

## 4 Complementing theories

### Institutional ethnography and Organisation Theory in institutional analysis

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#### **Introduction**

For my PhD project I studied the Norwegian welfare state's encounter with people who lead transnational lives. I explored this through an institutional analysis where I combined concepts and tools from institutional ethnography (IE), as developed by Dorothy Smith, and organisation theory, most notably institutional theory (IT).<sup>1</sup> This chapter presents my journey as I discovered and applied institutional theoretical insights from both these strands of thought. The aim of this chapter is to illustrate why and how I was sensitive towards both IE and IT during the early and final stages of my research. In doing so, I seek to inspire scholars in these two fields and beyond, to explore the latent opportunities of bridging IE and IT. Through a sensitivity to both these theoretical strands, I found ways to combine and complement the two approaches. Both IE and IT thus became central to the development of my methodology and analysis and yielded insights that I might not have gained through one of the approaches alone. I term this approach "sensitive complementing".

This chapter is divided into three parts. First, I briefly describe my PhD project and explain why I decided to draw on both IE and IT within an already multidisciplinary study. Next, I explain how I integrated concepts from IE and IT in an analytical framework and briefly argue how the traditions and epistemologies of Nordic IE and Scandinavian organisational theory enable such a combination. Finally, I illustrate how sensitivity to concepts and tools from IE and IT – such as "institutional circuits", "institutional soul" and "institutionalisation" – influenced my methodology and analysis through two specific examples drawn from my PhD research.

#### **Entering uncharted territory: using IE to study bureaucracy and transnationalism**

##### *The Norwegian welfare state and people who lead transnational lives*

The overarching objective of my PhD project was to explore the encounter between the Norwegian welfare state and an increasingly mobile population.

A growing number of people lead what may be called “transnational lives”. They may live in one country while they work in another, or live and work in several countries and travel between them. Some may live primarily in one country while still accessing services and collecting welfare benefits (e.g., pensions) from another. In this increasingly transnational reality, the premise for states’ welfare delivery is changing. On this basis, I sought to explore how the Norwegian welfare system adjusts its services to accommodate this growing group of “transnationals”. While the Norwegian social security system was created to ensure the welfare of largely sedentary citizens, the system must adapt to provide benefits and services to a mobile and diverse group of people. These transnational clients include a broad array of people, such as researchers, military personnel, students abroad, diplomats and their families, retirees living in Spain, commuters who criss-cross daily the border to Sweden, and foreign workers employed in the oil or shipping sectors – to mention just a few.

In this context, the everyday work of welfare state bureaucrats changes. These bureaucrats face a particular set of challenges in their work to assess and deliver the appropriate national social security benefits to a transnational population. In my PhD project, I analysed this situation from the bureaucrats’ standpoint. I sought to explore their experiences with, and perceptions of, the relations between transnational clients and the Norwegian social security system. I did this as an IE study with the overall aim of producing knowledge not only *about* the people involved in the encounter but also *for* the people involved (Smith 2005; Widerberg 2015). I developed my inquiry from the bureaucrats’ standpoint to understand the relational confines in which they operated and how the institutional and ruling relations shaped how they encountered, experienced, and accommodated transnational clients. This encounter was the problematic I wanted to explore from the standpoint of the bureaucrats – the “knowers” (Smith 2005, 38–24).

The Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV) is the largest welfare provider in Norway, and it provides benefits to people who live within, across, and outside state borders. NAV administrates one-third of the Norwegian national budget and takes responsibility for all public social security benefits, such as pensions, child benefits, sickness benefits, unemployment benefits, work assessment allowance, and cash-for-care benefit. As many benefits are universal and not need-based, NAV’s clients include all segments of the population – including those who lead transnational lives. I therefore chose to focus my research on NAV, intending to examine “the inside” through interviews, extended fieldwork, participant observations, and a collection of texts (Smith 2005, 2006). To understand NAV’s encounter with transnationals, I focussed on bureaucrats working in the “international branch” of NAV – those persons who dealt with clients who had lived, were currently living, or planned to live abroad.

I selected my field sites based on my initial interest in IE and organisation theory. Drawing on the concept of translocal relations (Smith 2005), I expected that some links and power relations between units and people would be traceable only during fieldwork, through the exploration of people’s work knowledge, who they contacted, and what they did. For this reason, I sought to keep my selection and number of fieldwork sites open until the end of the fieldwork. I also decided *a priori* on some sites, and some of the criteria for inclusion: being aware of the theoretical importance given to horizontal as well as vertical structures in Nordic public organisations and the importance of these concepts in both instrumental and institutional organisation theories in Scandinavia (Christensen et al. 2013), I chose fieldwork sites representing the multiple scales and localities within the institution. While awareness of structures or ruling relations is relevant in IE, I was compelled by my readings of public sector organisation theory to ensure that all hierarchical levels were included in the study from the start.

In Figure 4.1, I map out the units in which I conducted fieldwork. All of these units are part of the “international branch” of NAV, which deals with cross-border social security issues. The blue circles represent larger offices, and the green represent the Directorate and the National Office for International Social Security. The red small circles are administrative sub-units within the larger offices.

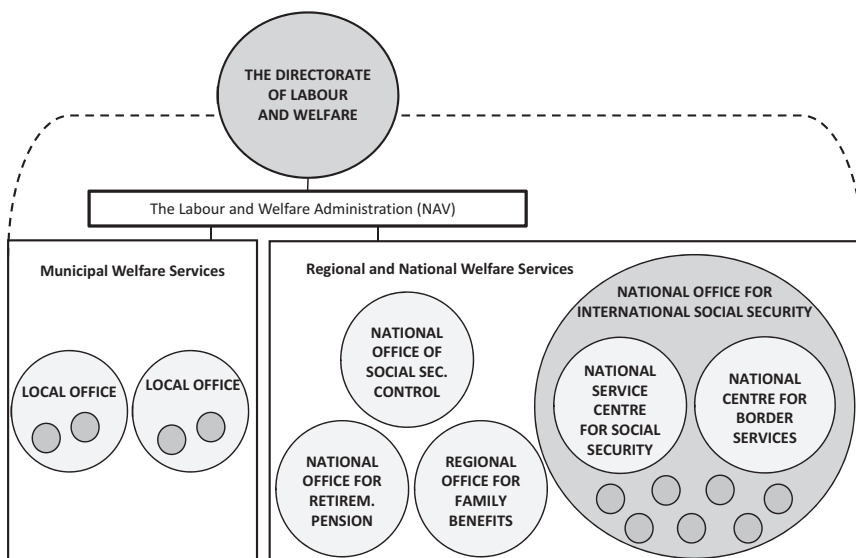


Figure 4.1 Units of the “International Branch” of NAV included in this study.

***Why institutional ethnography?***

As a human geographer working in the field of migration studies and welfare state research, I discovered IE by chance. During my PhD studies, I was affiliated with the Institute of Sociology and Human Geography at the University of Oslo. Due to the institutional proximity between sociologists and human geographers, I soon heard of the sociologist Karin Widerberg's work on IE. While IE has recently gained firmer footing in human geography (Billo and Mountz 2016), it was already well established among sociologists. I was introduced to IE when I stumbled across Widerberg's notes from her conversations with Dorothy Smith on the Department's website (Widerberg 2004). As an overall approach for an institutional analysis, IE appealed to me. I ordered all I could find by Smith from the university library and started exploring the vast landscape of IE.

This moment coincided with my search for an analytical framework and, until then, I had focussed my reading on organisational theory. I had become particularly inspired by the central tenet of IT: namely the idea that organisations are not necessarily rational and goal-oriented but rather develop and are influenced by norms, values and informal structures (DiMaggio and Powell 1991; Scott 1995). After examining Smith's work more closely, I found IE could add much of what I had been missing with IT: a more critical analytical approach, an orientation towards subjective standpoints, and a methodological and conceptual toolbox with which to discover the social from the standpoints of those who are ruled.

In institutional ethnography it all seems to come together; texts and relations organising the social across time and space. Is this a sociological response to grasping globalisation?

This question, posed by Widerberg (2004, 179) in her interview with Dorothy Smith, illustrates why I pursued IE as a conceptual framework. A central aim underlying my PhD was to investigate/better understand how the social – the welfare system and its relations to transnational individuals – is organised across time and space. When I looked at how increasing transnational living patterns – a facet of globalisation – influence national structures, I also scrutinised how social and institutional relations were translocally connected to individuals “below”, including both clients and bureaucrats. Moreover, I found that just as transnationals and welfare service clients experience exclusion from the relations of ruling, the work of the bureaucrats dealing with transnational cases were treated as lower ranking in the organisational hierarchy of the “nationally-oriented” NAV.

Thus, the critical feminist perspective in IE appealed to me (Smith 1987, 1) because the bureaucrats dealt with a minority group (i.e., transnationals) and because these bureaucrats were part of the “ruled” rather than the “ruling” in NAV. Indeed, during my fieldwork many of the informants

underscored their subordinate position in NAV. While the focus on national casework was compared to “an 80%-capacity motorway”, they said NAV’s focus on international casework was deemed a mere “forest trail” in the institutional landscape.

### **Sensitive complementing of IT and IE**

I intended to use IE as an overall analytical framework; however, as time passed, I discovered the potential to relate IE to the concepts I knew from the institutional strand of organisational theory. Taking inspiration from Pettigrew (1985), Roness (1997) has identified four modes of engaging several theories in an organisational or institutional study:

- 1 “prioritising” by sticking to one approach;
- 2 “contrasting” by comparing several;
- 3 “synthesising” by including theories to develop a new combination; and
- 4 “complementing” by combining several approaches in the same framework.

For my research, I chose the “complementing” mode, using different elements from IT and IE where I deemed them useful. I call my approach sensitive complementing as I did not rigorously apply all facets of IE and IT. In the end, my institutional analytical framework consisted of a specific and strategic selection of tools and concepts taken from IE and IT.

### ***Nordic openness***

IE and IT are complex in nature and the ways they are applied. There is not one obvious or natural way to combine these ideas in an analytical framework, and the open-endedness of both approaches enables multiple combinations. IE offers a framework of ideas, but no rules or specific guidelines that must be followed (Smith 2006). Particularly in the Nordics, researchers are encouraged to use the parts of IE that are relevant to their investigations, and there are several examples of studies where IE has been successfully combined with other methods and theories (see Widerberg 2015 for examples).

Depending on the research focus, discipline, or other factors, organisational researchers often apply different theoretical approaches. Indeed, one of the particularities of organisation theory in the Nordics – and in Scandinavian IT more specifically – is disciplinary openness. Within that approach, “dialoguing with basic disciplines has helped the organisation theory perspective to pursue a broader intellectual and societal agenda” (Thoenig 2007). The interdisciplinarity of both IE and IT in the Nordics thus allows researchers, like myself, to be sensitive to elements from both approaches as the same time.

***Epistemological junctions***

Epistemologically, IT and IE share some similar grounds. This similarity can be illustrated through the historical development of organisation theory, which has crossed several academic traditions and disciplines at different points in time (Christensen 2012). In general, the multiple perspectives within organisation theory can be explained as falling within one of two major approaches: a top-down (instrumental) versus a bottom-up (institutional) approach (Bogason and Sørensen 1998; Christensen et al. 2013). In pragmatic terms, these two approaches represent an historical trajectory from when organisations were studied from an economic perspective as goal-oriented entities – where “formal structure matters” (Christensen 2012) – to more recent times, when institutional values, the agency of the individuals within the organisations, and the broader organisational context have come to the fore. Instrumental organisation theory is thus informed by a functionalist kind of positivism “concerned with the generation of causal theories, as far general in scope as possible” (Donaldson 2005, 17).

Partly in parallel, and partly in response to this development, a new strand of theories emerged that enhanced the focus on the development of organisational values and informal norms. For example, critical organisation studies increased the focus on power and inequality (Burrell and Morgan 1979). In the 1950s, Selznick developed the idea of institutionalism further, combining early and new theoretical developments that fronted a view of institutions as social systems with informal norms, values, and cultures (Selznick 1949, 1957). This neo-institutional strand of institutionalism represented an anti-positivist allegiance, and the idea that there were no “social facts” found greater acceptance among scholars (Tsoukas and Knudsen 2005).

The epistemological pillars of IT resemble the feminist standpoint epistemology inherent in IE, particularly the idea that all knowledge production is value-laden and the result of historical processes (Lund 2015; Smith 2005). To understand the everyday world as it is experienced from the standpoint of the research subjects, the entry point of IE is people’s everyday words and actions, and the institutional realities, including texts, that shape their experiences (Smith 2005). IE’s focus on individuals within institutions, and the social relations in which they are embedded (Smith 1987, 2005), shares traits with the social-constructivist tradition in IT, with an empirical focus on the micro-level nuances, subjectivities, and “living” organisations (Christensen et al. 2013). There are, however, notable differences between the two approaches. While IT flags interpretivism, for instance, Smith argues that it is possible to minimise interpretation by allowing for “self-representation” of participants.

When looking at the specific traditions of organisational theory in the Nordics, it makes sense to argue that combining IT and IE can be particularly useful in this context. Indeed, Lundberg and Sataøen (2014) suggest

that IE has a lot to offer (Scandinavian) IT and argue that IE can inspire using other types of data, which can lead to a different type of analysis, incorporate higher levels of reflection (2014), and provide fruitful avenues to address human actors and practices of power in institutional studies (see also Lundberg and Sataøen's chapter in this volume). Another argument for a local match relates to how the "Scandinavian" tradition of IT developed in relation to the nature of public organisations. In contrast to public organisations in the US, for example, Scandinavian public organisations are considered culturally and structurally homogeneous. They cater more to collective norms and values than to the rationality of the individual. Having a larger public sector than most other countries, public administration in the Nordics is characterised by strong hierarchical levels and a drive for consensus and collaborative decision making. The characteristics of Scandinavian public organisations explain why the regional research tradition has evolved to emphasise institutional facets while maintaining a focus on the structural features of public organisations (Christensen 2012; Lægred 2007).

### ***IE and IT: predicting or exploring?***

Generally, scientific theories are concerned with exploring, explaining, and predicting phenomena. In the organisation theoretical approaches described above, however, the instrumental as well as the institutional perspectives focus more on explaining and predicting than exploring. Even though the interpretivist perspective poses a critique of the early positivist paradigm, both of these approaches can be criticised for attempting to predict outcomes. This is one of the main reasons why IE can serve as a tool to improve the theoretical foundation for inductive exploration and for explanation and prediction in organisation research.

As a method of inquiry, IE stimulates a broader, subjective, and bottom-up approach to researching social organisations, while focussing on individuals, local and translocal relations, and the interactions that comprise these relations. Through an open and ethnographic approach, the researcher can uncover the ruling relations of the institution (Smith 2005; Widerberg 2015). This perspective is not included within IT. On the other hand, perspectives from IT can be useful to contextualise the experiences of the "knowers" in public institutional complexes. For me, both instrumental and institutional theoretical elements were useful to explain and predict because they provided a systematic pathway to scrutinise the phenomena I had observed. When used in combination with IE, instrumental and institutional theoretical elements also helped to form a grounded exploration by adding a framework during the fieldwork and the analytical process.

In the next section, I describe two examples that illustrate how I complemented both theoretical approaches to produce a richer analysis than might have been yielded through one approach alone. The first example focusses on how an exploration of instrumental and cultural traits fed into



my fieldwork and methodology. The second example details how the idea of “institutional circuits” and the concepts of institutionalisation, institutional soul, culture, and values to understand how bureaucrats categorised their transnational clients.

### **Finding “instrumental” and “cultural” traits in everyday experiences**

Before entering the field, I was conscious that interview data is shaped by the informant *and* the researcher, and that objectivism is obsolete in social scientific research. Nevertheless, I sought to minimise the risk that the interviews should develop around my own pre-set expectations about bureaucrats and transnational living. I wanted to be clear-minded when I entered the everyday experiences of my informants and focus on the activities and experiences they have in their specific contexts (Smith 1987, 2006). The initial interview structure was largely inspired by my wish of staying true to IE and to my main research question: “How do bureaucrats in NAV experience and accommodate the encounter with people who lead transnational lives?” I needed to learn “how things worked” and my pilot interviews took the form of conversations loosely structured around four topics: the individual everyday work, the workplace, the transnational group of clients, and the encounter.

The first interviews moved in several different directions as the open-ended questions enabled the informants to talk about a variety of matters important to them. Following the first three conversations I had, I expanded the interview guide and brought in several topics I deemed relevant to my investigation, drawing on what had already been discussed to this point. These topics included media, regulations, client groups, work culture, practical challenges, organisational history, internal communication, differences among units, quality versus effectiveness, and immigration and the welfare state, among others. As new topics continued to arise during the ensuing interviews, I found it difficult to maintain an open and unstructured approach while also covering all the topics earlier informants had raised. So, I decided to structure the interview guide around some overarching themes, according to the underlying ideas I had from IE and my original interests and notions relevant to IT. Figure 4.2 illustrates the organisation of my final interview guide, including the eight clusters of themes to be discussed.

In clusters 1, 2, and 8, I drew on IE and focussed on the individuals, their everyday work, texts, the workplace mapped from their standpoints, and personal experiences. In clusters 3, 6, and 7, I drew on a combination of my initial interests and other topics that interviewees had raised themselves. In clusters 4 and 5, I asked about specific elements from instrumental theory and IT. Here I focussed on structure, including history, hierarchy, relationships between units, processes of reorganisation, and work culture,



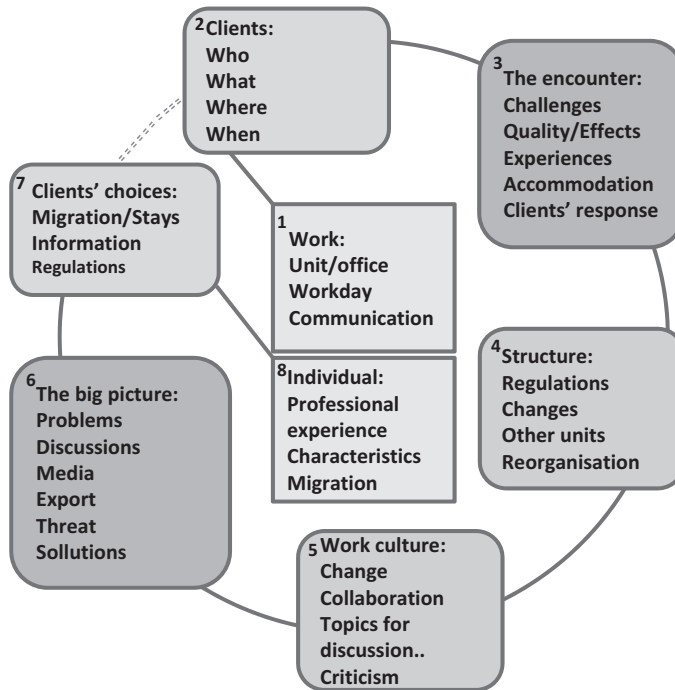


Figure 4.2 My final interview guide.

including norms, values, changing perspectives, and individual experiences of such processes.

While the development of my interview guide is a methodological aspect, it very much relates to the analytical process as well. Since I drew on ideas from both IE and IT in the interviews, it became useful to build on the same theoretical concepts, and others, during the analysis. When analysing what the bureaucrats talked about in relation to cluster 4 (structure), for example, it became clear that the historical traits of the international branch of NAV influenced how the bureaucrats responded to current organisational change – much in line with the idea of “path-dependency” in organisation theory (Steinmo et al. 1992). Likewise, I found that structural changes were often driven by individual agency as well as external structures, a revelation that related closely to ideas about “institutional entrepreneurship” (Garud et al. 2007) and “myth” (Meyer and Rowan 1977). In the analysis I also built on other elements from IE and IT, which might not have been as obvious if I had not addressed them systematically in the interviews. This last idea is further illustrated by the next example, which focusses on how I analysed “institutional circuits” and found traits of the “institutional soul” within NAV.

### **Exploring categories through “institutional circuits” and “institutionalisation”**

One of the articles from my PhD project focusses on how NAV bureaucrats categorise their transnational clients (Talleraas 2019). I was inspired by the scholarly discussion on migrant categorisation processes, in which scholars commonly blame politicians, policymakers, bureaucrats, and practitioners for using institutional categories as a top-down approach to “fix dynamic social processes into rigid structures” (Collyer and De Haas 2012). I also drew on research on institutional and bureaucratic categorisation more broadly. Here, categorisation along specific lines is seen as a useful work tool (Lipsky 2010) and as a mechanism that produces boundaries between “wanted” and “unwanted” clients. Along this line of inquiry, I explored the labels bureaucrats used to talk about their clients as a means to understand if and how transnational individuals were perceived as a specific category.

Empirically, the article on categorisation tells a story of surprise: contrary to my assumptions, it turned out that the bureaucrats shared an institution-wide approach that regarded transnationalism and cross-border mobility among clients as the “new norm”. Nevertheless, although my informants aimed at avoiding generalisation and simplification, they frequently used specific labels to describe segments of their clients, ranging from formal categorisations – e.g., “EEA citizen” – to informal ones – e.g., “naïve Norwegians abroad”.

Theoretically, the article is also a story of how I arrived at these findings by building on elements from IE and IT in the analysis. In short, I started to map “institutional circuits”. My take on institutional circuits is inspired by Smith and Turner’s (2014) understanding of the concept as sequences of text-coordinated actions that make people’s actualities representable and actionable within the institutional frame. I build on this idea and view an institutional circuit as a process wherein institutional texts influence and mandate subjective action (e.g., practices of categorisation), followed by a feedback mechanism where subjective action, informed by other structural dimensions, in turn, influences institutional texts (e.g., categories in text). This work helped me discover how the modes of categorisation used in the organisation revealed what can be called an “institutional soul” – the unique culture and informal values of an institutionalised organisation (Christensen et al. 2013). I bridged these findings to other institutional traits I had found, which signalled previously undiscovered aspects institutionalised culture and shared values. I drew on these findings and traced the signs of values and culture as part of other institutional circuits within NAV.

During the interviews, I noticed that the bureaucrats used many labels when talking about transnationals in a mix-and-match approach, applying formal and informal categories, including stereotypes. Formal categories were part of the regulative framework, such as “client”, “EEA citizen”, and “cross-border worker”. Informal categories included factual descriptions,

such as “sailors” and “airline employees”, and a few more unconventional ones, such as “people who live in a country with slow mail delivery”. These were not recognised as legal categories, though some had an officially recognised purpose. Stereotypical presentations were oversimplified, and often negative, such as “naïve Norwegians abroad” and “single men in Thailand”.

When I asked specific questions about some of the groups, the bureaucrats often referred to texts. Therefore, I investigated these texts as mediators of ruling relations and explored how they shaped the bureaucrats’ use of client categories. I mapped institutional circuits and traced how and if specific categories were present in texts such as internal newsletters, unit guidelines, institutional strategy documents, and official website information. Reading through these texts, I noticed that both formal and informal categories were deployed abundantly here as well. Both formal and informal descriptions were commonly used in unofficial internal documents, but surprisingly, informal categories also occurred in the high-order texts, such as the NAV website and steering documents.

I found that all the formal categories used by bureaucrats had been derived from regulative “boss” texts, which explains why they were widespread in the institutional jargon. The text-reader conversation (Smith 2005) regarding informal categories was less clear. While some informal categories occurred in texts or speech only, others were present in both. “Fishermen”, for instance, was present in texts and speech, often used to explain how specific regulations applied to transnationals. While there are no legal distinctions coupled to fishermen, there are regulative differences concerning workers on ships registered to different countries, who sail in different territories and live in different countries. “Fishermen” (and, similarly, “sailors” and “flight crew”) seemed to be used as a shorthand term to encapsulate legal specificities within a group. In other words, terms like this served to simplify groups in which there were many differences between its individual members and the regulations that applied to them. I found that the use of “fishermen” in authoritative texts thus derived from spoken accounts, originating from a need to make things easier in the bureaucrats’ everyday work. “Fishermen” was not a formal category in the legal sense, but it was used as if it was to point bureaucrats to a larger set of regulations and diversities that applied within a specific group of clients.

The texts and the bureaucrats’ spoken accounts contrasted in that bureaucrats repeatedly said they did not want to categorise their clients unlike the texts that included formal categories. However, this did not mean there were not individual differences in opinions and perspectives among the bureaucrats. Those who worked with pensions, for instance, were likelier to use a stereotype, such as “retirees moving to sunny areas”. But the bureaucrats overall reluctance to categorise while also using categorical labels to describe groups was striking. This example points to the notion of an institutionalised culture in IT (Christensen et al. 2013): When a public organisation develops informal norms and culture it becomes “institutionalised”.

Institutionalised elements and identities shape, and are shaped by, the members of the organisation and influence how they act. In the international branch of NAV, it appeared that the habit of applying labels, *and* the general resistance to categorise, and the overall openness towards transnationals, were institutionalised in the work culture. It struck me that this was part of the institutional “soul” (Christensen et al. 2013): it was a uniqueness shared among those working with transnational casework in NAV.

The organisational practice of categorising is, in Selznick’s words, “infused with value beyond the technical requirements of the task at hand” (1957, 1). Tracing the institutional circuits of categories in NAV helped me see how the organisational values and norms were represented differently in texts and speech. While formal and informal categories and stereotypes were all institutionalised in NAV, formal categories were largely derived from authoritative texts, while some of the informal categories had spread from speech to texts, including authoritative texts, which then reinforced their use in spoken accounts. Some stereotypes were also institutionalised, but they were not apparent in the authoritative texts.

From this analysis, I concluded that the bureaucrats maintained an open approach to who transnationals were, though they used a large variety of labels to describe them. These contours of institutional soul urged me to look for traces of culture more generally in NAV by reading texts. I detected other institutional elements, particularly when talking with senior bureaucrats. I read decades-old institutional texts that described historical traits of the organisation. Building on this work, I mapped institutional circuits that lined up with the notion of “path-dependency”, showed how traits of the institutional soul (e.g., the feeling of doing superior or special casework) had been kept and maintained through texts and actions. Indeed, this journey evolved to become the basis of my next two articles, which focussed on bureaucratic dilemmas, entrepreneurial solutions, welfare state values, and organisational change.

## **Conclusions**

In this chapter, I reviewed the intellectual path by which I became sensitive to IE and IT for my PhD project. While I initially entered these two fields by chance, the traits of each theory inspired me to explore and explain how they could be complementary and produce novel insights in an institutional analysis. Some may argue that IT and IE are diverging: IE offers a way to explore the actualities of the social in people’s doings (Smith 2005) to avoid working at the level of abstraction often apparent in, for example, organisation studies. Critics may build on this point, arguing that combining IE and pre-set theories is inconsistent with the emancipatory nature of IE, since inquiry should be “given primacy over theory” (Smith 2006). But Smith does not rule out the use of theory. While social scientists should avoid replicating theoretical jargon and “reproduc[ing] what we already know” (Widerberg 2015, 14), Smith suggests research should work toward

descriptions that can operate as precursors of concepts and theory – which can then be used to explain the observed.

As discussed in this chapter, IE and IT share relevant epistemological traits and focus on concepts and tools that can be used in complementary fashion. For me, the context and focus of my study was relevant to build on the specific traits of IE in the Nordics and IT in Scandinavia and encouraged by the call for interdisciplinarity within the two traditions. I cannot claim to have completed an institutional analysis fully in line with the ideals of either IE or IT, but my familiarity with the two approaches enabled me to deploy a large toolbox of methodological and theoretical concepts. I have been sensitive to elements from IE and IT in a need-based manner throughout the research, and for me, this turned out to be useful. The outcome of the analysis combining IE and IT will depend on the elements included: the context, the topic, the theoretical notions, and how they are mixed. Certainly, numerous pathways to connect these two research strands remain unmapped. Drawing on my own experiences, I believe further exploration of this field can yield fruitful insights for institutional ethnographers and organisational theorists alike.

## Note

- 1 I use the connotation “institutional organisation theory” (IT) as an umbrella term to include elements from both “neo” and “old” institutional theory. It should be noted, however, that I also build on elements that originally stem from classic “instrumental” organisation theory.

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