
LK	Levent Kırca Tiyatrosu
LOT	Lale Oraloğlu Tiyatrosu (Grup 6 Tiyatrosu)
MER	Tiyatro Merdiven
MG	Miyatro - Müjdat Gezen Tiyatrosu
MK	Muammer Karaca Tiyatrosu
MKT	Markopaşa Kabare Tiyatrosu
MLKT	Maltepe Komedi Tiyatrosu
MO	Münir Özkul Tiyatrosu (Site Tiyatrosu)
MOZT	Mehmet Özekit Tiyatrosu
MPT	Mithatpaşa Tiyatrosu
MS	Milli Sahne (Sadi Fikret)
MIE	Tiyatro Mie
N	Naşit Özcan Topluluğu
NET	Nihat Erbaş Tiyatrosu
NKA	Nejat Karakaş Tiyatrosu
NO	Abdullah Şahin - Nokta Tiyatrosu
NSTA	Nisa Serezli-Tolga Aşkıner Tiyatrosu
NU	Nejat Uygur Tiyatrosu
OA	Orhan Alkan Tiyatrosu
OCT	Ocak Tiyatrosu
ODT	Oda Tiyatrosu (Mücap Ofluoğlu Tiyatrosu)
OLS	Oluşum Tiyatrosu

OET	Orhan Erçin Tiyatrosu
OKT	Ortaoyuncular Kabare Tiyatrosu
OO	Ozan Opereti
OOY	Ortaoyuncular
OTG	Oyuncular Tiyatro Grubu (Tiyatro Grup)
OYA	Oyun Atölyesi
PK	Pekcan Koşar Tiyatrosu
PO	Petek Oyuncuları
PS6O	Pendik Sahne 6 Oyuncuları
PT	Pangaltı Tiyatrosu
RO	Tiyatroom
RR	Raşit Rıza Topluluğu (Türk Tiyatrosu)
S6T	Saat 6 Tiyatrosu
S8	Sahne 8 Tiyatrosu
SAD	Sadri Alışık Tiyatrosu
SAR	Sarıyer Sanat Tiyatrosu
SBT	Sarıyer Belediye Tiyatrosu
SE	Sanat Evi
SEO	Şehbal Opereti
SET	Şehir Tiyatrosu
SEZT	Sezer Sezin Tiyatrosu
SO	Ses Opereti (Yeni Ses Opereti)
SOP	Süreyya Opereti (Muhlis Sabahattin Tiyatrosu)
SOY	Studio Oyuncuları
ST	Sadi Tek (Ertuğrul Saadettin)
STU	Tiyatro Stüdyosu
TAT	Türk Akademi Tiyatrosu
TAY	Tiyatro Ayna
TB	Tevhit Bilge Tiyatrosu
TEK	Tiyatrotek
TG	Tevfik Gelenbe ve Arkadaşları
TKA	Tiyatro Kare
TOT	Tuncay Özinel Tiyatrosu
TOZ	Tiyatro Özgün Deneme
TRO	Türk Opereti (Türk Revü Opereti)
TSA	Toto-Sıtkı Akçatepe
TT	Taşdelenler Tiyatrosu
TTH	Türk Temasa Heyeti
TYT	Türk Yazarlar Tiyatrosu
TIS	Tiyatro Istanbul
TIT	Tiyatro Ti
UMKT	Üç Maymun Kabare Tiyatrosu
UO	Üsküdar Oyuncuları (Sunar Tiyatrosu)
USG	Uluslararası Sanat Gösterileri
UU	Ulvi Uraz Tiyatrosu
VEO	Vedat Orfi Tiyatrosu

VO	Vahi Öz Tiyatrosu
YAD	Yada Tiyatro
YAY	Yasemin Yalçın Tiyatrosu
YET	Yeni Tiyatro
YON	Yıldırım Önal Topluluğu
YP	Yeditepe Tiyatrosu
YSM	Yayla Sanat Merkezi
YSO	Yeni Sahne Oyuncuları
YT	Yenişehir Tiyatrosu

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