PhD THESIS IN MANAGEMENT AND ECONOMIC SCIENCES

Legitimation Process:

The case of Not-for-Profit Organizations in Palestine

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to the soul of my dad who showered me with love, generosity, and kindness, and always wanted me to pursue my high studies, and for my mom who dedicated her entire life for us, who never stopped giving and sacrifying to raise me and my siblings.

I also dedicate my work for Palestine, the land of serenity and love.

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Table of Contents

List of Acronyms

Acronym	Name in English
NPOs	Not-for-profit organizations
WB	West Bank
GS	Gaza Strip
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
GA	General Assembly
PNA	Palestinian National Authority
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
IA	Internal alignment
EA	External alignment
DA	Dyanamic alignment
EoW	Economies of Worth
IW	Institutional Work
OPTs	Occupied Palestinian Territories
WBGS	West Bank & Gaza Strip
Al Nayzak	Al Nayzak for Supportive Education & Scientific Innovation
PARC	Palestinian Agricultural Relief Committees
HWC	Health Work Committees
PAC	Popular Art Center
Al Haq	Law in the Service of Man
PHG	Palestinian Hydrology Group
Ma'an	Ma'an Development Center
BoDs	Board of Directors
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

PIF	Palestine International Festival
GD	General Director
ATC	Anti-Terrorist Contract
USAID	The United States Agency for International Development
PDP	Partnership for Development Program
MIP	Made in Palestine program
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
JAA	Jordanian Agronomist Association
CBR	Community Based Rehabilitation
PNGO	Palestinian Netowork of Non-governmental organizations
CBOs	Community based Centers
MOH	Ministry of Health
MOI	Ministry of Interior
MOC	Ministry of Culture
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organizations
UN	United Nations
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
MOE	Ministry of Education

List of Figures

General introduction

Our study centers on the legitimation processes undertaken by Not-for-Profit Organizations (NPOs) in the Palestinian context. Many studies have addressed the question of legitimacy and legitimation from various angles: examples include legitimacy constitution (Golant & Sillince 2007), rhetorical construction of legitimacy (Gill & Wells 2014), legitimacy as a belief about the appropriateness of social arrangements (Tyler 2006), legitimacy as a social process (Johnson et. Al 2006), legitimacy judgments (Tost 2011; Deephouse & Suchman 2008), the dynamics underlying the attempts of legitimation (Ashforth & Gibbs 1990), and types of legitimacy (Suchman 1995).

Despite the fact that legitimation and legitimacy have gained much attention in the existing literature, we are not sufficiently informed about legitimation processes in specific contexts (Jonsson et al 2009). The lack of empirical knowledge and attention to legitimation processes in specific contexts have led us to focus our study on such questions in the Palestinian context.

We first offer the reader a brief orientation regarding the historical evolution and constant changes in the Palestinian context. These changes made us realize the relevance of turbulent context as a key concept to our study. To enrich our conceptual understanding of what characterizes a turbulent context, we therefore refer to the theory of fields and highlight the links with the concepts of limited statehood and quasi-state. The conceptual comprehension of the turbulent context allowed us to offer our conception of the Palestinian context as an example of a turbulent context.

In relation to the contextual turbulence, the Palestinian context has featured constant and sudden evolutions, which have implied notable changes at the level of NPOs. These changes included, for example, new actions irrelevant to the local context and deviation from the initial working approaches, which jeopardized NPOs and brought them to a crisis of legitimacy.

After differentiating legitimacy as a state, and legitimation as a social process, we examine the legitimation, de-legitimation and re-legitimation attempts launched by NPOs in a context like Palestine.

To proceed, we start with an overview of the historical evolution of the Palestinian context.

The evolution of the socio-political context

Central to the legitimation process undertaken by NPOs in Palestine are the socio-political conditions that shaped the external context. The origins of NPOs in Palestine are both historical and political, which demonstrates the peculiarity of the context (Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta & Lounsbury 2011). In other words, the political evolutions of the Palestinian context facilitated the creation of NPOs and determined the type of organizational actions NPOs implemented.

In order to understand how the context evolved historically and how it affected NPOs, we first condense key historical and political milestones that should help to establish a direct relation between the context and the organizational actions, and to help the reader envisage the conditions under which NPOs emerged. Second, as our empirical research taught us, we must give sufficient space to cover two major dimensions under transition; the aid system and the newly shaped political system, which radically triggered changes at both the field and the organizational level.

The Palestinian context evolved due to crucial episodic events, epitomized primarily with several successive colonies that ruled Palestine and created a changing and uncertain context. The Ottoman Empire controlled the Palestinian context till 1918, to be followed immediately by the British Mandate. In 1947, the UN partition recommended the creation of independent Arab and Jewish states, along with a special regime for the city of Jerusalem. As part of the partition, the British mandate was required to terminate by 1948 (Challand 2009).

In 1948, a massive change took place when the Israeli forces (Wilkins 2004) occupied Palestine. In terms of administration, the West Bank (WB) was controlled at that time by the Jordanian system, while the Gaza Strip (GS) was controlled by the Egyptian system. In 1967 Israeli forces completely took over and controlled WB & GS (Challand 2009).

The Turkish and British colonies, and later the Israeli occupation, influenced many aspects of the Palestinian context (Giacaman 2000), such as the creation of NPOs and the formulation of the role that those NPOs needed to adopt.

The evolution of NPOs in Palestine

The colonies mainly provoked indigenous reactions, such as the creation of NPOs, which emerged in the early 1920's (Kassis 2001; Salem 2011). By NPOs we refer to the civil society organizations (CSOs), charitable Islamic-Christian labour unions, community based organizations (CBOs), some youth clubs and women's organizations, which were collectively mandated to focus solely on national issues (Salem 2012; Payes 2005; DeVoir & Tartir 2009). The national issues in the 1920s centered on the miseries of Palestinian people as a nation under occupation, empowering and keeping them on their land.

Furthermore, NPOs aimed at building a powerful network with families, neighbourhood communities, and external solidarity groups, which all served as the main patronage connections and facilitated the translation of national issues into tangible actions.

The Palestinian context continued to evolve, and eventually the Palestinian Organization Liberation (PLO)[1] was created, though with a foreign base. Years later, the two "Intifadas"[2] erupted. The two Intifadas and the creation of the PLO dramatically impacted the development of NPOs in different ways.

The Intifadas provoked the social actors to fashion a dual[3] mission that entailed political roles and the provision of services. The political roles consisted of mobilizing Palestinians to fight for a non violent liberation from Israeli occupation. The mission of the provision of services included delivering vital social services especially health, education, agriculture, etc.

By embracing these two critical roles, NPOs evolved as a remarkable institutionalized organizational field (Falcitelli & Montanarini 1999; DeVoir & Tartir 2009) which was

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[1]The PLO was founded in 1964 by the Arab states league to represent the Palestinian people, and embed national political parties in the vision of liberation. The PLO policy has been the armed struggle against Israeli occupation.

[2]Intifada literally means the unarmed resistance or uprising occasioned by grassroots movements (Rona, 1989), demanding the complete withdrawal of Israeli military occupation (Makram, 2007). The Intifadas conferred legitimacy to the Palestinian cause at both local and international levels (Noakes & Wilkins), since they are connoted with the collective protest, to fight oppression, economic exploitation and devastation, organized institutional destruction, and most importantly to combat the cultural and ideological threat and dominance (Farsoun & Zacharia, 1997). The first Intifada erupted in 1987 and terminated in 1992 while the second Intifada took place in 2000 and stopped in 2005.

[3]NPOs were considered the developmental arms of political parties given that the political parties essentially founded them.

largely accepted and celebrated by the locals. The PLO as sole representative of all Palestinians and the main political system, became the umbrella organization that embedded the local political parties and NPOs. In addition, the PLO primarily financed NPOs, while the latter were technically the developmental arms and channels through which the PLO outreached Palestinians (Salem 2012).

The NPOs depended mainly on the PLO for funding, and accepted limited external funding from the international solidarity movements. These movements believed in the justice of the Palestinian cause and the right of Palestinian people to live in freedom and independence (Jarrar 2005).

The NPOs in Palestine were conceived as the main social actors who occupied the societal sphere and took up a state role to render social, political, cultural and economic services (Giacaman el al., 2003). That said, NPOs historically emerged and grew in a unique institutional landscape, strictly united around one nationalistic vision. In addition, NPOs ensured direct contact and interaction with the peripheral communities, and reliance on volunteers.

Despite this, NPOs belonged to different national political parties[4]; indeed, all Palestinians had the right to benefit from the services delivered by NPOs, and had the privilege of becoming members of the General Assembly (GA)[5] or part of the pool of volunteers.

In 1993, the signing of the Oslo Accords[6] resulted in the creation of a Palestinian National Authority (PNA) primarily composed of the affiliates of one local political party[7]. The PNA came into existence as a major player in political life. It critically stimulated controversies, debates and severe criticism in the local context, but was not largely accepted or recognized. It was furthermore perceived as a betrayal of the nationalistic vision. At the same time, Palestinians had initial hopes that the PNA would be a stepping-stone towards a normal state. Viewing the PNA as a potential

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[4]The national political parties at that time united around liberation as the main vision, but each party had its own ideological orientations.

[5]The General Assembly has been the supreme governance body of the NPOs.

[6]The Oslo Accords, known as the peace process accords, took place in Oslo in 1992-1993, signed between the two parties (Palestinians and Israelis), in the presence of the International community. The accords stipulated a 5 year Palestinian interim self-government enfolded in the Palestinian Legislation Council (PLC), and created in parallel a Palestinian National Authority (PNA). The Oslo accord, furthermore, divided the West Bank (WB) into three administrative divisions: areas A, B and C. The distinct areas were given a different status. Area A comprising approximately 18% of WB, is under the civil administration of the PNA. Area B comprising 22% of WB, is under a joint administration of the PNA and Israel. Area C, comprising 60% of WB, is under the sole administration of Israel.

[7]Fateh is the major national political party, whose affiliates are valorised within the PNA.

future state forced NPOs to rethink their roles, and integrate institutional building concepts (Hilal 2008), development discourse, and professionalism (Hammami 2000). It essentially implied leaving behind the political roles, especially the militarization activities against the Israeli occupation.

The transformations of NPOs in Palestine

Amidst the re-definition of the roles of NPOs, the second Intifada suddenly erupted in 2000, and the massive military invasion which took place largely confused Palestinians and NPOs alike. Consequently, NPOs suffered a setback and were forced to abandon their new integrated work and discourse, retreating to emergency work and outreaching sieged areas. In parallel, international aid grew rapidly in the time of military invasion, and new donors[8] appeared in the Palestinian context. Diverse donors imposed new agendas according to their own interests and conceptions, and at the same time, demanded crucial modifications to the working approaches.

Five years later the second Intifada ceased, to be followed by a complete split from the Gaza Strip (GS)[9] in 2007. The split was critical and shifted its effects to NPOs, which for the first time were fragmented and divided up into three groups of organizations. One group supported Hamas in GS, the second supported the PNA[10] in WB, and the third group decided not to engage in the new situation.

This unusual split at different levels generated new regimes of oppression run by the Palestinian security forces in both parts of GSWB. Security oppression implied security checks applied to NPOs as a new requirement for the NPOs to prove their eligibility to exist and operate in the local context. Amidst this turmoil, international aid once again accelerated with new demands, this time at the political level[11], by introducing a new situation for NPOs, and a new factor of fragmentation at the field and national levels.

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[8]USAID became a major funding agency, with generous funds, and new types of projects.

[9]A small self-governing Palestinian territory on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea, it borders in the southwest with Egypt. GS together with the West Bank (WB) comprise the Palestinian territories, with an Israeli controlled border separating the territories of GS and the WB from each other. Both fall under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian National Authority. However, in 2007, GS was split off to be governed by Hamas (a Palestinian Islamic organization), which came to power through elections in 2006. Since then, GS has been under an Israeli and U.S.-led international economic and political boycott, while the West Bank is still governed by Fateh.

[10]The PNA organizations concentrated in Ramallah, which is conceived as the temporary capital of the PNA.

[11] In order to receive funds, especially from USAID, NPOs have to sign the ATC (anti-terrorism contract). The ATC conceptualizes the national resistance activities as terrorism, and any Palestinian who is directly or indirectly involved in this kind of activity may not benefit from the projects run by NPOs and funded by donors.

At the field level, NPOs clustered into groups in terms of their position regarding the new political changes, while at the national level, Palestinians divided on a beneficiary-basis, and became involved in competing for materialistic benefits.

NPOs were progressively immersed in competition for raising funds from a wide pool of international donors. Being heavily engaged in fundraising forced NPOs to keep altering their historical roles to correspond to any potential funding opportunity. In this way, the financial power of NPOs substituted their original popular power, generating dissatisfaction and doubts that the NPOs had become global entities (Hanafi & Tabar 2005) that no longer represented the local context. Due to external funding, the number of NPOs proliferated[12], with a few of them working solely for narrow political agendas, but accumulating financial resources.

Competition over funds has not been limited to the field level, but rather extended to the PNA which attempted to exert control over NPOs, with the implicit aim of essentially controlling the NPOs' financial resources. The relations between the PNA and NPOs went through different phases, to eventually achieve the so-called sectoral partnership (Jarrar 2005) where each specialized ministry should have coordinated with NPOs working in their own sector.

Nonetheless, the sectoral partnership was manipulated by the PNA on the one hand to expand ties with the international community and so obtain more resources (Falcitelli & Montanarini 1999), and on the other hand, to demonstrate that people's interests were considered (Fuqaha 2012).

Constant changes in the local context clearly impacted many institutional fields such as NPOs. With that said, we now turn our attention to turbulent context notion by referring to the theory of fields. Given the peculiarity of the political system in Palestine, we highlight the concept of quasi state with reference to the limited statehood literature.

What makes Palestine a turbulent context ruled by a quasi-state?

The external context of any organization essentially consists of the factors and patterns of external conditions which impact the development and life of people and

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[12]The growth rate of the NPOs in Palestine is 2.1%, which is considered to be the second after Egypt, with a population of 82 million, while the Palestinian population is approximately 2.614,845 (Salem 2012; Hilal 2004).

entities connected to such conditions (Mintzberg & Quinn 1992). Following Emery & Trist (1992), some external contexts may be considered as more or less turbulent. Turbulence results from the presence of two major parameters: dynamics & complexity (Johnson & Scholes 1999).

When organizations work in a turbulent context, they will be potentially submitted to constant changes (dynamics) that are difficult to comprehend and predict (Sadler 1996). In other words, a turbulent context is characterized by multiple changes that occur quickly and continuously.

It is also argued that a turbulent context is chaotic as it can be confusing and upset by unpredictable changes (Tetenbaum 1998). A turbulent context thus features unpredictability and many hidden patterns (Stacey 1992) which increases its complexity. Change can be triggered by a series of factors from different origins: Political, Economical, Sociocultural and Technical, which lead to developing the so-called PEST analyses.

We have investigated what, in theory, makes a turbulent environment in terms of complexity, chaos and change (Brown & Eisenhardt 1998). According to this view, and by referring to the historical review regarding the research context presented above, NPOs could be viewed as evolving in a turbulent context given the numerous changes and emerging events (several colonies and the Israeli occupation).

The Palestinian context could be considered as a changing turbulent that is primarily influenced by complex and dense sets of various interests —especially political interests— which keep interacting to produce unpredictable changes and new realities of a chaotic nature that destabilize the local context.

The contextual changes that have accumulated in Palestine have not been limited to the colonies and the Israeli occupation. The creation of the PNA as a new political system led to more confusion and disquiet, along with troublesome economic and social toll. We have therefore realized that it is important to link the notion of the turbulent context with the quasi-state notion and the limited statehood literature; to do so, we have to look at how the state comes into existence, and how it impacts the non-state actors.

According to the theory of fields, a state can be considered as a strategic action field, where its actors should be able to define, or endorse "rules for the public strategic interactions in a given geographic territory" (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, pp: 66-68). It is also presumed that the state develop in a particular historical mode (Whelan 2012), with high potential to shape the prospects for change and stability.

By definition, a state is the result of collective action that has been formed in order to exert control and produce strategic actions to establish the order of the society as a whole. It originates from a 'powerful form of collective action that has been invented to produce and control strategic action fields' (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, p:68), to enforce authoritative rules, and to define and defend a geographic territory (Fligstein 1990). Furthermore, if a state needs to form the prospects for change and stability, it needs to exercise domestic sovereignty (Borzel & Risse 2010) over its own territory.

To summarize, a state is a set of strategic action fields in which actors engage in political strategic action oriented toward defining what should constitute the rule of interaction and expansion in a social space on a given territory. While a state views its mission as the definition and defense of its geographic borders, it also includes the exercise of monopoly over the means of violence and the definition of procedures and laws that govern actions (Weber 1978).

As part of defining procedures and the exertion of authority, states need to create appropriate organizational structures, and advance the provision of public services, protection from attacks, representation of national interests, expansion or creation of spaces and the rule of law, and general public order (Krasner 1999).

The existence of a state means that government should allow nonstate actors to create new fields without fearing any threat, while at a time of crisis, the state should be able to restore order and the status quo, and solve the emergent political and administrative problems (McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly 2001).

The essence of statehood is therefore related to its capacity to bind central decisions for a collectivity and exercise effective control on a specific terrain (Borzel & Risse 2010). In less developed countries, what is called a limited state is prevalent, where national governments lack the ability to implement and enforce rules and decisions (Krasner & Risse 2014) in different dimensions: territorially, sectorally, and socially.

Furthermore, the countries that have limited statehood contain state institutions that may be a source of insecurity (Muller 2009; Borzel & Risse 2010; Risse 2011).

Quasi-state is a notion that characterizes particular governments as marginal and weak, with lack of political will, institutional authority and organized power to protect human rights or provide socio-economic welfare (Jackson 1993). Benefits in quasi-states are fairly limited to narrow elites and not extended to all citizens, whose lives are adversely affected by the non-sovereignty.

Interestingly, a state-building should take place over a long period of time through a domestic process, where political wills and responsibilities accompany the national government and the indigenous population. Our brief overview of the contextual evolution clearly showed that the creation of the PNA has not happened through a domestic process, but rather through international arrangements. Moreover, the creation of the PNA coupled with the existence of the Israeli occupation as a colony with full control, has led to a powerless national authority.

The PNA was created with limited authority and lacked power due to the constraints put on public policies, laws, and decisions. For example, Israel as an occupying power continued its strategy of imposing checkpoints and enforcing a permits system for individuals, goods and institutions. Palestinian police were not allowed to be present at checkpoints, and on the external roads. By-pass roads and numerous settlements were constructed on Palestinian lands taken by force (Mansour 2001). The West Bank and Gaza Strip became more separate 'Bantustans' that forced Palestinians to obtain permits from the Israeli occupation in order to travel to and from those Bantustans (Hanafi & Tabar 2005).

Moreover, Israelis continued to control the entry of goods and the collection of customs duties on products, while Israeli producers continued to enjoy a monopoly on a captive Palestinian market. With the division of the Palestinian territories into different classifications (A, B, C), Israel refused to allow Palestinians to dig any wells in areas C to get underground water. Such refusal resulted in severe shortages of water for Palestinians.

Beside the lack of power and authority over economic and territorial aspects, the PNA failed to provide the rules of what constitute organizations (Fligstein 1990), or even to

manage the recurring issues of conflict and coordination amongst organizations (Mahoney & Thelen 2009). Because the PNA lacked authority and control, powerful nonstate actors (Laumann & Knoke 1987) developed in the Palestinian context and through generous donations, the external donors became more and more influential with growing political interests (Hanafi & Tabar 2005).

In the light of what has been presented so far, the PNA has evidently very limited statehood. It is not able to control its borders and geographic space, as well as the different sectors such as health, security and agriculture, etc. (Krasner & Risse 2014). Therefore we conceive the PNA as a quasi-state with no sovereignty, unable to control or govern any prospects of change and stability (Fligstein & McAdam 2012) over its territories.

Given the numerous contextual changes linked to a turbulent environment and the existence of the PNA as a quasi state, the Palestinian NPOs were influenced in different ways in a space of complex diverse interests deeply rooted in politics. This is why most Palestinian NPOs experienced a crisis of legitimacy due to a deviation from their initial roles and working approaches. The next section will explore this question.

A crisis of legitimacy- the case of NPOs in Palestine

Acting like a state in providing social services coupled with a political role and leadership on popular movements gave NPOs distinguished social fitness and credibility (Salem 2012). Remarkably, NPOs in the past showed a unique model of grass-roots movement supported by local human and fiscal resources with highly responsive capacity in terms of social services.

Dramatic changes occurred in the political context due to the creation of the PNA, which along with the existing Israeli Occupation, strongly impacted NPOs. In this serialized situation, external international funding increased notably, with abundant resources provided to NPOs, and new actors with different interests who entered the Palestinian context. It is estimated that more than 230 different foreign donors have been in close relations and have actively donated to the Palestinian NPOs (Brynen 2000).

The new situation implied radical changes at the level of NPOs. The number of new NPOs mushroomed. They started to embrace new working approaches, design and implemention of new organizational interventions irrelevant to the local context.

Notably, NPOs became more reactive to the foreign aid thematic interests, which put energy and huge amounts of money for peace-building (Brynen 2000), coupled with misleading economic and social objectives dependent on external resources that benefited limited social classes and constructed a fragile national economy (Korzom 2012). External funds led to the corruption and exploitation of resources for the sake of narrow individual interests.[13]

In the expectation of the end of the struggle (Alayasa 2003), focusing on peace making and building led to a growth of short term interventions (Sbeih 2011) embracing development as a new approach. This made NPOs live in an illusion and eventually unable to respond to the actual social, economic and political needs of the local context (Daana 2012).

Most importantly, the eruption of the second Intifada revealed the disconnection between NPOs and the popular uprisings, which indicated that NPOs revoked their historical political role, limiting their role in the second Intifada to organizing a conference to debate the Intifada (Alayasa 2003). This exposed a central paradox regarding the dramatic shift in one of the major roles of the Palestinian NPOs, and raised critical questions as to why NPOs did not take actual actions to support and mobilize collective resistance, or even to support the boycott movement of Israeli goods, and why NPOs did not share the socio-economic steadfastness of Palestinians, as observed and documented during the first Intifada[14].

In addition, some of the leading NPOs experienced different crises that attracted the attention of the public. Examples include freezing organizational activities, dramatic turnover of employees and corruption cases against the leaders of some NPOs who

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[13] From the corruption reports issued by the Coalition for Accountability and Integrity (AMAAN) in 2011, 2012, 2013. www.amaan.org

[14] These questions are part of the public debates regarding the salient shift in the role of NPOs. The second Intifada has revealed the shift in the past roles of the NPOs. These questions have been raised by most of the informants I interviewed during my fieldwork.

were accused of misusing and wasting financial resources[15]. The economic power of most NPOs[16] raised crucial questions about the sources and reasons for this power.

Criticism and accusations grew against NPOs (Sbeih 2011; Hanafi & Tabar 2005). They also periodically appeared in the news and public debates. During our fieldwork, two local conferences were organized around the misuse of the abundant resources that NPOs receive, and the potential mechanisms to manage these resources.

Numerous studies (Deephouse & Suchman 2008; Carrol & Hannan 2000; Haveman & Rao 1997; Oliver 1992) show that when organizations cause disappointments and criticism they become vulnerable to legitimacy jolts (Meyer 1982). If such jolts are ignored, it is probable that the support of the wider society will be lost (Suchman 1995; Ashforth & Gibbs 1990; Dowling & Pfeffer 1975), resulting in a crisis of legitimacy. This means that organizations need to maintain or regain legitimacy (Zott & Huy 2007; O'Connor 2002; Ashforth & Gibbs 1990).

Building upon these studies and drawing upon the empirical elements we presented earlier, we argue that NPOs in Palestine face a crisis of legitimacy which demands appropriate actions of (re) legitimation. Hence, our research focus is not the (loss of) legitimacy of NPOs, but the various legitimation initiatives undertaken by those NPOs to (re)construct and preserve legitimacy over time. We accordingly develop our main research questions:

- *How do NPOs in a changing turbulent context construct their legitimacy?*
- *How do such NPOs preserve their legitimacy over time?*

To avoid any confusion between legitimacy and legitimation, we will now distinguish between the concepts of legitimacy and legitimation, (as well as the associated concepts of de-legitimation and re-legitimation).

What is legitimacy?

Legitimacy has been acknowledged as a fundamental process that is essential to any social organization (Zelditch 2001). Yet, understanding legitimacy as a property and

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[15] Please see the cases' monographs, i.e. PARC, PAC, PHG, etc.
[16] Such as PARC.

legitimation as a process remained problematic in the literature (Johnson et.al 2006). In order to pursue the major focus of this study, we need to unmask the relevant conceptual differences between legitimacy and legitimation, and correlate them with our three presumed alignments.

According to Weber (1978) a social arrangement is legitimate if the norms, values and beliefs are in accordance with what is accepted by a group. Legitimacy in this sense is about compliance and conformity. Berger and Luckmann (1966) considered a social entity legitimate when explained and supported by cultural accounts. Drawing on this premise, Meyer & Scott (1983) regarded legitimacy as a cultural support for any social order.

Despite the definition of legitimacy being the core of many debates in literature (Berger, Ridgeway, Fisek, & Norman 1998), a widely spread definition of legitimacy is put forth by Suchman (1995, p.574): 'a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs'. Consistency with a cultural framework indicates the collective nature of legitimacy. Similarly, Douglas (1986) deemed institutions as legitimated conventions when the reason and the nature of these institutions were seen right and proper.

Abundant studies emphasized that when social arrangements, organizations or authorities are seen as proper and just, they become legitimate (Bitektine & Haack 2015; Johnson et. al 2006; Tyler 2004). Fundamentally, legitimacy tells how things should be (French & Raven 1959) in relation with the socially constructed and validated norms and values (Suchman 1995). The activities of a given organization should therefore be desirable within a taken-for-granted system of beliefs (Aldrich 1999; Meyer & Rowan 1977).

These shared definitions of legitimacy consolidate a major aspect of legitimacy: perceptions generated at the individual level (Bitektine 2011; Tost 2011) and objectified at the collective level (Berger & Luckmann 1966). Legitimacy may thus be regarded as an objective resource that organizations can obtain based on collective approval (Johnson 2004; Zimmerman & Zeitz 2002; Suchman 1995).

Legitimacy, moreover, influences others, makes them believe and perceive that decisions and actions are appropriate (Zelditch 2001; Suchman 1995). Acquiring legitimacy is therefore fundamental for organizations to survive (Creed et. al 2002).

As mentioned earlier, we seek to examine legitimation attempts undertaken by organizations experiencing a crisis of legitimacy. The next question we ask is how a legitimate social arrangement comes about; in other words, what are the legitimation processes behind the gain of legimacy.

What is legitimation process ?

A social object or arrangement becomes legitimate when beliefs and perceptions are widely shared about the validity and congruence with a social reality (Ridgeway & Berger 1986). Creating this acceptance demands organizations, actors and authorities to take concrete initiatives to associate and demonstrate the relations of their actions with the widely accepted norms and values in a given society (Scott 1995; DiMaggio & Powell 1991). Accordingly, when organizations pursue different strategies to become legitimate (Dowling & Pfeffer 1975; Suchman 1995), they focus on conformity to the norms and regulations of the external environment (Deephouse 1996; Ruef & Scott 1998).

For example, if organizations seek to legitimate an innovation, they need to embed such innovation into a familiar design along with the existing cues and repertoire (Hargadon & Douglas 2001). Furthermore, organizations might also legitimate their activities through associating them with the overall institutional order and prevailing norms in a given organizational field (Ashforth & Gibbs 1990).

Other attempts might focus on linking activities with particular values or norms that are seen as legitimate (Dowling & Pfeffer 1975). Organizations may also seek to obtain endorsement by the authorities to legitimate their organizational activities (DiMaggio & Powell 1983).

Yet organizations may fail to comply with the prevailing norms and deviate from what is widely accepted. Organizations may become delegitimized as a consequence of any single act of deviance, (Oliver 1995). For the sake of continuity and survival (Tost 2011), organizations may need to launch initiatives to re-legitimate their

actions. We will now address the notions of de-legitimation and re-legitimation in relation to the legitimation process and make a link with the three forms of alignments, the core focus of this study.

Legitimation process in relation to de-legitimation and re-legitimation

De-legitimation essentially entails the direct or indirect acts that cause the removal of legitimacy from an authority, entity, or organizations (Tyler 2006; Sprinzak 2011). In other words, it is the state of illegitimacy that organizations may reach when they deviate from widely accepted norms. Re-legitimation refers to the actions that organizations incur in order to re-build legitimacy once it is lost or threatened (Heberer 2009).

In this study, we focus on the legitimation processes of NPOs in Palestine, in terms of undertaking interrelated forms of alignment to construct or preserve legitimacy; in other words to re-legitimate their actions when they are de-legitimated.

We therefore have raised a series of questions that underpin our study: to what extent can the attempts or strategies described in the literature explain how different organizations gain legitimacy in a turbulent context? Do these attempts or strategies remain stable over time? If not, why and how do they change? Are there specific factors related to the process of legitimation in the research context of this study that are less relevant or non-existent in other contexts?

To answer such questions, we consider three forms of alignment likely to help NPOs to construct and preserve legitimacy. The first form is internal alignment (IA) where we examine to what extent organizations are able to launch actions in accordance with the values and beliefs they promote and pursue. Through external alignment (EA) as a second form, we investigate how organizations interpret contextual evolutions and develop their responses accordingly.

The third form is dynamic alignment (DA) through which we explore how organizations are able to build alliances and obtain support in order to transform the organizational field in which they operate. These three forms of alignment are part of the legitimation processes through which organizations gain low or high legitimacy.

We refer to three theoretical lenses to examine the three interdependent forms of alignment presented above. Each of these alignments may be inserted in the contextualist framework developed by Pettigrew (1987,1990). The contextualist global framework is particularly relevant for the analysis of emerging changes. In addition, this framework is important to decipher the interactions of a particular *content* (the change object) with the internal and external *contexts* in which the new content is introduced, and the *process* by which the various stakeholders concerned defend their interests.

Through justification theory (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006) we examine the internal alignment (IA) or again the relation between the content and the internal context, in terms of what organizations do in relation to their values.

We mobilize the sensemaking theory (Weick 1995) to assess the external alignment (EA) or again the relation between the content of organizational interventions and the evolutions of the external context, in particular how organizations interpret contextual signals and changes and react accordingly.

We finally refer to the institutional work theory (Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca 2009), to explore the dynamic alignment (DA) or again the capacity to transform the external context through organizational interventions (content), theorization activities and alliances building (process). By means of a nuanced and complex analytical grid, the examination and assessment of the three forms of alignment within the studied NPOs will answer our two research questions at the end of our study.

The structure of the thesis

The *first part* presents our theoretical framework. We explain in the introduction of this part the reference to three different theoretical lenses integrated in the contextualist framework that correspond to our three presumed forms of alignment in the quest for legitimation. In the *first chapter* of this part, we present justification theory, and highlight in detail the notions of orders and compromise that we use in the data analysis.

In the *second chapter* we address sensemaking to focus on selection, rejection and retention as significant components of the interpretation process undertaken by NPOs.

In the *third chapter* we concentrate on the institutional work, namely building alliances and theorizing activities, which appeared significant for NPOs to undertake in order to transform the entire field of NPOs in Palestine.

The second part is empirical, in the *fourth chapter* of this part we outline the overall approach we followed in the early stages to develop this study and the rationale for following qualitative methodology. We describe our epistomological position, and the abductive strategy embraced. Then we report the data collection in terms of the selection of case studies, access to these cases, and data sources. Next, we highlight the steps we followed for data reduction and structuration. Finally, we explain the strategy we applied for data analysis.

In the *fifth chapter* we present our main findings based on justification theory: we describe the basis on which the studied organizations shaped compromises, and how those compromises evolved over time. The *sixth chapter* analyses the data through sensemaking theory, illustrating how interpretations of changes were transformed over time, and how eventually these transformations impacted the organizational responses. The *seventh chapter* is based on institutional work where we analyze the institutional work undertaken by NPOs in order to build alliances and theorize activities. The *eighth* chapter is the transversal analysis. Based on our findings, we take a critical distance and analyze the data transversally. We draw here the comprehensive perspectives about the three forms of alignment as the fundamental pillars of legitimation processes undertaken by NPOs in the Palestinian context.

The *third part* of this study is the general conclusions. In the general conclusions, we discuss the theoretical contributions and then offer some lessons learned through managerial implications in order to provide the reader with a condensed view on the legitimation processes in a turbulent context. Finally, we discuss the limitations of our research and recommend some future research areas.

In addition, we support each part of the study with relevant figures to synthesize and help the reader grasp the density of the empirical situation under study. Comprehensive monographs of the studied organizations are presented in the annexes.

I. THEORETICAL PART

a. Introduction

This theoretical framework specifies our reasons for using the contextualist framework of analysis and adopts the three theoretical lenses to answer our research questions regarding the (re) construction and preservation of legitimation process NPOs undertake. In this part we globally review these three theories, and summarize the main concepts we utilize to analyze our data. Furthermore, we highlight how the three theories are relevant to our research questions.

The contextualist framework of analysis has facilitated integrating the three theories to understand the nuances of the interactions between content, contexts and process. To proceed with this part, we first highlight the contextualist framework and then the three theories, justification theory, sensemaking and institutional work respectively.

b. Contextualist framework

We situate our approach within a contextualist framework (Pettigrew 1987) as a meta analytical perspective with a significant theoretical potential to comprehend multiplicity and complexity of a particular phenomenon (Pettigrew 1990). Contextualist framework is useful for examining a process of institutional change and the legitimation process that is taking place within change.

We examine the legitimation attempts (the three forms of alignment) undertaken by NPOs that work in a changing turbulent context. Embeddedness is the core principle in contextualist framework that facilitates taking into account the interconnection of the three components of the phenomenon under investigation at different levels of analysis (Pettigrew 1990).

More precisely, this analytical framework is useful for examining; the interrelations between three groups of variables: (1) the content of change in the case of our study is the organizational actions; (2) the internal and external contexts; inner context refers to the organizational features such as structural, cultural, and political to incubate ideas as stepping-stones into actions (Pettigrew 1990).

In our study the internal context entails the values and beliefs NPOs promote. The external context refers to the outer context which includes the "economic, social, and political environment where organizations located" (Pettigrew 1990, pp:286-287). In the case of NPOs, the external context mostly includes the political evolutions that have an impact on the organizational actions; (3) process involves the capacity of organizations to transform the external context through organizational actions.

The contextualist framework counterbalances our focus to consider the contexts and processes of legitimation instead of focusing only on the content. This allows us to reveal the passage of the cases from one state (legitimated) to another (de-legitimated), taking into account temporality and the historicity of evolutions, to eventually provide a comprehensive nuanced analytical grid regarding legitimation process in a changing context.

Moreover, temporality in this framework is very significant for our study because it permits the tracking of changes over time in the legitimation attempts NPOs undertook. The temporal interconnectedness (Pettigrew 1990) enabled our empirical analysis to capture two main time periods that resulted from this analysis. The two time periods (1970s-1995 & 1996-2015) designated the key episodic events that influenced the different paths of legitimation undertaken by NPOs.

c. The three theories integrated within the contextualist framework

The contextualist framework is interesting as it permits the integration of different theories to detect the nuanced interactions between the three variables: content, contexts and process. In this sense, we mobilize justification theory (Boltanski & Thevenot 1991), to identify the interactions between content and internal context, which we operationalize via internal alignment (IA). Internal alignment accurately examines how actors try to reconciliate the actions they undertake and the values they pursue. In other words, IA helps us to identify the orders of worths that underpin compromises shaped by NPOs to justify a situation, a decision, a choice and organizational actions. Identifying the orders of worth will help us to associate the orders of worth with the organizational beliefs, and delineating that with the organizational actions will help to analyze whether those actions are in accordance with the organizational values or not.

We utilize sensemaking (Weick 1995) to capture the relationship between the external context and the content of organizational interventions, which we operationalize through external alignment (EA). To achieve this, we focus on selection, rejection and retention as significant components of the interpretation process NPOs develop. This will allow us to decipher how NPOs interpret contextual signals and evolutions and devise organizational interventions accordingly. In other words, sensemaking helps to understand how NPOs act in their context, and how those actions might influence the legitimacy of those NPOs.

We investigate the interaction between the external context and process by deploying institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006). The relationship between process and context is operationalized through dynamic alignment (DA). More precisely, DA examines the capacity of NPOs to transform the external context through organizational interventions (the content). Institutional work enables us to study how NPOs theorize actions and build alliances to obtain support.

Below, we present the three theories; justification theory, sensemaking, and institutional work.

1.1 Justification Theory

Social contract

Because individuals are reasonable beings, they submit themselves to entities in order to satisfy their needs and interests. Yet, meeting the needs should be above the "lusts of individuals" (Boltanski & Thevenot 1999 pp:371-372). On that basis, individuals agree to tacitly construct a social contract[17]. The idea of a social contract makes the establishment of civil society entities able to take over the social space located between the state and the private spheres (Salamon & Anheier 1999). The social contract made it possible for the emergence of NPOs who then carried out state-like functions to meet local needs.

The social contract between entities and individuals indicates the involvement in relationships, translating values into social action (Salamon 2003) and more simply doing things together (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006; 1999; 1991). The socially

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[17] Founded on the modern social contract theory, based on the argument of Hobbes, Locke, & Jean-Jacques Rousseau, www.iep.utm.edu/soc-cont

contracted organizations are concerned with the "better off" of individuals, which is fundamentally based on the moral views (Hartman 2000). Moral views brought into attention the moral sociology or the pragmatic sociology developed by Boltanski & Thevenot (2006), which is marked as "*On Justification*" theory, and this is used in our study interchangeably with the economies of worth (EoW).

The involvement in the social contracts and so the relationships brings about imperative interaction between entities and individuals. The interaction results in moments of agreements, disagreements and accordingly the need to justify (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006). Essentially the experience of "critical moment" along the way indicates that something wrong is going on in the course of action (Boltanski & Thevenot 1999). Regardless of the occurrence of critical moments, human beings need to establish and "reach agreement on forms of generality", (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006 p:32), to eventually deal with critical circumstances or moments (Boltanski & Thevenot 1999).

Why is EoW relevant to the examination of legitimation process?

Our study utilizes EoW so as to examine the micro aspects of interactions in social action to build legitimation (Patriotta, Gond, & Schultz 2011). The EoW lens is also important for looking at "the accounts of the experience of the social actors themselves" that capture their ordinary reality (Boltanski & Thevenot 1999 pp:363-364).

EoW as a moral sociology is significant for our study as it renders concrete vocabulary and analytical components for analyzing the moral basis of the organizational actions and linking it with the organizational values (Blokker 2011). According to its main proponents, EoW facilitates zooming into "the reasons of acting", as well as the "moral exigencies" that individuals may give to others, or even to themselves (Boltanski 2005 p:20). Moral capacity in the views of EoW concerns itself with the "presupposed in the construction of an order", which should enable individuals to distance themselves so as to reach an agreement based on general terms beyond individual interests (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006 pp: 27-28).

Interestingly, justification is a genuine attempt to apply sociological knowledge to social reality (Blokker 2011) and elaborate that knowledge into the "science of social

life" (Thevenot 2009 p:39). This science of social life illustrates the reasons and knowledge that stand behind social actions and social practices (Jagd 2011).

Justification theory clearly signals the sociology of everyday interactions with the investigation of its potential immediate consequences of real confrontations (Boltanski & Thevenot 1983). EoW adds significant value to our study as it helps to examine the workings and roles of justifications mobilized by individuals in their real social situations (Wagner 1999). In other words, individuals use their justification to reason and explain actions through referring to concrete moral repertoire (Wagner 1999; Boltanski & Thevenot 2006).

As it is anchored on moral pragmatic sociology, justification theory embraces substantially agency with the critical capacities of individuals and the structure of social life in which those individuals are involved (Boltanski & Thevenot 1983; Boltanski & Thevenot 2006; Jagd 2011). By combining agency, critical capacities and structural considerations, justification theory demarcates the boundaries of what belongs to individuals as stated by political philosophy, and what belongs to the collectives as proclaimed in contemporary social scientists (Hartman 2000).

The prospective of bringing collectives and individuals level is to conceptualize and investigate the critical moments of questioning actions and agreements, and the relation between them (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006). The value introduced by "*On Justification*", unlike political philosophy and the contemporary social science, is that the former included the different analytical constructs. Those constructs embrace moments and interactions including questioning, discording and reaching agreements (Wagner 1999).

Justification theory takes into account the possibility of plurality in social reality, as a genuine social phenomenon that embraces the rational individual calculations and collective forces (Blokker 2011; Boltanski & Thevenot 2006). The dichotomy of having individual interests and collective forces is explained by the human agency of actors and their moral capacities (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006). The actors are not free of structural features rather those agents are imperatively situated within the structure (Blokker 2011). Dealing with such a dichotomy entailed identifying the moral

dimensions that underpin the way in which agents engage in social world (Thevenot 2009; Wagner 1999; Boltanski 2005; Blokker 2011; Oldenhof et al, 2014).

Normativity of social action underpinned the principles of EoW for maintaining the common good in a given society (Blokker 2011), and for maintaining just societies (Oldenhof et al 2014). Values and principles stand behind actions to consider interests and structural dimensions, as elucidated by Boltanski "persons put into practice their own sense of justice, and advance justifications" (Boltanski 2005 p:23).

Situations of social interaction are a major focus of justification theory; (Blokker 2011), social interactions are related to the way in which people justify their actions as an integral part of their daily basis (Oldenhof et al 2014). The idea of justifying actions is not about covering up the genuine motives, but to "carry out their actions in such a way that can withstand the test of justification" (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006 p: 37). In other words, EoW assumes that social actors essentially refer to logics of justification and the sets of principles that stand behind choosing specific actions (Mair, Battilana & Cardenas 2012).

The fact that justification theory centers on interacting and justifying actions without covering the real motifs reinforces the fact that justification helps the actors to engage in justification, evaluation, criticism or even in observation (Wagner 1999).

Hence, justification theory is interesting because it is anchored upon moral foundations of actions and so the imperative to justify and talk about those foundations. And because our study examines whether organizations work in accordance with the values they embrace or not, and how those organizations justify and talk about that in real life situations, justification theory is indeed very relevant.

We examine below the various aspects of justification theory.

Regimes of justifications

Justification theory is concerned with specific types of actions that actors pursue in order to establish common agreements through the regimes of justification (Jagd 2011). The main regimes of actions covered are: the regime of familiarity (justesse), which provides routines, regularities to stabilize social interaction; the regime of love

and friendship (agape), the regime of violence (Boltanski 1990; Boltanski & Thevenot 1999; Wagner 1999); and the last regime is related to the need to "justify yourself so as to be seen as legitimate by other actors" (Jagd 2011). Social interactions and relations are not limited to one but to many other regimes. In other words, social interactions can move from one regime to another in the social space (Jagd 2011; Patriotta et al, 2011).

Justification theory provides an innovative framework which can be used in the process of justification to analyze the situations of explaining actions in response to criticism or to routinely explain those actions (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006), and further to evaluate the work of others by referring to the repertoire of evaluation (Wagner 1999).

In order to apply the framework developed by Boltanski and Thevenot, there are preconditions required for the process of justification to get started. *Reflexivity* is the foodstock of thinking and reflecting about actions. In particular, when something wrong happens (Boltanski & Thevenot 1999), the process of justification becomes imperative (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006). Because of reflexivity, actors distance themselves from the current moments, reflect on the past, retrieve acts, words, accomplishments, and link all these objects to construct a meaningful story to justify the actions (Boltanski & Thevenot 1999).

Reflexivity is likely to happen in the mind of every actor, yet, upon interacting and communicating with others, actors reflect on 'what is just to others, with whom they interact' (Oldenhof et al, 2014 p:54). As a result, a shared action can be put in place (Thevenot 2002), accordingly coming in different forms that can be evaluation, dispute, conflict, criticisms and blaming. In all these possible situations, it is imperative to justify in order to reach an agreement (Boltanski & Thevenot 1999; Boltanski & Thevenot 2006; Patriotta et al 2011).

To engage in the process of justifying actions, individuals use the same tools of criticism of social order (Boltanski & Thevenot 1999) to sort out the disagreements or criticism (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006). It is also essential to establish equivalence that allows for evaluating the values involved in the dispute, criticism and evaluation (Boltanski & Thevenot 1999; Boltanski & Thevenot 2006; Thevenot 2000; Oldenhof et al, 2014).

A key advantage of the EoW is the material aspect "objects", which link the requirements of agreements (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006), and permit individuals to enter into relationships and express the collective will or negotiate their acquisitive desires (Jagd 2011). The idea of having objects enables individuals to relate and associate "among things that count, to identify beings independent of circumstances, and to reach agreements on forms of generality" (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006 p:32). According to this view, to highlight the relevance of the objects, individuals need to use their critical cognitive capacities to distance themselves and converge their interests for the sake of reaching an agreement around the objects (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006; Jagd 2011).

The moral aspects and caliber of people valorized in justification theory are important aspects for our study. More precisely, this theory enabled us, on the one hand, to analyze the organizational interventions in relation to the organizational values. On the other hand, justification allowed us to deepen our understanding about the type of actors who could advance specific regimes of actions. That said, we present in what follows the orders of worth that provide the concrete analytical constructs to investigate the relation between actions and values.

The six orders of worth

Boltanski and Thevenot (2006) further extended the empirical data of political philosophical work to develop six orders of worth that also known as polity, repertoire, orders, or orders of justification (Oldenhof et al, 2014). The entire orders of worth are anchored upon values and moral principles (Jagd 2011).

The order of justification is the first level of the "legitimate order" (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006 pp:130-135) that rests on particular values, i.e. common humanity and common good, market, profit, competence and efficiency. These values serve as superior principles to make the situation convincing, just and legitimate (Patriotta et al 2011). Considering the superiority of values paves the way to reaching agreements, especially when organizations are scrutinized about their actions (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006).

The polity, worth and objects, however, are interrelated in the sense that polity stands on "abstract models of orders", or worlds that accurately outline the unfolding of the orders of worth, whereas objects are qualified to relate "with respect to one particular

polity" (Jagd 2011 p:346). The polities developed by Boltanski and Thevenot mark a shift towards pragmatic sociology and enable the evaluation of the real world in terms of its subjects and objects (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006), which form the social order in a social space to reason particular situations (Taupin 2012).

The six orders of justifications or worth are: (1) market, (2) industry, (3) civic, (4) domestic, (5) inspired, and (6) fame (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006). These orders of worth rest on values and principles: In the *market order*, actions are geared towards gaining goods and profit without entailing economic relations (Boltanski & Thevenot 2000; 2006; Jagd 2011; Blokker 2011). The *industry order* is based on the technological objects and scientific methods; the worth here is mostly productivity and efficiency.

In the *civic order*, the weight is more associated with collective human beings, based on collective actions and praiseworthy relations. This intersects with the *domestic order* adding to it the views or opinions of others, and the hierarchical position in a chain of dependencies as expressed by esteem and reputation. The state of being recognized by others, and the state of grace are the basis of the *inspired order*. The *fame order* has to do with the number of people who grant their recognition, but is not linked with self-esteem (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006; Jagd 2011). There is no one unified norm for the six orders, rather each justification has its own logical order of objects and people seek for a general sense of justice (Oldenhof et al 2014).

Having specific values for each order enables actors to distance themselves from the immediate situations to reach the level of generality (Boltanski & Thevenot 2000; 1999). And so, in the process of justification actors associate the different worths with objects. For example, a house as an object can be related to the six justifications at the same time but with different interpretations. The market justification views the house as a good asset that saves the cost of rent, and possibly could be traded in the future, while the domestic justification conceives the house as a place which embraces family with its warmth and social bond (Oldenhof et al 2014).

The generality terms of the six orders guide actors who are involved in the justification process to refer to the basis of one action over another, and then shift that association to a "judgment result in generality, formulate the principle, justify the association and specify the nature of test that will allow the parties to reach to an

agreement about the adequacy of these associations to the particular things to which they apply", (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006).

Below, we display in table (1.1) the six orders as proposed by their main proponents; we outline the different elements values, modes of evaluation, etc., and in table (1.2) we summarize a few elements of orders of worth that we used to analyze the data.

Table (1.1): Orders of worths proposed by Boltanski and Thévenot

Order of Worth	Market	Industrial	Civic	Domestic	Inspired	Fame
Evaluation	Price, cost	Functionality, efficiency	Votes, law, civic rights	Responsibilities	Singularity, uniqueness, creativeness	Public relations, public recognition
Values	Competition, profit, consumer choice	Production, planning	Equality, welfare, social participation	Duties, tradition, trust, honor	Inspiration, creativity, grace	Public opinion
Test	Competitiveness	Competence, reliability, planning	Equality & solidarity	Trustworthiness	Passion, enthusiasm	Popularity, recognition
Form of Relevant Proof	Monetary	Measurable criteria	Formal	Oral, personally warranted	Emotional involvement & expression	Semiotic
Qualified Objects	Freely circulating market good & services	Infrastructure projects, technical object, method plan	Rules, regulations, rights, welfare policies	Patrimony, locale, heritage	Emotionally invested body or item	Sign, media
Qualified Human Beings or state of worth	Customer, consumer, merchant, seller	Engineer, professional experts	Equal citizens, solidarity unions	Authority	Creative beings, artists	Celebrity
Time Formation	Short-term flexibility	Long term planned future	Perennial	Customary part	Revolutionary, visionary moment	Vogue, trend

Source: Boltanski & Thevenot 2006; 1999; Patriotta et al, 2011; Taupin 2012; Oldenhof 2014).

Table (1.2): Condensed framework of orders of worth

Order of Worth	Market	Industrial	Civic	Domestic	Inspired	Fame
Values	Competition, profit, consumer choice	Production, planning	Equality, welfare, social participation	Duties, tradition, trust, honor	Inspiration, creativity, grace	Public opinion
Test	Competitive ness	Competence, reliability, planning	Equality & solidarity	Trustworthin ess	Passion, enthusiasm	Popularity, recognition
Qualified Objects	Freely circulating market good & services	Infrastructur e projects, technical object, method plan	Rules, regulations, rights, welfare policies	Patrimony, locale, heritage	Emotionally invested body or item	Sign, media
Human Beings	Customer, consumer, merchant, seller	Engineer, professional experts	Equal citizens, solidarity unions	Authority	Creative beings, artists	Celebrity
Time Orientation	Short-term flexibility	Long term planned future	Perennial	Customary part	Revolutionar y, visionary moment	Vogue, trend

As highlighted earlier, the plurality of different orders is perfectly normal given the complexity of societies and the coexistence of different orders at the same social space making the occurrence of disagreement. (Jagd, 2011; Patriotta et al, 2011; Oldenhof et al, 2014). Hence, the proponents of justification theory argue that anyone can make a criticism of an entity or an action, seeking to receive a justification in return, so that an agreement can be reached (Boltanski & Thevenot 2007; 2006; 1999).

The situation of having multiple orders and the possibility of evaluating and criticizing invoke the justification process, which in the views of Boltanski and Thevenot should put "things in tests in order to handle disagreement" (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006 p:40).

The coexistence and the combination of different orders of worth appeared very significant in our study. We will show that in each case study different orders of worth functioned and competed to determine the organizational choices.

The significance of tests is that it leads the focus of actors to agree on a collective understanding upon the relative importance of the beings implicated in a particular situation (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006; 1999). Tests in the context of justification theory as pragmatic sociology are put in place to handle uncertainty in particular situations, and to rely on objects and persons that are used as stable referents to empower judgments and to reach a grounded and legitimate agreement (Boltanski & Thevenot 1999; Patriotta et al, 2011).

To further illustrate the notion of tests, a critical moment might emerge if someone complains about a brand new device allocated to a programmer who is not the most competent (K. Konhausner 2014). Reflecting on the allocation of the device (Thevenot 2002) generates a critical moment and a clear manifestation of disagreement, questioning and associating the worth being involved in the object. The way out of this questioning is to consider the pragmatic conditions and attribute them to a person, objects and things.

In order to analyze the case of the programmer whose competence is in question, the connections and the type of relations (Whelan & Gond 2016) between the persons and objects should be assessed. Put differently, justification does not treat the objects as simply carriers of symbolic meanings, rather objects, things and devices can be relied on for individuals to cope with anxiety and uncertainty, or changes (Gond et. al 2016). The tests enable a legitimate agreement to take place (Boltanski & Thevenot 1999).

Test in justification theory is to assess whether the action and conditions were made in a fair legitimate manner or not (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006). Questioning the fairness and legitimacy can be manifested in different forms, i.e. disputes, criticisms, and conversations (Jagd 2011). Test occurs in the critical moment to establish a correspondence between an activity and its qualifications to eventually validate that activity as fair and legitimate (Patriotta, Gond & Schultz 2011; Taupin 2012). The correspondence happens throughout reasoning and argumentation (Boltanski &

Thevenot 1999) rather than emphasizing what is good or bad (Basaure 2011; Patriotta et. al, 2011).

In this study, we consider the critical moments occurring at NPOs where actors engage in justifications and interactions to specify which order of worth is adopted. Addressing the critical moments, however, demands the formulation of a compromise. We next address compromise as a principal notion that we optimized in our analysis.

Compromise

Denouncing a reality as unfair and re-qualifying its relevance can be settled through compromise, which is the other founding notion for justification process (Boltanski & Thevenot 1999; Jagd 2011; Taupin 2012). Compromise can moderate the disagreement between the different orders in terms of their relevance. Actors involved in compromises intend to outline "the common good of the present beings relevant in different worlds" (Boltanski & Thevenot 1999 p:374).

Compromise, furthermore, is one of the possible scenarios to deal with argumentation, and it can be favorable as an alternative for avoiding the prelevance of one single order over the other. This would be a good way to reduce the submission of the reasoning into relativization, where actors renounce evaluation, without debating the principles that inform the polities assimilated by organizations (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006).

The framework of analysis developed in justification theory is not a simple framework that consists of tools for agreements and disagreements. Rather it helps to concentrate on the competencies actors can use to reflect on the orders of worth demonstrated in actions, which reveal how organizations in practice use capacities in order to gain legitimacy (Jagd 2011 p:351), or to repair and maintain legitimacy (Patriotta et. al, 2011).

Furthermore, justification theory entails the processes and dynamics of justifications that happen in social interaction to interpret why they "take part in different regimes of action in different ways" (Basaure 2011 p:362).

In relation to legitimation process which is the focus of this study, justification theory provides a framework with multiple dynamics and processes to approach legitimation in the evaluation of the orders of worth (Jagd 2011). The orders of worth in this view can be seen as the "higher common principle" (Patriotta et al., 2011 p:1806), which manifest the level of compliance with rules and values that prevail in the external environment (Thornton & Ocasio 2008).

The orders of worth are essentially anchored on the social order, the way legitimacy is defined, and the role of agency (Patriotta et al., 2011). According to Boltanski & Thevenot (2006; 1999), the overarching social order is made of plural orders of worth, fragmentation and transition, hence likely to occur, which yield to interaction, interpretation, and argumentation to negotiate that order continuously. This means that actors engage in a process of justification across the incorporated orders of worth (Jagd 2011). The process of justification in this particular conceptualization is essential to keep an acceptable level of legitimacy for the actions undertaken by organizations (Patriotta et al., 2011).

According to this view, justification theory puts emphasis on the capabilities of all actors to show how they embrace different orders of worth, how they reason them, how they maintain the requirements to remain legitimate (Taupin 2012), how they manage the transition between one order of worth to another, and how they defend actions to maintain their position in the organizational field (Suddaby & Greenwood 2005).

It is important to re-emphasize here that justification theory provides an important framework that enabled this study to concretely investigate the basis on which NPOs make choices and establish a conforming relation between the organizational values and the organizational interventions. As mentioned above, we operationalized the relation between values and interventions through internal alignment (IA).

We next review sensemaking theory as the second theoretical lens we deployed to assess external alignment, and to examine the way organizations accordingly interpret contextual evolutions and devise responses.

1.2 Sensemaking theory

Sensemaking as a communication and interpretation process

Sensemaking seeks to comprehend and theorize how people could appropriate and enact their realities (Holt & Cornelissen 2013; Maitlis & Christianson 2014; Sandberg & Tsoukas 2014). Enacting realities could be accomplished in processes of communication and interpretation (Weick 1995), so that people could understand ambiguous, equivocal or confusing events (Colville, Brown, & Pye 2012; Maitlis 2005; Weick 1995).

Apprehending an uncertain situation requires that organizational actors "extract and interpret cues from their environment" (Weick 1995 p:13). Diminishing ambiguity implies reaching to understand what is going on or what the story is. Part of understanding the cues entails constructing a reasonable story to make sense of the events (Cornelisson 2012), and then shaping what is going on, which is represented in equivocality (Colville et. al, 2012). The generation of meaning is part of understanding and shaping what is going on (Weick 1993; Berger & Luckmann 1966; Douglas 1986).

As a process, sensemaking focuses on appraisal and interpretation (Maitlis & Christianson 2014), which entails locating stimuli into interpretive schemata for interpretation (Weick 1995) and engaging in actions (Maitlis & Christianson 2014). In other words, this process goes further towards developing a vision in order to understand how the environment functions (Elsbach, Barr, & Hargadon 2005) and connect the produced schema with the context.

In this study, we approach sensemaking as a social process (Weick 1995), in which organizational actors interact and engage to interpret the external environment. Essentially, "interactions allow to comprehend the world and act collectively" (Maitlis & Christianson 2014 p:66). Sensemaking is regarded as a dynamic process (Cornelissen 2012) that takes the form of recurring cycle (Maitlis & Christianson 2014).

Under the conditions of uncertainty, equivocality and change (Balogun & Johnson 2004; Sonenshein 2007), organizational actors accelerate the process of interpretation. As the process of sensemaking could be triggered by change and uncertainty, we

realized the relevance of sensemaking in a changing context. We highlight this relevance below.

Why is sensemaking relevant to examine legitimation process?

Sensemaking indicates that there is a relationship between actions and the external context, and that the latter affects what organizations could do and how the work could be done (Karremann & Alvesson 2001). Since we examine legitimation process of organizations working in a turbulent changing context, interpretations are key for organizational actors to comprehend the contextual changes. Sensemaking enables this study to understand how organizational actors attempt to enact the continuous contextual evolutions in order to respond accordingly (Mangham & Pye 1991; Colville, Pye, & Carter 2013).

As presented earlier, we assess how actors interpret contextual changes and act accordingly through EA to examine legitimation process. In other words, EA establishes a direct relation between the contextual evolutions and the organizational responses; we capture this relation through interpretations that actors construct to decipher changes and act.

In exploring sensemaking activities, we open the organizational box to understand how organizational actors enact and respond to changes, and how they perceive the responses (Maitlis & Christianson 2014), bearing in mind that there is a possibility of having contradictory or synchronized interpretations and perceptions within organizations (Weick 1995; 1979).

The core essence of sensmaking is to make sense of the events that do not appropriately fit (Weick 1995) with the organizational experience and demand responses. The new thing appears in a form of surprise "cues" (Weick 1995). According to Weick (1995) actors notice the cues, as they are immersed in the fallacy of centrality through which they deny the events if they do not know about them; thus, unless the new cues interrupt the daily reality, they can not be realized. Organizational actors do not launch a thinking process unless the changes intrude on the interlocking routines (Weick 1995).

In sensemaking theory, what disturb routines is called flux. Flux refers to chaos

(Balogun & Johnson 2004; Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld 2005) that happens in the external context. Thus, sensemaking focuses on the external context including its chaos and signals, making this theory very significant for our study. More precisely, sensemaking must examine how organizations interpret the contextual signals, generate meanings and act accordingly. Interpreting the contextual signals demands certain sensemaking activities and specific capacities that actors need to have to engage in sensemaking; we devote the following section to discuss these activities and capacities.

Enactment

Through enactment, actors concentrate their attention on understanding the properties (Sutcliffe 2000) of the new cues that take place in a given reality. To enact, actors try to bracket and cluster all actualities around the new cues (Weick, Sutcliffe & Obsfeld 2005). Clustering entails simplification and understands what anteceded the new noticed cues.

Furthermore, when actors enact, they essentially punctuate; "create breaks in the stream and impose categories on the portions that are set apart" (Weick 1995 p:36). In other words, actors cognitively pay attention to discover there is something new in the "cues", and to understand how and why it became powerful enough to interrupt the flow.

Understanding the new cues entails constructing meanings or reaches out for past meanings if they already existed in the elapsed experience (Weick 1995). The construction of meaning depends on real situations actors face, which in turn stimulates their attention (Cornelissen 2012). Consciousness of the new cues requires flashing back to decipher the meanings involved in the new cues, which can be informed by the past experience.

In other words, generating the meanings of the new cues can be made by re-discovering the already existing meanings of the past experience, which resonates with the new cues, or even understanding the past experience through interpreting and understanding the new cues. We discovered during our field work that the cases

working in a changing context often faced similar events[18], which led actors in most cases to look at the past experiences to understand the present and think of actions.

According to Weick (1995), thinking of the present could help actors to understand the meanings of the past. It is also assumed that constructing meanings could be prospective and future oriented (Corley & Gioia 2011; Ybema 2010). The determining point in this regard is the types of dynamics actors choose to generate meanings (Cornelissen 2012). We will show in the analysis part that the dynamics of enactment varied across the cases to have different meanings and so different responses to the external signals.

Nonetheless, whether constructing a meaning for the new cues, or discovering the already existing meanings of the past experience and associating them with the new cues, constructing or discovering meaning requires labeling (Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld 2005) so that labels can feed the ongoing process of sensemaking (Weick 1995).

All in all, enactment is essential to decipher the perplexity and understand the story of the new confusing cues. Deciphering the perplexity takes actors to another level of enactment, which is to materialize the enacted cues into the organizational reality. Through this level of enactment, actors can transpose the cognitive model into more technical artifacts of the new cues (Weick 1995). At this level, actors could map out the categories they bracketed earlier with the artifacts operating in place.

Interestingly, enactment shows that organizations interact with the sector they target, with both constantly creating each other. The sector sends the signals to organizations, stimulating reactions and responses (Weick 1995). To enact the context, organizations need to continuously scan and select changes, in order to interpret them based on the interpretive schema (Weick 1995).

However, interpretation may lead to contradictory meanings and explanations (Brown & Duguid 1998), due to the discrepant orientations and backgrounds actors have (Brown, Stacey & Nanhakumar 2008). Our data showed first, that selecting the signals matters in the sensemaking process, and second, the different backgrounds and orientations of actors influenced to a great extent the type of meanings generated and

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[18] That applies to the two Intifadas and other military events.

the subsequent responses. We therefore examine briefly interpretive schema, selection and rejection in sensemaking.

Interpretive schemes

In the process of interpreting the cues, actors refer to their interpretive schemes (Balogun & Johnson 2004). Explanations in sensemaking process is influenced by the interpretive schemes (Gioia et al., 1994; Balgun & Johnson 2004). An interpretive scheme is related to the "shared assumptions" that regulate how organizations and their environments are perceived (Balogun & Johnson 2004). Sensemaking can be regarded in this study as an interwoven process of individuals' cognitive schemata and a social communicative process that take place on a daily basis (Patriotta & Brown 2011) in a turbulent changing context.

In this view, some organizations may come together around "nets of action" (Weick 1995), thinking around the beliefs that inform those actions. It is presumed, according to the nets of actions that actors engage in thinking to collectively understand the context (Hernes & Maitlis 2010), and so share the same understanding of the actions they undertake. Actors essentially shape collective understanding of their roles in line with the external context, and eventually generate a meanings system based on that understanding.

Based on the meanings system generated and collective understanding, actors become sensemakers as they attempt to construct a "factual order" (Weick 1995 pp:35-36). The factual order helps to identify the purpose and reason behind the new cues, referring retrospectively to the elapsed experiences or predecessors (Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld 2005; Gioia 2006; Ybema 2010), and eventually reaching to an explanation.

Yet, the explanations could be divergent or convergent amongst actors (Sonenshein 2007) due to their different orientations and background. In both cases, whether actors reach to divergent or convergent explanations, the actions and responses would be significantly influenced. Our field work proved that, for example, part of the organizational actors[19] were more ideology oriented and tended to promote responses

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[19] Especially those belong to the first and second generation.

addressed to collective concerns, while some other actors[20] strongly advocated more opportunistic responses that spoke to narrow interests. We show those differences in the empirical chapters.

In a similar vein, our field work made us realize that actors may choose to select some cues and reject some others. We focus below on the cues as triggers for sensemaking, we also present selection and rejection as the main sensemaking activities.

Selecting and rejecting the cues

The new cues interrupt the flow of actions and create a gap between what is expected and what is experienced by the time the surprise arrives (Balogun & Johnson 2004). Organizational actors, in response, seek to extract clues from their context to construct a "plausible story" about the surprises (Maitlis 2005; Maitlis & Christianson 2014).

Organizational actors engage in discussions and interactions to handle the cues that interrupt the flow of the organizational life. The cues might include events and emerging issues that are surprising, new and sometimes confusing. Such intake emphasizes that the cues serve as sensemaking occasions to stimulate the attention of organizational actors and engage in interpretations (Maitlis & Christianson 2014). The cues create more uncertainty and obscurity and eventually disrupt the expectations (Maitlis & Christianson 2014; Sonenshein 2007).

Actors may launch the interpretation process and act accordingly based on the cues selected to be enacted. However, actors may select some cues if they notice them (Dunford & Jones 2000), and so attention to and selection of the signals are essential to launch sensemaking process (Gephart 1993). When actors speak and engage in dialogues (Currie & Brown 2003) they manage to understand and reduce the complexity of the cues (Abolafia 2010) in the context of changes (Kumar & Singhal 2012). Reducing the complexity entails selecting cues and conversations (Watson 1995; Currie & Brown 2003) to reach a plausible understandable story, and then preserve and retain it (Maitlis 2005).

In this sense, sensemaking examines how actors explain those cues to re-establish the order (Sandberg & Tsoukas 2014; Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld 2005), and devise a

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[20] Those who belong to the third generation.

list of what should be done (Weick & Roberts 1993). Selecting the cues is essential to organize the work to "bring sense back into the world to make it more orderly" (Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld 2005 p: 410). In the empirical part of our study, we will illustrate that selection played a central role in sensemaking process, and influenced the type of actions designed to address the contextual cues. Equally important is the significance of rejection or the avoided test of the cues, and its impact upon the type of actions.

In rejection or avoided test, actors may interpret some cues based on specific or preliminary assumptions. Actors may also refuse to address or discuss certain cues coming from the external context. Actors may solely interpret specific cues they selectively choose to address and then attempt to transmit the interpretations (Schreiber 2013) across the organization.

We realized the great relevance of this in some of our cases, where some cues were not interpreted, while others were selected but interpreted in a way consistent with specific actors. Interestingly, Weick (1995) argued that when interpretation is limited to specific actors' perception, organizations would probably have stunted enactment. This means that organizations come up with actions related to specific actors' perceptions of the external context, which probably do not exist (Weick 1979).

Rejecting cues and avoiding testing them is problematic since it poses serious impediments to realistic interpretations, which leads to misleading actions. According to Weick (1979 p:150), the 'greater the fear of failure, the greater the likelihood that a person's knowledge of the world is based on avoided-test'. In other words, when organizations refuse to test the contextual cues, they risk receiving no data about the context. This would eventually result in basing the actions on incomplete or misleading interpretations. In this case, actions represent dwarfed or unrealistic versions of actions that are off-target. This appeared largely relevant and prevalent in some of our cases as we show in the empirical part.

The last theoretical lens we screen is institutional work which we utilized to examine the dynamic alignment (DA) that looks at the institutional works organizations undertake to build alliances, cultivate support and theorize the work that would transform the field.

1.3 Institutional work theory

The foundations of institutional work

Institutional work brings attention back to the relationship between actors and institutions, which has been clearly discussed in the social construction of Berger and Luckmann (1966). According to the main thesis of social construction, institutions arise because they are created by human beings (p.42). The institutional creation occurs as a result of reciprocal typifications in an interactive way (Berger & Luckmann 1966 pp:43-44). Drawing on social construction, Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) initially introduced the notion of institutional work to generally imply the work of actors aiming at transforming institutions.

The reproduction, however, depends on whether the individuals choose to reproduce institutions or not (Berger & Luckmann 1966). More compactly, institutional work incorporates purposive actions performed by collectives of actors (Suddaby & Lawrence 2006), which underscore how actors influence institutions (Hayne & Free 2013). Institutional work furthermore indicates how several actors put their skills into practice to create institutions (Perkmann & Spicer 2008), and determine the strategic actions to influence those institutions (Lawrence et al., 2011; Rojas 2010).

At the same time, institutional work informs us about the response of agents when their institutional environment changes or shifts (Gawer & Phillips 2013), or even in the case of policy interventions as a "threatening environmental change" (Curie et al., 2012).

Institutions, according to Scott, are taken for granted for social actors. Three main elements compose institutions including cognitive, normative and regulative which regulate and organize social life, ultimately strengthening its stability and endurance over time (Scott 2001; 1995). Stability, in this sense, features institutions as a stabilizing force on social processes (DiMaggio & Powell 1983), which gives a static view on institutions (Perkmann & Spicer 2008).

Actors in return, based on their legitimate roles (Hwang & Colyvas 2010) translate institutions into routines, relational system and symbols (Fligstein 2001). The roles of actors and their immersion in the daily organizational routine, construct to a great extent their identities within the institutional context (Hwang & Colyvas 2010).

Despite the immersion of actors, and the constraining effects of institutions (DiMaggio & Powell 1988), they are able to make efforts within the frame of institutional work to influence institutions (Fligstein 2001; Zietsma & Lawrence 2010). Institutional work in this sense, emerged to shed light on the actors' work to change institutions (Dacin, Goodstein & Scott 2002) either by disruption, maintenance or creation (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006; Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca 2009).

Traditional institutional studies clearly signaled the possibility of the creation, maintenance and reproduction of institutions despite the constraints on work and thoughts of actors (Greenwood & Suddaby 2006). Most of those studies emphasized the capabilities of actors, their power in its different forms, their resources as forces that determine the possibility to influence institutions (Maguire, Hardy & Lawrence 2004; Suchman 1995; Greenwood, Suddaby & Hinings 2002).

It is mainly claimed that the cases of reproduction of new structures, or new practices come as part of institutional entrepreneurship (Greenwood & Suddaby 2006). In other words, the actions of institutional change and social transformations of institutional environment (Suddaby & Greenwood 2005) are thickly treated under the rubrics of institutional entrepreneurship (DiMaggio 1988).

Interestingly, institutional work represents a "complex mélange of different forms of agency" to include successful, failed, conservative, liberal, strategic, emotional, normative, which can yield to intended or unintended consequences (Lawrence et al., 2011 pp: 53-55).

Institutional work may produce new institutional structure, maintain or transform the existing. The structure impacts institutional work wherein actors embedded, their roles constituted, positions, accessibility to resources, day-to-day routines, their power and relations (Lawrence et al., 2011; Gawer & Phillips 2013). The type and scope of institutional works (Hwang & Colyvas 2010) would be influenced by actors' relations and positions within the social sphere including actors on the margin (Leblebici et al., 1991) and the daily routines performed by every single actor (Currie et al., 2012).

Even marginalized actors who are categorized as powerless and confined with the institutional constraints can break those constraints, engage in institutional work in different cycles of interactions (Leung et al., 2013), and transcend different

boundaries (Currie et al., 2012). Furthermore the engagement of peripheral actors in institutional work can take specific forms such as "embedding and routinizing" within their professions and jurisdiction, which in turn lead into specific institutional maintenance (Currie et al., 2012).

The lesser attention to agency in the traditional studies was the departing concern of institutional work according to Lawrence et al., (2011). The main idea of institutional work was to tap into the "myriad day-to-day instances of agency" to change or influence the taken for granted institutional order (Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca 2011 p:52-53).

Institutional work can be conceived as the agentic action which brings together similar themes in institutional theory such as deinstitutionalization, institutional entrepreneurship (Gawer & Phillips 2013), and institutionalization (Berger & Luckmann 1966; Meyer & Rowan 1977; Zucker 1977).

Institutional work was coined to refer to a purposive range of effortful actions such as daily adjustments (Currie et al., 2013) demonstrated by collectives of actors in order to create, maintain and disrupt institutions (Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca 2009), while keeping an eye on their own socially constructed interests (Lawrence & Suddaby 2005; 2006; Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca 2009).

Why is institutional work relevant for examining legitimation process ?

Because institutional work invites us to look at particular activities actors perform connected with the life cycle of institutions (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006; Suddaby, Lawrence, & Leca 2009), it is perfectly relevant to mobilize institutional work to examine dynamic alignment (DA) delineated with the process pole in contextualist framework[21]. Through DA, we investigate how actors undertake different strategies such as building alliances with the intention of cultivating support for their actions, which in their turn are aimed at creating or transforming the field.

The richness and diversity of the institutional work theory in terms of having a space for many types of agency, insights into institutional work, and its multiple types, allowed our study to specify the essential institutional work that can create or transform a field in a turbulent context. We next focus on the important subject of agency.

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[21] In figure (2.6) the contextualism framework along with the three theories reviewed in this chapter.

Agency in institutional work

Institutional work also refers to the act of "thinking institutionally", which emphasizes the possibility of having capable actors who can reflect on their institutional environments and participate in institutional work (Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca 2011). When actors mobilize the reflexivity capacity, they can accordingly reduce the cognitive influence of institutions (Scott 2001).

Institutional work was infused by Schutz's agency (1962, 1964) in the sense that actors choose to reproduce their institutions. The agency accordingly diversifies into three forms to contribute to institutions building, maintenance, and disruption (Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca 2009). Agentic pulse in institutional work not only brought back actors to institutional theory and institutions (Perkmann & Spicer 2008), but also gave special attention to the notion of work by linking it to institutions (Lawrence et al., 2011). In this sense, actors "challenge the conforming pressures of institutions" (Lawrence et al, 2011).

Associating agency to institutional work puts emphasis on intentionality; this insight turns the focus to the types of agency involved as stated initially by Lawrence & Suddaby, (2006); and developed later by Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca, (2009). The type of agency related closely to intentionality is projective agency, which refers to actions designed to reimagine, or re-theorize the institutional terrain, such as the taken-for-granted institutional logics (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006).

Projective agency focuses on re-shaping social institutions through intentional strategic actions as does also intentionality of institutional work that attempts to manage the "exigencies of immediate situations", (Lawrence et al., 2011 p: 52-53). Strategic actions of projective agents also involve imagination to generate potential future trajectories of the content for institutional change process (Perkmann & Spicer 2008).

Iterative agency directs attention to small-scale decisions that can strengthen institutions or move them in a new direction, for example, choosing one institutionalized practice over another (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006). Practical-evaluative is the third type of agency that refers to self-conscious actions to reinforce, or remake, institutions within existing frameworks, such as using bricolage to bring elements of institutionalized systems together for new purposes (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006).

The three types of agency presented here within institutional work denote the agentic accounts of creation, maintenance, and disruption of institutions (Hwang & Colyvas 2011). From an institutional work perspective, agency does not limit the actions of institutional change in the hands of one actor, rather it happens according to a "distributed phenomenon". The notion of distributed phenomenon gives significant attention to the efforts and contributions of large numbers of actors.

Institutional work thus can be accomplished as a result of the combination and accretion of efforts together (Lawrence et al., 2011). Agentic accounts of small changes and efforts achieve institutional change (Currie et al., 2012). These accounts occur as daily practices and routines by actors who have different professions, roles and positions (Battilana 2006; 2011).

After data collection, we were able to capture the different aspects we reviewed above regarding institutional work. Our data, however, suggested a different set of institutional works that seemed to be more significant in a turbulent context to create or transform a field. This led us to re-visit the literature after completing the data collection and so to condense the following analytical framework that we used to analyze our data.

An integrative analytical framework

We developed our analytical framework into constructs from the existing literature on institutional work, and then grouped them into conceptual categories. The conceptual categories stimulated different dimensions and leading questions for analyzing our data. The analytical framework permitted our analysis to categorize institutional work into patterns, as we will show in the empirical part, with an emphasis on the similarities and differences of institutional work across the six cases over time.

Problematization is collective thinking that aims at questioning the taken for granted facts or givens, which can be a process, a phenomenon, a procedure, or behavior (Deacon 2006). Questioning the givens happens through thinking consciously (Montero & Sonn 2009) about how things are, how they unfolded, and what conditions constituted (Koopman 2007) the observed problems. Nonetheless, the problems might not be comprehended as problems until something such as jolts, or crises take place.

Thinking of a given requires seeking for the terms of reference (Bacchi 2012) that fundamentally created the given. The terms of reference might include what oppressors endorse to become a given (Bacchi 2012), or what people construct through interactions (Berger & Luckman 1966). Problems therefore concretely appear to demonstrate the actual effects of historical processes, social practices, political, and colonial strategies.

All this reveals how things were put beyond question, and so became settled and granted. In other words, problematization dismantles the elements, reasons and factors (Foucault 1985a) that construct what is problematized, whether it be political, institutional, or social elements. Dismantling the constituting elements may put focus on power, relations and interests entailed in what is problematized.

Thinking demands analyzing, interpreting, and classifying the elements and practices that create a problematic situation, which has effects on peoples' life. Following the logical thinking (Leca et al, 2006) that features problematization, a solving logic could be devised (Leca et al, 2006) to introduce solutions relevant to the institutional features of the context.

As various actors engage in defining problems, the pathways to actions could be shaped through experimentation as the second institutional work.

Institutional experimentation is the second step in which institutional workers undertake actual steps and trials (Malsch & Gendron 2013). Institutional experimentation allows the examination of how the real process of change happened including its trials, errors and faults. The errors and trials inform the study about how the cases reacted to the contextual changes (Lounsbury 2008). Furthermore, the attempts provide important insights into the relations and interactions amongst institutional workers, and in case any struggle is encountered (Lawrence et al., 2009).

Trial and error can create different paths throughout the process of change; the paths, whether followed or abandoned, give this study further understanding about the actual experiences during the process of change.

The institutional workers need to combine resources and objecify to implement ideas. Part of experimentation is the ability of the institutional workers to combine resources

and objectify them to implement ideas. The resources include both financial and social capital, to be combined in a specific way (Marti. I, Mair. J, 2009). Through this institutional work, we intend to investigate which kind of resources prevailed more across the cases, how did the type of resources vary over time and to what extent the combined resources objectified (Greenwood, Suddaby & Hinings 2002).

Establishing support: Institutional workers need to tease out the interests of various stakeholders by considering that their interests are met by the new interventions. Announcing that the interests are respected guarantees the support of different stakeholders (Hargadon & Douglas 2001). However, institutional workers need to reveal concretely how the new ideas reflect the interests of stakeholders (Leca et al, 2006).

The new ideas with the combined resources and narratives behind the entire process, require complex strategic relations. Relations facilitate the execution and the realization of the new ideas. Generally, institutional workers mobilize potential alliances to obtain approval for a given project. How the alliances are mobilized varies and takes different forms and practices (Fligstein 1997; 2001).

In some cases institutional workers tend to involve stakeholders in the process of change through embodiment and enrollment where those stakeholders are assigned with responsibilities and duties (Leca at al, 2006).

Institutionalization: Any change process ultimately aims at adopting the new interventions. Institutionalization informs our study whether the change process reached to its goal, and if the changes responded to the already identified problems. The adoption of new changes transposes over time to other organizations in the same field or even to the public organizations (Suchman 1995). Adoption and diffusion to other organizations indicate that the changes became the new version of reality (Greenwood, Suddaby & Hinings 2002).

In sum, the three different theories integrated and located within the contextualist framework will answer our research question, and provide a nuanced analytical and comprehensive perspective regarding the quest of legitimation that organizations need to consider when those organizations work in a changing turbulent context like Palestine.

Synthesis

Based on the three theories reviewed above, we now synthesize the three forms of alignment and their variations.

The three mobilized theories enabled this study to offer variable evaluations about legitimation process in a turbulent context. We will show in our empirical part that in some case studies, through justification theory, we detect high internal alignment in terms of organizational capacity to establish cohesion between values and interventions, in other words between what organizations do in relation to what they say.

However, this same case that has high internal alignment might expose low external alignment. Through sensemaking theory we explain that this case reveals inability to grasp and enact contextual signals and to consequently devise interventions. The same applies for the dynamic alignment through institutional work. We reveal that some cases might have low external alignment but high dynamic alignment, because they succeeded in undertaking different institutional works that helped them to cultivate support and build alliances to exist vis-à-vis the local context.

The integration of the three different theories enabled our study to describe various paths taken by the six cases to construct and maintain legitimation. Inferring the various paths through integrating three theories explains legitimation process in a turbulent context, and prove that this process is different in such context.

We proceed to present our second part, the empirical part that includes methodology, and the empirical analysis through the three theories.

II. EMPIRICAL PART

Introduction

The second part of our study, which is empirical, is divided into four main chapters. The first chapter exposes our methodology, including data collection and data analysis. The second chapter presents our findings through the mobilization of justification theory. In this chapter we analyze how the cases combined the different polities to shape an organizational compromise and how such a compromise was optimized. We present the analysis based on three clusters across the two time periods we identified as an outcome of this study. Our guiding line in this analysis is the evolution of the internal alignment, through which we measured the relation between the organizational values and organizational interventions.

In the third chapter we present our findings through sensemaking. In this chapter we analyze the relation between the contextual evolutions and organizational responses; in other words, we examine how the organizational actors interpret the evolutions and devise responses accordingly. We present the analysis based on three main clusters across the two identified time periods. The evolution of the external alignment guided our analysis, through which we assess the relation between the contextual evolutions and the responses.

The fourth chapter is the presentation of our findings through institutional work. We analyze the institutional works in order to create or transform an organizational field in a given context. We present the analysis based on two main clusters across the same two time periods. The evolution of the dynamic alignment guided our analysis, through which we evaluated the type of institutional works put in place to create or transform a field vis-à-vis the external context.

2.4 Methodology

Introduction

We have developed this study in an iterative and progressive manner, to examine the legitimation process of organizations work in a changing context such as Palestine. In this chapter, we present the epistemological positioning underpinning this study, and

dedicate a space to a discussion of the personal position of the researcher in the Palestinian context. We then point out our abductive approach, acknowledge its advantages and limits, and provide the rationale for adopting qualitative methodology in this study. Subsequently, we shed light on the exploratory phase where we studied NPOs in Palestine, conducted the first round of in-depth interviews, and identified the criterion for selecting case studies.

The three sources of data collection are introduced including in-depth semi structured interviews, non-participant observations, and archival data. We report the process of data analysis and interpretation, through which we first organized and reduced the extensive data, and second, analyze the data in relation to the theories mobilized for this study.

Epistomological positioning

Interpretivism is the main philosophy utilized to make sense of the subjective and socially constructed meanings in our research setting. The aim here is to describe the experience as it is lived by individuals, and to gain an understanding of the experience as understood from the individuals' perspective and frame of reference. Applying this philosophy requires gaining access and a thorough understanding of the phenomenon. The task here is to identify, describe and understand the subjective experience, and so present the participants' experiences from their particular perspective.

Experience is defined as a system of interrelated meanings composed in a totality of the "lifeworld" where a whole set of factors is believed to lead to differences in individuals' perception of reality and so to the exploration of lived experience (Ashworth 2003). Thus, Interpretivism helps to understand and explicate individuals' experiences as they are encountered, engaged and lived (Smith and Dunworth 2003).

In order to apply interpretivism to the question of the legitimation process, it was inevitable, during data collection, to take into consideration several principles. First, bracketing, which allows participants to construct and give meaning to their own reality. Technically, this implied avoiding imposing preconceptions or theories, beliefs or judgments, to encourage subjective data to flow from the informants, and therefore to obtain and understand new evolving meanings and thoughts (Crotty 1996) attributed to the phenomenon under investigation.

Symbolic interactionism is the second principle, presuming that human beings are not witnesses in an objective reality but are engaged beings who formulate their own biographical stories by interpreting and understanding the world in a way that makes sense to them (Brocki and Wearden 2006). It is about individuals' subjective experience rather than the formulation of objective accounts.

Moreover, this notion implies that the meanings individuals ascribe to events should be of central importance to science, which cannot be uniquely obtained through a process of interpretation. How people perceive an experience is reflected directly in how they talk about it and behave in relation to the event (Dean, Smith & Payne 2006).

Considering symbolic interactionism implies that meanings occur as a result of social interactions. The aim is to understand the participants' view of the world and associated cognitions, and to gain an insiders' perspective of the phenomenon in question. A thorough understanding of how participants have made sense of their experiences may be achieved by examining the informants' accounts of their own experiences. Assuming an existing inclination towards self-reflection, in this way interpretivism allows us to focus on the exploration of participants' experiences, understandings, perceptions and views (Brocki & Wearden 2006).

To gain a thorough understanding of the background that guided the activities performed by the organizations studied, we considered intentionality as a third principle. Intentionality refers to the essence of consciousness (Giorgi & Giorgi 2003), which is always directed toward some other world. In this way, intentionality does not have the same meaning as that which may be attributed to the actual daily usage of the intended goal. Rather, it refers to acts of consciousness toward objects, which transcend the acts themselves. These acts of consciousness are then communicated to the world by description.

The interpretive process (Smith & Osborn 2003) can occur at different levels; the first level requires the participant to offer their interpretation of the phenomenon and the associated cognitions and meanings in their own language. The second level of interpretation occurs when the researcher attempts to understand the participants' comments. Interpretation, however, can be influenced by the participants' abilities to

verbalize and articulate thoughts and experiences appropriately, and thus by the researcher's ability to interpret and analyze.

Access to the participants' world is also influenced by the researcher's own conceptions as there are always attempts to assess the participants' personal experiences. The process of interpretive activity is required in order to make sense of and understand the participants' personal world (Brocki & Wearden 2006).

Researcher's reflexivity

I dedicate some space here to address my reflexivity as a researcher who has strong personal convictions and a double nature of relationship with the research context as a Palestinian and as a researcher. Because the research context is strongly political, I had to put in some measures in order to build a critical distance of the personal familiarity to reduce any influence. Thus, it is important to stress that my personal position and experience supported and expanded my research and intuition, without, however, influencing it.

Essentially, my research project and the research interest emerged from my intuition as a knowledge from within and a way of comprehending the reality and connecting with this reality (Tsoukas & Chia 2002). My research project evolved further as it involved 'hunches', 'gut feelings' (Epstein 1994) regarding the phenomenon under investigation, and so finding out the unexpected embodied intuitively (Alvesson & Karreman 2007).

This study is centered on theoretical and academic aims, as well as personal motifs and interests in the social action. I aimed at understanding how and why organizations with a long history and an important role in a national struggle, were radically transformed over time. This interest emerged from my personal convictions and fascinated me because of my personal acquaintance with the Palestinian context as a Palestinian.

My momentum developed further thanks to my previous masters study, which introduced me to a particular research paradigm, and prompted me to constantly question the transformations submitted by NPOs in particular, and to the entire local

context as a whole. My studies acted as a catalyst to dig deeper and identify the factors that lay behind the dramatic transformations.

Specifying the exact transformations taking place in NPOs and the local context, along with the underlying factors served as a major concern for my research. The thinking behind my research project and the research design contributed to shape a pre-understanding regarding the shifts of NPOs, which mutually affected the ways of thinking about those shifts (Alvesson & Skoldberg 2000) before entering the field.

In addition, my range of multiple work experiences exposed me to NPOs, other entities and different groups, which led me to exploration and discovery as the backbone of my research. Experience and multiple backgrounds shaped my awareness regarding the research object, and allowed me to shed light on changes with the aim of raising and disseminating awareness regarding the transformations of NPOs and the local context at large. My research project aims at enhancing understanding of the transformations and integrating theoretical insights to improve the reality and overcome the gaps generated due to the dramatic transformations.

As a Palestinian who grew up in an extreme environment under Israeli occupation, my political and social interests as well as my ideologies (Alvesson et al. 2008) evolved in a particular way. There are no political interests related to a specific political party lying behind my research project, especially as I do not belong to any political party. Rather I have global national-based interests in revealing the complexity of the local context resulting from the Israeli occupation.

My ideology resembles my global political interests that are related to emancipating and liberating the nation, without any bias toward specific groups. As a Palestinian, I am interested in the political issues related to the Palestinian context, without any political allegiance or involvement with specific parties or groups and I am thus concerned with politics at the macro national level. I have not favoured any view relating to either the Fateh or Hamas party in the split between GS and WB. Rather, as a Palestinian free of micro political engagement, I promote unity between the two parts of the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPTs).

Furthermore, the external validity enabled me to enhance the critical distance, which was demonstrated through the potential teachability of the findings of my research. I

was also accepted in different scientific seminars and symposia to present the findings, thus demonstrating that I am not a political activist.

It should be stressed here that I have reservations about the PNA, and the agreement clauses (Oslo) that created the PNA. My opposing position is related to the actual tasks ascribed to the PNA, and its impact on changing the pathways of the national struggle against occupation. Furthermore, I consider the PNA problematic since it embraces oppression as the main strategy for quelling any popular movements occurring in the local context. This position against the PNA perhaps partly influenced my views and thinking regarding the role of the PNA in terms of dramatically transforming the local context.

However, my opposing position against the PNA did not dictate the choice of sample for the cases I studied in my fieldwork. The different cases I studied varied in their relation with the PNA; some had a problematic relation with the PNA while others had a good one. During the interviews I avoided adding any element related to the PNA, in this way managing any influence of my position.

I attempted during the interviewing process to neutralize my position towards the PNA, in order not to influence or lead the informants' views and responses. I listened to the informants, never interacted, yet retained what they spoke about the PNA. Using the same interview grid for all cases allowed me to manage any personal influence upon the formal interview process. Conducting standardized interviews at the different cases, triangulated with the other two sources of data collection greatly enhanced my critical distance and involvement with the context.

My familiarity with the context and the previous multiple professional experience helped me to access the field and obtain approval for conducting the fieldwork. Thanks to my connections and relations with NPOs and different stakeholders, my work was greatly facilitated. I also have connections with independent journalists, intellectuals, writers, as well as former and current founders of NPOs. These connections helped me to validate my sample of the cases, and put me in contact with other people whom I interviewed.

Being known in the local context due to my former experience facilitated my mission and enabled me to obtain the trust of the NPOs under study. That said, however, the

rich connections and familiarity were managed in different ways in order not to influence my research project, especially in terms of analysis and findings by the connections in question. For example, some connections tried to suggest particular organizations to be studied, and some informants to be interviewed. Yet, I succeeded in building a critical distance from all those influences and requests.

The fact that I developed my own sample and its final composition enabled me to make choices linked to scientific purposes rather than to any political aims. It is important to add that I composed my final sample so as to have diversified cases with a large spectrum of political engagement rather than narrow political engagement. This was another way in which I tried to manage a critical distance in a political context.

By the end of this research process, I promised to provide feedback and practice implications for the studied cases. Providing feedback will insure the maintainance of critical distance. It is important to emphasize that the relation with my supervisor throughout my PHD enormously helped me filter out the strongest emotions so as to avoid any influence.

Finally, I associated my 'intuitive knowing' (Epstein 1994) with the 'intellectual knowing' (Bergson 1913). My recognition of intuition helped me to use concrete ideas and concepts (Bergson 1946). For this research I employed the abductive approach which acts as a bridge between intuition as direct knowledge and conceptual intellectual knowledge as two forms of complementary knowledge (Tsoukas & Chia 2002). We present the abductive approach in what follows, and present its benefits as well as its limits in relation to others such as the inductive approach.

Abductive approach

Abduction, according to Peirce (1958), is related to a process of creative generation of insights and inferences (Anderson 1986). The abductive approach is related to the inference of informed guess and hunch (Semesky 2004), generation of forward thinking (Langely et al., 1995), and indentification of reason (Mckaughan 2008). The abductive approach promotes perplexity and inquirings about the events and the phenomenon under investigation (Sadler-Smith & Akinci 2015). It furthermore provides the basis for noticing and probing the complex and surprising mysteries about the research object and therefore the intuitive knowing (Sadler-Smith & Shefy 2007).

The progressive process of research detailed so far exhibits the various steps of the backwards and forwards process between data and theory; in other words, abduction allows an ongoing interaction between data and theory (Saunders et al., 2012). Abduction is an inferential process seeking to produce new insights and concepts stemming from surprising empirical observations (Tavory & Timmermans 2014). The abductive approach refers to the entangled multiple activities between data collection, and exploration of the phenomenon and theories (Dubois & Gadde 2002).

The constant back and forth process of the abductive approach supported the core investigation of the study about the legitimation process of NPOs. The legitimation process, as conceived in this study, is an interaction between the content, context and process. The abductive approach enabled us to examine the nuanced subtleties amongst content, context, and process.

Since this study departed from the early observation I made regarding the changes that occurred at the level of NPOs and of the context at large, the abductive approach was very helpful for constructing pre-understanding regarding those changes in terms of what exactly changed, and the reasons or factors behind those changes, etc.

Following the abductive approach introduced me at an earlier stage to theories and various notions, and so to the elaboration and specification of my research questions. The different concepts widened the scope of my research, helped to develop the research design and empowered me to approach the field and encourage the informants to share their views.

The flexibility of the abductive approach allowed the empirical reality to interact with the concepts and let insights emerge and develop (Dubois & Araujo 2007). According to Peirce, the abductive approach is the path of critical reasoning in which conjectures follow surprises (Van Maanen et al. 2007). Essentially, the flexibility of the abductive approach and the possibility for more discoveries and concepts to emerge (Lock et al. 2008) are helpful for the challenge of collecting data in contexts that are less oriented to academic research (Clark & Michailova 2004), as in the case of the Palestinian context.

We applied the abductive process, where the main interest guided us. Our main interest was aroused by observing surprising changes impacting NPOs, such as the type of interventions, and the abandonment of leadership role in social and political

change. The surprising changes stimulated more discoveries (Lock et al, 2008) to put forth the main empirical dimensions to be investigated before theoretical understanding.

The pre-discovery we went through in the exploratory phase directed our focus to construct the theoretical framework (Piekkari & Welch 2011) which crystalized the existing forms of understanding and helped to infer issues related to the surprising changes in relation to the theories (Ketokivi & Mantere 2010).

The abductive process brings inferences to the best explanations and frame those explanations as a context-dependent analysis in different forms. The context-dependent analysis provides thick reviews about the changes and how those changes shaped the context the way it is. The sufficient review of the context should pave the way to thoroughly explore the organizational stories. The pre-understanding of the context, including theoretical understanding (Watson 2011) help to craft strong research (Tavory & Timmermans 2014).

Learning about the phenomenon and the external context with the theoretical understanding (Lock et al., 2008) enabled me to enter the field and achieve the data collection phase and so acquire rich and extensive data. Because of the pre-understanding and the preliminary data collected for this study, we tapped different theories to craft a theoretical framework to offer explanations for the phenomenon (Alvesson & Karreman 2007).

We analyzed the data from three theoretical perspectives, EoW, sensemaking and institutional work; the findings called for more theoretical exploration to develop an analytical framework to specify the exact conceptual notions, and induce more theoretical interpretations (Mantere 2008; Gadamer 2004) as in the case of the institutional work lens.

Because of the different advantages and benefits presented above, we chose to deploy the abductive approach over other approaches such as the inductive or deductive. Our research project, as indicated earlier, emerged from early observations and 'gut feelings' which essentially required observation and more data collection (Tavory & Timmermans 2014), engagement in an intellectual act for inference, discovery and production of new insights that bring things together.

The inductive approach, according to Peirce, entails collecting new data to produce concepts, enhance existing concepts or challenge them. Qualitative induction, moreover, provides a new form or version of what is already known, but does not help to offer new inferences or new discoveries.

Abduction considers facts and practical observations, which in turn give rise to assumptions and scientific inquiry, relate the observations, assumptions to a wider context (Givon 1989), and delineate the surprises with the new order (Tavory & Timmermans 2014). In other words, the abductive approach helps to come up with new discoveries in a logical manner, but does not offer the best reflection of the reality. It could, however, help to offer useful predictions about actions in the future (Ochs 1998). The discovered insights through abduction might not be a preferred or valid reconstruction of orders, but could be very useful (Patton 1990).

As we followed the abductive approach, we carried an iteration in which we stretched the analysis, and had to take a critical distance to provide a broad overview of the legitimation process undertaken by NPOs. For this, we had to go back to data and theory, and the findings to develop the transversal analysis.

Rationale for using qualitative case study

The qualitative research we mobilized permitted us to achieve a great level of depth and detailed data. Following the qualitative angle provided an in-depth understanding of the world, as perceived by informants immersed in real life, and the focus tended to grasp the meanings, feelings, interpretations and reactions of participants' experiences through qualitative research (Daley & Jeris 2004; O'Neill 2006).

Talking to informants works at different levels in the studied cases, and the community during the participatory observation offered space for everyone to express their views. That engagement (Crawley 1998) as supported by the qualitative methodology, drew our attention to more informative detailed aspects, which especially sharpened our understanding about the evolutions of the studied cases.

Case study research excels in examining real life situations (Yin 2003), further increasing the understanding of a complex phenomenon. Applying multiple case studies allowed our study to thoroughly examine different levels of the studied cases,

and considered nuanced understanding and interacting of the different levels without focusing on only one level. The case study research we conducted is explanatory (Yin 1992) paired with the researcher's intrinsic interest (Stake 1995).

Exploratory phase

As we mentioned above, the process of developing this study has been systematic and iterative. We globally reviewed how the key variables we identified, values, interventions, and responses to contextual evolutions, changed over time at NPOs[22]. We explored these variables by screening the annual reports of NPOs where we tracked the evolution of those variables over time. Moreover, we reviewed some studies and reports produced on NPOs in Palestine, including criticism from local observers and international observers.

To deepen our knowledge of NPOs and, in particular, exploring our key variables, we developed a pool of information on the key factual elements of NPOs in Palestine. This pool served as guidance to obtain further information during data collection. Examples of the factual elements included organizational mission, vision and values, governance body, scope and scale of activities, financing structure, organizational structure, geographic spread, partners, and key achievements.

Moreover, we reviewed criticisms highlighted by local academics, professional experts, individual and organizations-based observers. The criticisms served as an important empirical foundation, and motivated us to elaborate on what had originally stimulated this study. The sources we relied on to learn about NPOs before entering the field included annual reports of NPOs, reports developed by external observers, and evaluation reports. We accessed those documents from the webpages, and by contacting key people in the field.

The exploratory phase not only provided a pre-understanding of the phenomenon, but also helped us realize that we needed consensus regarding the evolutions we detected. During the literature review we could not find sufficient research-based evidence about the Palestinian context. We therefore conducted in-depth interviews with experts who had previously worked at NPOs, or who were still engaged at the governance levels. We interviewed 20 people, such as academic experts, journalists,

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[22] Our review included various NPOs not only the selected sample.

intellectuals and external observers, who witnessed the emergence and evolution of NPOs. The interviewees were chosen with a snowball technique through which each interviewee suggested another interviewee to the researcher.

The in-depth interviews shaped a grounded pre-understanding around the historical evolution of the NPOs[23] in Palestine. This was significantly helpful to obtain a consensus from key informants regarding the phenomenon and macro changes of the entire NPOs sector.

During the interviews we discussed the emergence of the NPOs and the various evolutions, especially at the levels of organizational values and organizational interventions.

Interviewing diversified people who occupy different positions expanded our views and enabled us to verify what we reviewed about NPOs. In table 4.1 we provide detailed information about these in-depth interviews.

Table: (4.1) information regarding the in-depth interviews

#	*Interviewees' positions*	*Background*	*Time spent*
1.	Director of the Department of International Community Health at Birzeit University, & a leading scholar in the Palestinian women's movement	Public health	1 h 45
2.	Researcher, was a director of BADIL Alternative Information Center-Bethlehem. Occupied various positions at the governance level for many NPOs	Political economy	3h30
3.	General director of the Higher Council for Youth and Sports. Previously, a general director of the General Administration for NGOs in the Ministry of Interior. Worked as head of the historical photographic archive at the Arab Studies Society in Jerusalem and as a local NGO coordinator in the Office of Faisal Husseini	International relations, Middle East studies	3h00
4.	Researcher for the last 15 years mainly in the civil society/gender/ local governance	Social science	1h45

[23] Who started as voluntary grassroots.

5.	Had 30 years of professional experience in civic action, local NGOs, international orgs, and currently the director of the Right to Play"	Psychologist	1h30
6.	Former professor at Birzeit university, volunteer in refugees camps for educational initiatives, founder of an NGO called Tamer	Math	2h45
7.	Volunteer since 1980s, field, trainer & projects manager	Social science	2h00
8.	Member of General assembly of many NPOs, currently director at the UN for public health policies	Medical doctor	1h30
9.	Researcher- research center	Social science & economy	2h20
10	Area director at Welfare association	Business administration	2h30
11.	Head of research department at Welfare Association	Political science	1h30
12.	Director of the Palestinian Non-Government Organizations Network (PNGO)	Chemistry	2h00
13.	Researcher at one of the research institutes	Economy	2h30
14.	Analyst - Birzeit University	History & political science	3h10
15.	Researcher- community outreach centers-Birzeit University	Women studies	2h00
16.	Lawyer- based in one of the legal NGO	Law	1h40
17.	Consultant- former employee in one of the NPOs, member of GA for many NPOs	Development studies & social science	2h20
18.	Senior researcher - former volunteer at NPOs	Political science & economy	2h45

19.	Consultant at ICHR	Public health & gender studies	2h30
20.	Aid coordination officer at the Local Aid Coordination Secretariat supports local aid coordination structures	Business administration	2h00

The case studies selection

We applied multiple case study approaches to examine the legitimation process of the NPOs work in a turbulent context like Palestine. The rationale of incorporating diverse multiple cases was to observe the variation in the legitimation process across NPOs that work in the same context. The core principle was to study diverse NPOs to understand how differently these organizations construct and maintain their legitimacy.

The exploratory phase helped to define the sample based on diversity of the cases as a core principle of our selection criterion. The diversification of the cases implied first, the inclusion of cases showing evolutions we detected. Second, we selected cases with different sizes and ages. Third, we chose to study cases that work in different sectors; education, agriculture, health, water and environment, art and culture, and law and human rights. Fourth, we studied the cases that exist in different geographic locations in WBGS. Thus, we composed our sample based on these criteria, and also the access we obtained from the organizations.

We decided to call the studied organizations NPOs because when we entered the field, we found a wide array of organizations in Palestine, which historically were in charge of services provision and political mobilization and later were obliged by law to register as non-governmental organizations, (organizations that attempt to carry out interventions with non-commercial purposes). This decision allowed tracking the evolutions of NPOs over two-time periods that resulted from our study (1970s-1995 & 1996-2015).

The subdivision in two chronological periods as an outcome of our study, indicate the various changes accumulated over time that impacted NPOs. The two periods furthermore entail the major contextual events that triggered the evolutions of NPOs.

Through these two time periods we were able to establish a distinct relation between the specific changes of each case, and the contextual evolutions.

Having said this, we predicted similar results that we mitigated in adopting the replication logic (Yin 2009) to detect nuanced variations. As a consequence, we selected seven diversified cases, Al Nayzak in education, PARC in agriculture, HWC in health, PAC in art and culture, Al Haq in law and human rights, PHG in water and environment, and MA'AN in development. After data collection, we dropped MA'AN because it works in different sectors to those covered in the other six cases. In table (4.2) we shortly present each case.

Table: (4.2) short presentation about the case studies

Cases	Sector	Size	Age	Location
Al Nayzak (www.alnayzak.org)	Education & Innovation	Medium	Young	WB & GS
PARC (www.parc-arc.org)	Agriculture	Large	Old	WB & GS
HWC (www.hwc-pal.org)	Health	Medium	Old	WB & GS
PAC (www.popularartcentre.org)	Art & culture	Small	Young	WB
Al-Haq (www.alhaq.org)	Law & human rights	Medium	Old	WB & GS
PHG (www.phg.org)	Water & hydrology	Small	Old	WB & GS

The selection of the cases was to a great extent influenced by the organizations' approval for access to the researcher, and most importantly their interest and willingness to talk about changes, which are a critical issue in the local context. The organizations studied were accessed thanks to my previous professional experience and connections with key contacts (Saunders et al., 2012) that put me in direct contact with the organizations, empowering me to negotiate my research stay at the studied cases.

Furthermore, I had to respect specific protocols such as providing official letters from my supervisor to testify my affiliation, and organize meetings with the general directors of the organizations. During the preliminary meetings, I presented sufficient information about my research, agreeing on the anonymity of the informants, and the

period of my research stay which lasted nine weeks for each studied case. The general director of each organization named a liaison person to facilitate my research stay.

Although some contacts pressured me to study particular organizations, the cases' selection criteria empowered me to reject influences and validated the sample of our research (Yin 2009).

Data sources

The complexity of case studies and its strength involved using multiple sources and techniques in the data collection process. Triangulation was the key principle for determining that the multiple data sources ensured rigor. In order to triangulate we gathered the data in three methods; semi-structured in depth interviews, non-participant observation and archival data. We obtained deep, wide and rich empirical data through these three data sources, which allowed for more reliable observation (Johanson 2011), more interaction between theory and data, and constant reflection, which was in line with the adopted abductive approach.

Archival texts

Archival texts were fundamental to learning more about the cases before conducting the interviews (Thietart 2007). In this method, I investigated the textual materials produced by and about the cases. Each case studied gave me access to certain types of documents, which included annual reports, organizational history and inception story.

As I wanted to investigate changes layered over time, I sought to obtain contemporary documents such as project documents, evaluation reports, plans and other texts that documented the origins of the organizational practices. I managed to obtain these texts through various informants including former employees.

Prior to the review, I organized piles of documents into texts that reflected organizational life, its interpretations (i.e. reviews and evaluations of projects), assumptions (i.e. projects documents), and actions (i.e. projects plans). This facilitated the review and enabled me to take notes and underline the themes that demanded additional investigation. In table (4.3) we synthesize the archival texts we accessed for our empirical work.

Table (4.3) : The archival texts reviewed

Type of documents	*Description*
Annual reports	Included the achivements of the organizations each year. We reviewed the reports & compared the differences and changes over years
Inception story	Included the story of estabishment in terms of vision, activities, volunteers behind the establishments
Projects' documents	Included the proposals and assumptions submitted to the donors & different stakeholders
Projects' plans	Included actions, objectives, timelines & the required human resources for the projects
Projects' reviews	Included the actual achievements of the projects implemented by the organizations

The analytical investigation of the texts spurred me to seeking greater insight and systematic interrogation about the cases. I was furthermore able to track the entire key events that unfolded within the organizational space, which gave me a sense of how social and historical conditions affected the character of organizational life.

Later in the process of data gathering, the reviews of texts clearly illustrated the path dependency of NPOs in terms of the changes that stimulated the study, and indeed, revealed how the changes of the NPOs' sector incremented over time. Nonetheless, reviewing the texts provided me with only partial interpretation (Ventresca & Mohr 2001) of how matters unfolded and emerged.

In depth semi-structured interviews

In-depth interviews served as the main data sources. Significantly, interviews allowed for interaction and served as a social scene where feelings, cognitions and relations could be grasped (Alvesson 2003). The choice of in-depth interviews was convenient for this exploratory study, because they sought out answers and encouraged the informants to explain further and build on their responses (Cooper & Schindler 2008).

Interviews were also in line with the interpretivism, which allowed the informants to tell their story in their own way, including their perceptions, beliefs and accounts of particular events.

Before conducting the interviews we prepared open-ended and non-directive questions that centered around three themes; the individual story (i.e. the job tasks, how the relation with the organization began, qualifications, feelings, convictions, etc.). The second theme was the organizational story (i.e.main scope of activities, operation mode, if changes experienced, reasons behind changes, how changes impacted the work, etc.).

Finally, the contextual story consisted of themes such as key global changes in the local context that took place after the informant started working in the studied case, specific changes impacting the NPOs sector, and the influence of the changes on each case as well as on the job of the informant., etc. The predefined themes of the interviews guaranteed consistency, maintained the focus and facilitated the emergence of more focused views (Robson 2010).

Besides talking about those themes, I had to indirectly encourage the informants to elaborate on particular changes regarding our identified variables; values, interventions. The non-directive style of interviews was an initial probing that enhanced follow up questions based on the informants' responses (Hoffmann 2007), which remarkably facilitated more disclosure from the informants.

The 'give and take' (Alvesson 2003) style allowed the questions to flow easily and allowed me to conduct interesting and productive interviews. Eventually, the open-ended questions helped me to explore further comments, which probed rich meanings and added more significance and depth to the data. It is important to note, that the non-directive style of interviews allowed the informants to expand the themes, and consequently increased the amount of data collected and reinforced the validity of the study (Denzin & Lincoln 2000).

On this basis, I spent more than 10 months in the field conducting 160 interviews, 25 interviews for each studied case, in addition to the 20 in-depth interviews we presented above in the explanatory phase. In table (4.4) we present the number of informants, their gender, and their position in each case.

Table (4.4): Information regarding the informants of case studies

	Positions	*Gender*	*Number*
Case 1	Founder & general director, programs director, programs/projects coordinators, monitoring & evaluation officer, directors of branch managers, administrative assistant, volunteers, trainers, benefitting schools & teachers, external stakeholders (e.g. MOE), GA members, BODs, former employees,	9 men, 16 women	25
Case 2	General director (formers/current), GA members, BODs members, former employees, external stakeholders, e.g. MOA, donors, beneficiaries, community centers, founders, former volunteers, farmers, programs' coordinators, in-house consultants, coordinators of governorators, programs' directors, director of advocacy & lobbying, different program directors (e.g. water, land reclamation),	20 men, 14 women	34
Case 3	GA members, BODs members, public relations officer, administrative assistant, women health program director, director of primary health, directors of medical centers, health educators,	15 men, 21 women	36
Case 4	Current & former general directors, members of GA & BODs, external stakeholders (e.g. private sector), volunteers, founders, projects' coordinators, ministry of culture, benefiting centers, administrative assistant,	16 men, 8 women	24
Case 5	Current & former general directors, former founding volunteers, director of documentation, coordinator of documentation, fieldworkers, director of local accountability, director of international accountability, fundraising officer, financial director, coordinator of visual documentation, head of training unit, director of applied training center, coordinator of the council of human rights, members of GA & BODs, ministry of justice, three of the victims of human rights' violations,	28 men, 7 women	35

Case 6	Executive director, deputy of general director, director of water institute, branch managers, technical officers, financial direcotr, program directors, programs coordinators,	15 men, 1 woman	16
Total	6 multiple diversed cases, interviewees occupy various positions	103 men, 67 women	170 interviews

Interviews lasted from one and a half to three hours. In some cases, the informants gave more time in different rounds, and expanded on questions and highlighted new topics beyond the scope of the research. Although difficult for the researcher, it permitted the informants to exercise a certain degree of agency and allowed for contextualization. The liaison person and myself organized the interviews, which took place in different locations and times depending on the informants' preferences. The locations of the interviews included offices and some public spaces (i.e. cafes, meeting rooms).

I interviewed women and men informants who occupied various hierarchical levels including members of the governance bodies (BODs & GA), managers, officers, coordinators and deputies. The informants also included the directors of the centers and branches I had to travel to in order to make the interviews; this was indeed an opportunity to visit the centers and in many cases unscheduled interviews were conducted.The titles of the informants obviously varied depending on the structure of each case.

I made a point of interviewing at least one informant from centers and branches spread out across different geographic areas, including Jerusalem to which I had a limited period to access based on the permit I obtained to conduct the interviews. After many attempts to interview informants from Gaza Strip over Skype, I ultimated failed due to poor internet connection and I obviously was unable to access people there because of the separating border.

However, knowing the mobility restrictions, I had expected that difficulty beforehand. The list of the informants expanded to include former organizational actors, either former employees and founding volunteers or former governance members. I also

managed to interview beneficiaries from the local communities and local donors such as Save the Children.

Interviewing diverse informants including decision makers, practitioners, local community and some donors, helped me to obtain rich data on policies and strategies, political changes and how they affected the cases. Practitioners addressed their conceptualization of the operation mode, methods and approaches. The informants from the community level allowed me to see how the cases transmitted policies and strategies into actions.

Notably, the informants from the different levels all together talked about the political, social and cultural changes that had recently occurred in the Palestinian context.

The interviews were conducted and recorded in Arabic. Because of the overwhelming extensive data set, I transcribed only 90 interviews, and translated the main themes into English. For the other interviews, I took extensive notes in real time, typed them within a maximum of 48 hours of conducting the interviews, and when possible compared the notes to increase accuracy. I shared most of the transcribed interviews with the informants for validation, with only a few informants demanding changes, which I managed and shared again to finally obtain the approval of the informants. Initially, we planned to organize a collective feedback session for each case to present themes; by the end of the fieldwork, however, the informants did not favor open plenary feedback sessions.

Despite the importance of in-depth interviews as a major source of data underpinning my study, the limitation should be acknowledged that informants were interviewed about facts and changes from several decades ago, which might have influenced the views by the social desirability bias. The social desirability bias could potentially have determined the responses to give the best version of socially accepted responses, instead of reflecting true feelings and views (Fisher 1993).

We managed this limitation in different ways, first by interviewing many informants who belong to different age generations, backgrounds and positions. We chose to interview a diversified group of informants who occupy various positions in the studied cases. The diversity of informants helped to mitigate the potential bias that

might have influenced their views and inputs. Second, before entering the field, we constructed a clear set of open ended questions regarding the three themes we listed earlier (individual story, organizational story & contextual story). The multiplicity of questions rested on these three themes allowing for cross-checking so to distinguish between the biased answers and the true ones.

The anonymity (Nederhof 1985) of the informants was the third way of overcoming the social desirability bias. Having guaranteed the non-disclosure of the informants' personal details, we motivated them to provide more truthful answers. The fourth method of reducing bias was to assure the informants that there were no right or wrong answers to the questions raised within the interview grid, which released the informants of any pressure to come up with a desirable answer. As the informants understood there was no perfect response, we succeeded in reducing the effects of the social desirable answers.

As already stated, the purpose of my research study is to examine the legitimation process undertaken by NPOs. Examining this process involved understanding how the informants spoke about what happened, and the way in which they constructed reality. Observing discursive practices prevented the probability of obtaining biased responses. We only provided the informants with the broad interest of our study to avoid prior preparation for the responses. This was the fifth way to prevent bias and untrue responses.

The sixth way of managing the social desirability bias was the triangulation principle, which stipulated acquiring information from two other resources beside the interviews, allowing me to verify the data from multiple sources.

Non-participant observations

The fact that I worked daily in the buildings of the cases, allowed me to experience their real life, especially as some of the cases had open space offices. The activities I was permitted to access varied in duration and type, ranging from official meetings such as the board of directors at Al Nayzak, the general assembly at Al Haq, the directing committee at HWC, the projects' department meeting at PARC, and the organizing meeting of the Palestinian festival at PAC.

Additionally, I attended trainings at PHG on water pollution, and spent a day at the youth camp organized by PAC as part of one of the most controversial projects. I had the opportunity of listening to a documentation session with Al Haq, a conference organized by HWC regarding the activities in Jerusalem, a press conference at PARC regarding one of the projects called the olive tree, and joined health education sessions for women and for schools organized by HWC.

I also attended two conferences organized during my fieldwork, which addressed the changes of NPOs including the increase in numbers, irrelevant activities and the inflated budgets. The conferences also discussed the possibility of enforcing mechanisms to control the resources of NPOs.

I took extensive notes and during these events tried to document the interactions, settings and flow of the events, the expressions, language, sidetalks and reactions of the participants. Most of the notes I wrote centered on the themes of the interview grid.

In some cases, I had the feeling that the participants were influenced by my presence, which might have impacted the content of the event. However, in the big meetings such as the general assembly and conferences, my presence was not an issue. In any case, the predicted bias of observing events was mitigated as we considered that additional sources of data collection (Yin 2009) were utilized to supplement the other sources.

Analysis and interpretation

The first step of the data analysis was to organize the interviews we conducted with the activists and observers as part of the exploratory phase. We coded the interviews to identify the most pronounced themes. The main themes that emerged were essentially the main transformations detected later at each case study. Then we compiled the themes in a comprehensive report where we aggregated the themes addressed by informants. The transformations we aggregated included, for example, the raison de''etre and working approach.

Based on the comprehensive report where we aggregated the most prevalent themes, we mobilized the ideal type as a conceptual tool to formulate the constituting

elements of the NPOs[24] in Palestine. The constituting elements illustrate the genesis of those NPOs in the given context, which we highlight in the introduction.

To handle the large data set about each case based on the interviews grid, I carefully scanned the scripts and field notes, correcting errors and adding missing information. In this exercise, I underlined the data chunks and identified in the margin the preliminary codes (Grbich 2012; King 2012; Saunders et.al 2012). As I ended up with long sheets, I had to cluster the codes into meaningful sets; this process was constantly updated to preserve and utilize the rich data.

We collected extensive data that we had to reduce through a coding process which entailed developing codes each of which designated a unit of sense (Saunders, et al., 2012). The codes were delineated based on four categories according to the contextualist framework of analysis (Pettigrew 1987). The four distinguished categories were: the content, the internal context, the external context, and the process. Precise codes were developed based on these four categories. In particular, the precise codes corresponded to the elements specified in the grid of elements we used to collect the data. These codes included, for example, changes in the internal and external context.

Nonetheless, in order to sustain the richness of the data, we followed a semi-open coding approach. This approach enabled us to organize the data and reduce irrelevant chunks of it.

Based on the meaningful codes, we organized the data, reduced the irrelevant and repeated data across the cases (King 2012). We then synthesized the data in a timeline matrix for each case, through which we presented the organizational life into phases of evolutions across the two time periods. These timelines were structured according to the three pillars of contextualist framework (Pettigrew 1987); content, context and process.

Across each pillar, we delineated the three presumed forms of alignments (internal, external, dynamic) with the three pillars and assessed these alignments by high or low. For example, the internal alignment delineated with the content, revealed the types of compromises shaped upon the orders of worth, the external alignment with

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[24] Started as grassroots.

the context revealed the organizational interpretations of external signals and the responses devised accordingly, and the dynamic alignment corresponded with the process, which specified the institutional works put forth to theorize the work of NPOs. We organized the organizational life of each case in different phases in order to manage the complexity of the cases, and present the extensive data over the two time periods we identified.

We wrote monographs for each case based on the timelines. The monographs narrated the storyline of each case, where we identified the periods of organizational life and assessed the alignments supported by quotes. It is important to note that we identified various time periods specific to each case. The specific periods at the organizational level were different from the two periods resulting from analysis of the global context. For example, case 2 may experience 3 time periods at the organizational level, while case 3 may experience 2 time periods, etc.

However, the specific time periods of each case took place within the two main periods regarding the global context. The periods illuminated the way in which the process of legitimation evolved during the two time periods (1970s-1995 & 1996-2015). The monographs of the six studied cases connected the data meaningfully and provided a sufficient picture of the evolution of the legitimation process. The process of writing the monographs started in late 2015 and continued being updated based on the evolution of the analysis.

The monographs and timelines prompted us to investigate the relationships between the changes so as to understand how and why the compromises failed. Answering these kinds of questions allowed us to connect between content, context and process. The process of writing the monographs took an iterative mode (Yin 2009), where various versions of the monographs were written as we operated constant cross-checking amongst the data sources, the presumed forms of alignments on legitimation process and the theories mobilized.

Following this, we analyzed the monographs according to the three theories mobilized (EoW, institutional work, & sensemaking), to interpret the relationships between the content, context and process.

Through defining the theoretical concepts based on the monographs, we distinguished differences and similarities between the six cases. As a result, we clustered the cases[25] according to each theory mobilized, which led to different clusters across the three chapters of the analysis.

By the end of the analysis process, we had taken a critical distance from our findings and analyzed the data transversally. In this analysis, we compared the findings of the data, notes, monographs and theories mobilized to distinguish the trends and pathways of the legitimation process in the six cases, which formed distinguished clusters as we indicated above. This iterative process of analysis facilitated the emergence of new explanations. The transversal analysis, moreover, paved the way to generate conceptual contributions and managerial implications.

The process of data reduction and analysis has been supported and double checked to ensure reliability (Yin 2009) by my supervisor, who largely helped me to take a distance and eliminate redundant chunks of data. Essentially, the regular exchanges and meetings with my supervisor enabled me to detect the changes and pathways in the legitimation process in each case, through assessing the three forms of alignments.

The research stay I spent at Cass business school allowed me to take more distance and reduce the data. During the research stay, I shared my project with colleagues and scholars, which enabled me to filter out more chunks of data.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have described in detail and total transparency the process of our qualitative approach applied to the examination of the legitimation process, from the development of the initial ideas of the research, choice of cases, researcher's reflexivity and the data collected.

We proceed next to present our fine grained analysis through three main chapters based on the three theoris we utilized.

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[25] We explicitly differentiate here between the clustering process of cases we employed for our qualitative research, through which we grouped the pathways of cases in terms of the evolution of the three forms of alignment (internal, external and dynamic alignment), and the cluster analysis usually associated with quantitative research, which explore unexpected results and relationships amongst the variables.

2.5 Findings through justification theory - How do organizations transform compromises over time? degradation, inconsistency and consistence

Introduction

Organizations often blend different polities, which may clash at some point in time. The hybridization situation revealed the incorporation of different polities that could potentially generate various contradictory moments especially in a turbulent context. Working in such a context implied combining three main polities in a particular way. With the contextual evolutions, the organizational actors have to change the polities they refer to and combine them in different ways.

In this analysis, we investigate how organizations manage the combination of polities to align the organizational values and actions[26]. In other words, we examine here the internal alignment (IA) i.e. the extent to which organizations do what they say.

Through this investigation, we found out that political allegiance determined for each organization which polity to embrace and so which basis to shape an organizational compromise on. We detected through the evolution of IA three typical situations: degradation, inconsistency and consistency. Such situations mainly result from the organizational capacity to shape sustainable compromises amongst different polities in justifying actions. Combining the three polities and justifying the appropriateness of that combination to relate values to actions is the question of internal alignment we originated to pursue the question of legitimation in a turbulent context.

The different combination of polities crucially impacted the evolution of the internal alignment over the two time periods. This intrigued us and led us to investigate; *how does internal alignment evolve over time?* We employ justifications theory to pursue this question. In particular, we pay close attention to three main polities, civic, industrial and market, which were arranged differently across the cases to help some maintain high internal alignment, while the internal alignment of some others diminished over time.

Justifications theory enhanced our analysis for investigating the analytical components of each polity that exposed the evolution of internal alignment.

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[26] We use actions or interventions and objects interchangeably.

Three different ways of combining the polities led to different evolutions of the internal alignment over the two time periods; we present our data based on a clustering process, to categorize the cases in three distinguished clusters. The majority of the cases (2, 3, 4, & 6) are grouped within the first cluster. These cases are characterized by similar internal evolutions, probably with variant rhythms and nature given their different businesses. They shared the same global trend of evolution, however, in terms of internal alignment from high in the first time period to low in the second time period. The evolution from high to low was caused by difficulties in maintaining the compromise over time.

The second cluster presents case (1), which remains over time with low internal alignment due to failure to construct an overarching principle and shape a common compromise. The third cluster includes case (5), where internal alignment remained high over the two time periods, due to the capacity of this case to maintain the overarching compromise over time.

To proceed with the analysis on the basis of the three clusters, we structure the paper as follows. We systematically unpack the main elements (values, objects, people, and time conception) of the polities operated within the studied organizations across the two time periods: the first time period (1970s-1995), and the second time period (1996-2015) respectively. For the sake of time continuity, we analyze each cluster successively across the two time periods designated.

The temporal classification into two time periods was the outcome of our fieldwork and essentially guided by the evolution of internal alignment (as well as the other two forms of alignments). By unpacking the elements of the polities incorporated within the organizations, we first analyze the different polities incorporated across the cases to shape compromises. We pay thorough attention to the formal and informal talks and highlight the debates inherited within the compromises.

During the analysis of our empirical data, we were guided by the evolution of internal alignment and investigated the different capacities of the cases to maintain or not maintain a compromise over time.

The first cluster (cases: 2, 3, 4 & 6)

The first time period: (1970s-1995)

The first cluster includes the majority of cases (2, 3, 4, 6) that succeeded during the first time period in shaping a compromise of two polities that combined in a certain way. The cases revealed their capacity to build a compromise founded on an overarching principle, combined with elements coming from different polities. Such a combination was justified as significant to correlate values and actions, which lead to high internal alignment. In what follows, we analyze each element belonging to the polity embraced.

We first present the form of the political allegiance of each organization and emergent debates around that allegiance. We show that this allegiance determined the choice of polities and so influenced the three situations- degradation, inconsistency and consistency of combining polities.

Political Allegiance

The organizations investigated were originally engaged in politics and founded by political parties. A branch manager[27] at the water and hydrology organization affirmed, *"like other organizations, we were part of political parties, and that was not a secret"*. The political allegiance in its nationalistic patriotic nature gave rise to the organizational values, which translated into objects, the type of people joined, and the conception to time. A previous branch manager of an agricultural organization clarified, *"the political party back then took on its own responsibility to carry out resistance activities against occupation, especially that the PLO was not allowed to work in Palestine"*. The voluntary work was an integral part of political parties, which presented as nationalistic patriotic activities at that time.

The work of the political parties expanded after many military defeats of the Arab states by Israel. It was understood that the military activities by the Palestinian militants were insufficient, and that civic work was a must. The director of water institute at the water and hydrology organisation clarified, *"the political parties realized that their members must intensively work and volunteer, reach out to people*

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[27] The north branch.

and help them build housing, harvest crops, mobilize people, and protest against occupation with them". The work of these cases has been hybrid, combined of political work and development in order to respond to the daily needs of people, mobilize them, and participate in non-military activities against occupation.

The other cases of the first cluster (3,4) have a slight difference in terms of political allegiance, which justified as a political identity. Their political identity is a consequence of the political incubation of the organizational efforts, but not a political foundation. Due to the success of the NPOs[28] initiatives, especially in terms of their patriotic mission, the political incubation stimulated unique interventions and relations with the local community. The success of the NPOs initiatives drew the attention of the political parties, causing them to attempt to adopt these initiatives.

Significantly, these two NPOs emerged as grassroots initiatives in the early 1980s when the political parties were exiled in Lebanon. The political parties realized that they were obliged to think of alternatives to continue their political work, contribute to the wellbeing of local people and eventually to enhance their relations with the local community. The two cases thus, were informally embraced by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

The volunteers who founded the grassroots initiatives had similar ideological foundation to the (PFLP), especially those volunteers who were members of the (PFLP). Most importantly, the organisations along with the political party united to work for the collective values and aspirations to liberate the Palestinian nation. At that time, the organisations and the political party did not have contradictory views, clashing interests and obligations.

We intended to show above that politics played a fundamental role in the organizational capacity to shape a rigorous ex-ante compromise. This compromise was based on blending elements from different polities to eventually match values with actions. Thus, the organizational capacity to use and combine polities in a context-specific way led to high internal alignment.

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[28] Initially grassroots.

Nonetheless, internal debates started to grow early 1993s along with the arrival of the PNA[29]. We elaborate next on these debates and show how organizations succeeded in managing debates and maintain the organizational compromise during the first time period.

Debates around political allegiance

The cases of the first cluster started, by the end of the first time period, to critically question the historical political association. The water and hydrology organization debated the political affiliation from professional and technical perspectives, as explained by a branch manager *"we need to slowly shift into development, it is important for state-building"*. The arrival of the PNA theoretically marked the end of a stateless and the beginning of a statehood-building phase. Therefore, the cases started to discuss the necessity of disassociating politics as a requirement for the new phase marked by the inauguration of the statehood-building efforts.

As a result, the actors started to confuse politics in its national patriotic form with narrow political interests pursued by the political parties. Based on this new conceptualization of politics, the actors advocated detaching politics from organizational action. This disassociation justified as appropriate for social action, assumed that politicized social actions negatively influenced the credibility of the cases in front of different stakeholders.

The views that favored sustaining the political allegiance argued that politics was an integral part of the organizational history and its identity, and that political connection was important for maintaining this history as well as the organizational substantial role in mobilizing local people. In addition, the proponents who favored the political connection argued that the attempt to disassociate politics might jeopardize the continuity of organizations. The director of the water institute in the hydrology and water organisation explained, *"it is not accepted to uproot our organization from its history, and our political roots are inevitable for continuity"*. The historical political roots justified the importance of maintaining the status that organizations achieved. Any attempts to dismantle such association might have caused the loss of an essential source of legitimation.

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[29] Palestinian National Authority.

The political allegiance debated differently within the cases (3,4), to acknowledge the political identity emphasizing that the political parties have not founded the cases. The director of one of the medical centers in the health organization reaffirmed, *"it is not a secret that our organization has a political identity, and it is our role to maintain such identity, at least for the top management positions"*. An opposing view arguing that organizations should be politically free was expressed by the current director of health organization, *"I do not belong to the political party, and I work to neutralize politics linked to local parties, I belong to our patriotic cause"*.

A collective agreement, however, emerged to solve the political engagement issue and any associated debates around that. The actors in the organization of health emphasized the need to adhere to the collective cause, rather than to the political interests of the political parties especially when contextual jolts were concerned. In other words, the actors tended to re-define their political identity into political allegiance in its broad, nationalistic perspective.

In the art and culture organisation, some views denied the political foundation in order to re-emphasize that the grassroots efforts included, but were not founded by the political parties. A member[30] of GA asserted, *"You can not say that any political party founded PAC, it happened that a few of us belonged to the same political party, however, the different interests in art brought us to PAC not the political party"*. In the process of re-defining and re-conceptualizing the political allegiance in order to detach from politics, this case re-identified its historical evolution to deny any official political roots at the time of its establishment. Rather the political engagement was associated with the individual paths of certain organizational actors.

That said, the political engagement was re-considered in order to avoid any interference by the political parties whose power greatly declined and attempted accordingly to obtain from NPOs more fiscal and relational resources.

Generally, the cases sustained certain aspects regarding the political allegiance such as the political-free beneficiaries' selection, as an original criterion to benefit people on an equal footing, and keep technicalities detached from politics.

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[30] Also a previous employee.

At the same time, the cases agreed to reconnect with the political roots in case the needs changed or new issues emerged given the turbulence of the context. The reconnection with the political roots translated into particular activities such as demonstrations.

Nevertheless, managing debates around the political engagement entailed a shift in the former recruitment process. Historically, the recruitment process was established with partial consideration for the political affiliation. However, the political-based recruitment hybridized with specialization and technical competence as requirements for recruitment.

And yet the actors debated the hybrid recruitment criterion considering it very limiting and restrictive to a small segment of candidates, who in turn could increase political interference and imposition. This finally led to the endorsement of a compromise to replace political affiliation with ideological foundations and political awareness. The ideological foundations justified maintaining the historical form and roles of organizations without direct party-based interference.

Concretely, a political free selection criterion was introduced to replace the previous hybrid basis of politics and specialization with the aim of avoiding the growth of political influence and in order to diversify the composition of the organizational actors. The emerging compromise, however, re-affirmed that ideological foundations and political awareness were necessary together with technical specialization.

In short, the political allegiance took variable forms across the four cases of the first cluster. During the first time period, such allegiances were conceptualized clearly with well-defined roles and barriers relating to the organizational choices. The conceptualized politics were mainly entrenched around national and patriotic concerns. Consequently, the cases of this cluster succeeded in shaping an ex-ante compromise that determined the organizational choices and managed emergent debates such as the debate on historical allegiance. That said, the cases were observed to have high internal alignment.

We now turn our attention to the decomposition of organizational values, which as we indicated earlier, reflected to a great extent the political allegiance and enhanced the high internal alignment of the cases during the first time period.

Values

Essentially, the values underlying the cases revolved around the common good that respected the justness to the local population. Serving the common good imbued with a general value related to the creation of a general culture, as the executive director of the water and hydrology organization explained, *"we trust the value and importance of our work; we created a special culture anchored upon passion & collective interest".* In order to achieve the common good, the cases were essentially founded on unique local values that could incrementally enhance the organizational role.

The current general director of the agriculture organization affirmed that achieving a national outlook is a core organizational value, *"we collectively believed that we were fighters in agriculture, to mobilize people for the Palestinian cause".* Mobilization justified the threshold of realizing and reinforcing the national struggle against occupation as an ultimate and principal value.

Volunteerism was largely integrated within the cases; the founders of the cases volunteered without any materialistic return but were driven to contribute to the collective common good. The same outlook was shared by the organization of art and culture, as stated by a member of GA, *"we were all volunteers with different talents, contributed whatever we could, and in some cases, I remember few volunteers gave money to the organization".* Volunteerism not only appeared as a practice that evolved into organized interventions, but as an aspiration to create a local culture of volunteerism.

Volunteerism, we observed, was a core value that gave volunteers the honor and pride to practice such a value. This value moreover inspired the volunteers to optimize their talents and capacities to contribute to liberation as a national aspiration and unified outlook.

The passion and inspiration of volunteers was reflected intensively in dedicating efforts to serve the marginalized areas. The director of one of the medical centers in the organization of health affirmed,*"we saw that Israel intentionally worsened the health care pushing Palestinians to evacuate, so we wanted to stand up against that and treat health problems, which is to me part of resistance towards liberation".*

The organization of art and culture shared the same thinking, the administrative assistant stated; *"we were driven by collective values to fight occupation that attempted to destroy our identity"*. Maintaining people on their land through treating health problems and protecting the heritage has been one of the major values strictly embedded within the cases.

Prioritizing the less privileged segments and provide them with fair opportunities to access services and activities was an integral part of the organizations studied. The public relations officer in the organization of health reflected, *"we are biased towards poor and marginalized areas regardless of their religious or political affinities"*. Providing poor segments fair opportunities was integrated as a main organizational value for the organization of art and culture to derive its main mandate; *"art for all"*, which translated into operational values to provide poor and remote areas with art and cultural activities. Solidarity with poor and less privileged segments has been one of the moral foundations to guide the organization's activities.

The strictly embraced organizational values revealed the dominance of the civic polity. The civic polity was established to shape a compromise by means of which the cases justified organizational interventions. The organizational capacity to shape a compromise enabled the cases to handle the debates that emerged within such a compromise.

We emphasized the values because of their significance in guiding the organizational choices. Fundamentally, the organizational choices were value-driven. The principal value included mostly liberation and steadfastness of Palestinians against evacuation attempts. In order to achieve this overarching value, the organizational actors worked on equal footing for the common good of people, with a special prioritization to less privileged segments and those mostly affected by the Israeli occupation. Volunteerism and the constant response to neglected needs appeared as significant organizational values.

To summarize, the integrated values we have deconstructed so far, belong to the civic polity. There is an intertwined relation between the political allegiance in its patriotic broad nature and the type of organizational values. Consequently, the organizational

values derived from the civic polity had a more important role in determining the organizational choices and directions.

The organizational values correspond to the historical political allegiance and eventually led to a high internal alignment of the cases of this cluster during the first time period. The civic polity was combined with elements from other polities, namely industrial and fame polity. We next decompose the objects.

Objects

Sharing the same convictions and ideology together with technical competence guided the organizational actors to think and create doable and contextualized interventions[31]; as a technical officer in the water and hydrology organization explained, *"we relied on springs and water harvesting as the most reliable ways to overcome the shortage in water supply"*. The same line of intervention devised in the organization of agriculture, included the training and household economy programs (see the monograph of org. 2), was employed to emancipate certain segments such as women and fresh agronomists. The type of the organizational interventions and the thinking behind them reinforced the authentic values coming from the dominating civic polity.

The organizational interventions observed in the cases (3,4), were devised to create fundamental platforms essential for future interventions at the national level. For example, the organization of art and culture launched the Palestine International Festival (PIF) based on the value of *"art for all"*. The PIF as the first of its kind, was justified by one of the coordinators as a national platform,*"to incubate the local troupes, we provide space for those troupes given the shortage of cultural facilities"*. The organizational interventions in the organization of health were considered to be a way to initiate fundamental pillars at the national level; the women's health program director stated, *"we developed the health protocols so that the public organization could increment and develop further"*.

Furthermore, the organizational interventions were aimed at enhancing national status; the GA member[32] in the organization of art and culture asserted, *"PIF was a*

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[31] We here associate objects to the interventions of organizations on the field.
[32] Previous employee and one of the songs' writers.

nationalistic and popular scene, all songs were patriotic, the troupes were sympathetic about the situation and demonstrated that in different performances". Essentially, organizations strived to develop objects that could foster and energize the overall national concerns.

For that purpose, organizations worked in correspondence with the local and institutional features; as a program coordinator in the organization of art and culture said, *"the entire setting was a major platform for nationalistic and patriotic expression that generated a collective feeling of victory, and mobilizing atmosphere".* We observed the same in the organization of health, for example in programs that targeted Jerusalem. To elaborate, depriving the Jerusalemites of services such as health and education was one of the notable institutional features in Palestine. We realized, based on the local institutional features, that the cases were intended to devise the objects either to enhance or mobilize certain situations, or to work against some other situations such as evacuation attempts.

In addition, the objects were composed of national assets, such as the data bank, rehabilitated springs and wells, the studies around water issues, and other efforts to coach people (see the monograph of case 6). The data bank for example and the techniques applied belong to the industrial polity, however, was used in civic orientations. The civic orientation entailed building national assets that elevate the capacities of people such as farmers and researchers.

The reclaimed lands and the unique training programs are other examples of systematic objects for mobilizing people to invest in their lands (see the monograph of case 2), and train agronomists to integrate them in the local market instead of working in the Israeli market. The objects were essentially generated through optimizing local resources, incrementing and developing what already existed.

The objects were mainly oriented to a long term revolutionary outlook by means of which the cases planned to increment their contribution to mobilize people and the international stakeholders by activities such as inviting troupes to promote for the national cause; a project coordinator in the of art and culture organization explained, *"we do not need to tell the international troupes about the checkpoints, they will learn about them once they experience that in reality".* So this case worked to enhance the

revolutionary vision through establishing national platforms to further stimulate volunteerism, artistic and folkloric production. We observed the same in the organization of health, which created unique objects such as health protocols, health campaigns, and health programs.

The long term planned objects realized during the first time period were guided by the industrial orientation, optimized for civic objectives. The industrial-based objects were justified as initiatives to establish assets that would reinforce the civic aspects in the long run. The civic aspects seen as practical attempts to achieve the principal value, which was to keep people on their land.

To summarize, the objects materialized in the cases of the first cluster included mostly infrastructure solid objects that intended to create national assets. Those objects furthermore delineated with the local institutional features either to enhance or alter them. The objects we underlined were considered by the cases to be the right affirmative action in relation to the perceived organizational role; which is liberation as a national vision contributing to the far-reaching statehood building efforts.

Having said that, the objects materialized during the first time period were utilized for civic purposes, yet, guided by industrial polity in terms of techniques and temporal orientation. The cases of the first cluster during the first time period succeeded in establishing a coherent relation between values and actions to eventually have high internal alignment.

The coherent relation between values and actions demanded valorizing certain types of people with specific qualifications.

People

Political awareness featured the organizational actors who mostly belonged to the first and second generation. This significantly influenced the organizational choices. For example, in the water and hydrology organization, it was necessary for organizational actors to be informed and sensitive to the issues of water in the struggles against Israeli occupation. The organizational actors of the cases during the first time period were well aware of the deliberate attempts of the Israeli occupation to exploit

resources such as water and agriculture and to impose restrictions in order to impede developing the respective sectors.

The actors shared collective convictions that they considered major requirements to be part of organizations. The quality of the actors was characterized by collective aspirations that transcended any individual pursuits. The previous general director of the art and culture organization asserted, *"we mobilized talented intellectual volunteers with aspirations to protect folklore and heritage"*. The collectivity-spirit and presuppositions of the actors largely enabled the cases to realize the civic-entrenched choices and further reflect the industrial-based orientations.

The organizational actors were well-known figures, intellectuals and political activists of good reputation; the coordinator of the schools' health care program[33] stated, *"the acceptance and access to schools obtained because of the previous GD, who was a well respectful figure"*. The long history of political activism and the massive targeting by the Israeli occupation through arrests, home and venues raids, unjust closures of offices and the hindrance of movement, enhanced the convictions of the actors and their acceptance by the local context.

The awareness of the actors, coupled with specialization and technical background, respect for the local context and the collective convictions, all contributed to the creation of national outlook and aspirations. The type of people valorized, played a fundamental role in carrying out the organizational actions in relation to the values.

To recapitulate, we observed the persuasive impact of these actors upon public opinion during the first time period. People who were valorized succeeded in establishing an influential relation based on respect and mutual support that connected the actors with the local community in shaping collective opinion. This demonstrates the integration of elements coming from fame polity.

In addition, the technical skills and qualifications demanded indicate that organizations embraced elements from the industrial polity, whereas the political awareness of the actors suggests the dominance of the civic polity.

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[33] Case 3 (HWC).

The type of people valorized empowered the cases during the first time period in order to show a consistent relation between the organizational values and actions. Eventually, the type of organizational actors in terms of awareness, skills and qualifications contributed to a high internal alignment during the first time period.

The fourth analytical element of the polities is time conception, which we analyze next.

Time conception

Globally, the patriotic revolutionary far-reaching outlook influenced the temporal orientations of the organizational actions. Our analysis of the values and objects significantly revealed the revolutionary vision of the organizations. During military events such as attacks and invasions, nonetheless, organizations were obliged to adjust the temporal orientation to establish objects that could effectively respond to the emerging needs accompanying the military events. As one of the dancers in the art and culture organization explained, *"the tragic happenings of the first Intifada generated shattered and devastated psychological emotions, so the festival was a space for Palestinians to live normally and be entertained"*.

The same temporal orientations were taken into account by the health organization as the director of administration and finance[34] stated, *"the checkpoints tightened the movement, and so we adjusted our focus to offer services for the isolated areas"*. The cases were flexible so as to alter the temporal orientation of the organizational interventions depending on the contextual jolts.

Planning the organizational actions with long-term orientations reveal that the cases comprised elements coming from the industrial polity, utilized, however, for civic objectives. The long-term oriented actions maintained the internal alignment high during the first time period.

To synthesize, decomposing the elements above proved the dominance of the civic polity, together with the industrial elements that functioned in a minor mode to serve civic objectives. Rather, we could argue that the civic polity played a major role that influenced the organizational decisions to incorporate certain elements from the

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[34] Also the deputy to general director.

industrial polity. The hybridization of the civic polity combined with the industrial elements led to shaping an ex-ante compromise that persisted for more than 20 years (1970s-1995).

The organizational actors intensively justified this ex-ante compromise around the political allegiance in its nationalistic nature, given the peculiarity of the Palestinian context as turbulent. Collective sense stimulated the actors to optimize objects for the collective cause and the common good. United around the collective worth, the cases were able to transcend individual interests to work for the national cause.

Working for the collective national cause implied mobilizing the scientific methods that were designed and implemented by specialized organizational actors. The cases applied scientific methods to create objects that responded to the socio-economic needs of the population. Work and productivity characterized the first time period and served to create realistic objects that served the collective cause.

A long-term orientation revealed that the cases synchronized their actions and objects with future planning principles. The valorized people demonstrated unique qualities combined of specialization in terms of knowledge and skills, and civic foundations, which led to formulate objectives with clear plans and progress towards the collective cause.

The combination of the civic polity along with some elements from the industrial elements shaped the ex-ante compromise. This ex-ante compromise established the foundation for the cases to justify their choices and orientations, and to manage the debates that were provoked later around the political allegiance.

The basis of managing the political allegiance emerged from the collective-based outlook and aspirations, which was considered as a superior principle, under which all narrow interests were reduced. This was accompanied by an emphasis on the ideological foundation and political awareness as fundamental underpinning for any organizational choices. We synthesize the main components within the first cluster during the first time period in the table (5.1).

Table (5.1): the first cluster during the first time period: (1970s-1995)

	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 6
Political allegiance	Debated	Confused	Confused	Debated
Values	Common good, mobilization, volunteerism: *(civic)*	Well being, bias to poor: *(civic)*	Common good, volunteerism, mobilization, protection of heritage, prioritization of less privileged segments *(civic)*	Response to socio-economic needs, volunteerism, *(civic)*
Objects	e.g. Lands reclaimed, agriculture roads *(Industrial+civic)*	e.g. Health protocols *(industrial+ civic)*	e.g. musical archive, PIF: *(industrial+civic)*	e.g. infrastructure projects- data bank, springs & wells rehabilitated: *(industrial+civic)*
People	Volunteering specialized agronomists, political awareness, ideological foundation: *(industrial+civic)*	Volunteering medical doctors, nurses-well known figures: *(industrial+fame)*	Volunteering diverse talents, e.g. dancers, poets, writers-well known figures: *(industrial+fame)*	Volunteering Geologists, engineers, political awareness, ideological foundation *(industrial+civic)*
Time conception	Long term-revolutionary vision: *(civic)*	Long term revolutionary vision+ short term in military events: *(civic)*	Long term revolutionary+ short term in military events: *(civic)*	Long term-revolutionary vision: *(civic)*
Internal alignment	**Civic polity as overarching principle + industrial orientation= high internal alignment**			

The first cluster (cases: 2, 3, 4, 6)

The second time period (1996-2015)

Political allegiance

The cases were transformed over time through a number of phases. A critical transformation occurred regarding the patriotic political allegiance. The cases of this cluster started largely to confuse the broad political allegiance with the narrow interests of the political parties. The organizational actors started to refuse the interference of the political parties, and further confuse that interference with the cases' engagement in contributing to the national vision.

As the contextual changes accelerated, the cases decided to distance politics from social action claiming that this was necessary for the new phase. The programs director in the agriculture organization argued, *"we need to stop improvising based on political considerations".* The cases consequently de-politicized their work and started to re-shape a different compromise from the ex-ante one that had centered on the historical political allegiance.

The de-politicization of the social action and so the tension with the ex-ante compromise that was shaped around politics featured the changes of the cases of the first cluster during the first time period. This eventually implied critical changes at the level of the four analytical components of polities. The gaps in the internal alignment were the stimulating lead to observe those changes.

In brief, the gaps we spotted in the internal alignment of this cluster mostly clashed with the ex-ante compromise that rested on the political allegiance as a major principle. To investigate how the ex-ante compromise competed, we systematically unpacked the same elements of the polities (values, objects, people, and the time conception). Unpacking these elements reveals the transformation along with internal critical moments that grew to confront the ex-ante compromise.

Values

The organizational values were transformed during the second time period although they are considered as a major pillar that shaped the ex-ante compromise. One of the

major values that was hugely transformed was volunteerism; the branch manager in the hydrology and water organization affirmed, *"volunteerism was a key value, we were working extra time without looking for any return, nowadays, even the members of the governance structure ask for money for the membership"*. The organizational actors repeatedly stressed that abandoning volunteerism was connected to changes in the global spirit of people to give and dedicate time for others.

The director of administration and finance in the health organization stated, *"volunteerism declined massively, before we had a very strong collective "WE" spirit and managed to face the challenges of being under occupation, now as the "I" spirit prevails we feel defeated and not ready to volunteer"*. The decline of volunteerism as a hallmark of organizations marked the growth of individualistic values that were justified as necessary for survival. Individual interests with the growing of the "I" spirit, globally replaced the "WE" spirit.

Shifts, furthermore, were observed in the way in which organizations, volunteers and local communities perceived volunteerism. It became less vital and less tempting for the local communities to participate or to welcome volunteering activities.

A prominent example of the shift is demonstrated in the rejection of the free medical days; a director of medical center in health organization explained, *"we had been organizing free medical days and people enormously attended for checkups and warmly welcomed the doctors, nowadays, we intensively publicize the medical days and invite very good doctors, but people do not come"*. The participatory volunteering ethos changed at the national level, negatively influencing the acceptance of the local community of volunteering activities. The local community, moreover, started to doubt the efforts of the organizations and therefore reject them.

Volunteers furthermore expressed their dissatisfaction regarding their neglect in decision-making. The paid staff, in opposition, replaced volunteers who became executors for limited activities, consequently de-motivating volunteers from giving their time. The concept of voluntarism as the backbone of the historical evolution of social action was thus lost.

This decline provoked an important theoretical discussion to rethink the role of volunteerism in Palestinian society. The historical evolution of voluntarism and its

integration within the national movement moved away from being the crucial institutional alternative to the occupying power and the mobilization of people against occupation. The shift marked a clear separation of the actual voluntary support from the national movement with a new focus on rhetoric claiming that historical values, in particular, sustained mobilization and liberation.

The transformation of volunteerism was mainly shaped by internal factors at the intra-organizational level and the evolution of the larger social and political structures, but was also propelled by external forces such as the growing influence of the international community, which led to the construction of new values, as now we explain.

The growth of external funding generated new values represented mostly by the rejection of the USAID fund and its obligatory requirement of the so-called ATC[35]. The programs director in the agriculture organization emphasized; *"we do not take funds from US at all, this is our value which we would strive to maintain"*. Despite the absolute rejection of USAID funds, we spotted some contradictory views from informants who doubted the organizational commitment to actually apply ATC as a new value.

The public relations officer in the health organization indicated, *"it is forbidden to sign the vetting but in reality, I think we take indirectly, as some sources of our funds come through donors who already signed the ATC"*. The new values constructed, given the new reality, were focused on by the organizations when talking about values. The rhetorical emphasis on the new values generated internal doubts regarding the real application of the new values.

To synthesize the values component, we observed during the second time period that the cases of the first cluster radically abandoned the actual application of the organizational values. Notably, volunteerism lost its original spirit and was replaced with individualism driven values. The decline of volunteerism was inevitably triggered by radical political developments and the growth of external funding. This essentially pushed for de-politicization of the social action and so the values of

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[35] Anti-Terrorist Contract; that condemns Palestinian resistance as terrorism, and so discriminate the beneficiaries on that basis.

mobilization and liberation. The changes in values suggest that the civic polity was abandoned by the cases in this cluster and started to incorporate a different polity.

Objects

During the second time period, the cases started to integrate new interventions in correspondence with the donor-promoted areas of interest. Essentially, the organizational actors acknowledged that although they had to comply with the international thematic areas of interest, huge efforts had been invested to re-interpret and re-define those areas of interest. In many situations, the actors had to accept many projects but re-frame and adjust their content. Examples include working on areas C, as in the organizations of agriculture, hydrology and water.

Integrating the new interventions were justified as new possibilities in order to achieve the ultimate national value, namely liberation and steadfastness. However, the justifications were critically doubted at the intra-organizational level; a program coordinator in the organization of agriculture made the criticism, *"it is just a claim that we still work for our liberation, we work for what is more fundable"*.

Furthermore, organizations changed the labels of the projects in order to conceal their content when they did not fall within the donors' interests. By framing certain interventions in a way that accommodated the donors' political views, organizations already shifted their political national standpoint.

The new interventions introduced as part of proposals that reflect the donors' priorities within each sector, provoked more internal debates questioning the relation between those interventions and the historical organizational roles. The financial director in the hydrology and water organization posed the question, *"what is the link between distributing sheep, reconstructing demolished houses, or giving small grants for supermarkets and our organizational role"*. Essentially, debating the new interventions entailed questioning their relevance to the mandate and the original organizational roles.

The debatable interventions were justified as a way to present real models and set the standards for initiatives. The organization of health established community based rehabilitation centers for specific segments such as children, disable and elderly

people. In other situations, the organizational actors tried to connect new interventions to the common good claiming that they were only labeled differently. These types of justifications, nonetheless, generated more confusion and tension.

The funded based interventions caused multi-layered effects on organizations and the external context, which accelerated more internal debates. A program coordinator in the water and hydrology organization argued, *"we divided up our people into competing groups of beneficiaries"*. External funding, according to the organizational actors, dangerously segregated people and generated aggressive competition over the benefits that organizations could offer rather than what was needed. A branch manager in the water and hydrology organization explained, *"once I approached one of the villages' councils to construct an underground water network and the council immediately approved the project, to discover later that there were other networks that were not optimized"*.

At the intra-organizational level, external funding changed the focus of organizations, making their initial local based interventions compete with the fundable agendas. A previous employee[36] at the organization of art and culture criticized, *"I tend to believe that funding transformed our organizations into activities implementers"*. Despite actors criticizing external funding and denouncing its negative effects, they accepted it as a new regime. Accepting the new regime entailed hope, as justified by actors that donors could potentially help in the Palestinian liberation quest. The donors, however, co-opted the humanitarian argument and often reduced it to a narrow scope such as food aid, as the example of work for food[37] suggests.

Accepting external funds, acknowledged as problematic, brought to light a central paradox that actors justified as necessary for economic survival especially in situations where organizations experienced financial crises. The financial crises therefore produced powerful forces to re-orient the organizational mentality to integrate pragmatic attempts that could resolve such crises. And so the economic aspects became the major pretext for justifying the new interventions.

The cases entered a new phase of a complex form of dependency practiced through external funding justified as necessary for economic survival. The external donors

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[36] Currently a member of GA
[37] One of the controversial projects in the organization of agriculture.

who imposed interventions aligned with their thematic interests practiced a new form of hegemony over the cases. Accepting interventions conceptualized by external actors marked a critical shift and an intensive entry into the aid systems.

The organizational aim of embracing a developmental vision highlighted the justification of the new interventions. Although development generated dialectic debates, few opponents believed that development was irrelevant to the local occupied context. The director of community development in health organization criticized, *"it is actually societal work but the labels and frames are not accurate when we say it is development work, sometimes I feel we are just a constellation of contradictions"*.

A relevant view in the organization of art and culture regarding (PDP) was sarcastically expressed by a program coordinator, *"I was completely against this program, it is not our role, I believe these kinds of programs were incorporated just for the sake of funding, there is no development while we depend on others' pockets"*.

The contrary views essentially associated development with external funding, and argued that organizations had been quick to co-opt with the development calls conceptualized by external donors. The external conceptualization of development ignored the contextual local features and presented development as a standardized term. External donors introduced the standardized development as part of exercising power. As a result, the national based development with its patriotic orientation eliminated the national based development term with its patriotic orientation associated with the efforts to maintain people on the land.

Development in its national conceptualization associated with the civic orientation prevailed during the first time period, was presented by the informants to spot the shifts. Thus, the new term of development conceptualized by international donors, accelerated the evolution of the organizational orientation into market polity during this second time period.

In relation to the external imposition, we observed new objects to include training programs, training manuals, campaigns, demonstrations, conferences, and new implementation tools such as questionnaires. The new objects were new tools presented as requirements to win external funds. These new objects burdened and

distanced the cases of investing in technical creative items. A program coordinator in the organization of agriculture criticized, "*unfortunately, I work on administrative and logistical matter, reporting, ordering sandwiches for irrelevant training seminars, no time for the technical part I'm supposed to do*".

In addition to the new tools that were presented as requirements for external funds, the cases notably worked on several campaigns in advocacy and rights-based campaigns, gender trainings and workshops. Consequently, the cases eliminated the focus on creating solid infrastructure objects.

To summarize, we remarked that the cases of the first cluster over time produced different types of objects that put new elements[38] in different configurations. The new elements with the different configurations were aimed at different objectives as they were introduced through external funds and justified as the new rules of the game.

Along with the changes in objects that accompanied the external funding, we screened the tactics, reasons, and effects of the changes, especially at the intra-organizational level. In so doing, we highlighted the type of justifications constructed by the organizational actors to explain the new objects. As part of the justifications, we underlined the internal contradictions and tensions amongst the actors.

Unpacking the objects evidently exposed the growth of the market polity as a result of the political developments and the evolution of the external funding. The prevalence of the market polity combined differently with elements coming from the industrial polity to comply with the donors' requirements, whereas elements coming from the civic polity served different objectives such as advocacy against the PNA.

Accordingly, the growth of the market polity with the new combination abandoned the former compromise and the organizational actors failed to shape a new one. We noted the failure of the organizational capacity to collectively shape an alternative compromise through tensions and contradictions. Consequently, we realized that the internal alignment of the first cluster during the second time period was significantly degraded.

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[38] Especially trainings, advocacy campaigns, gender-based violence, etc.

People

A new type of people joined NPOs at different levels. At the governance level, new members from different backgrounds were invited. The introduction of new people was extensively debated and considered to be one of the shifting factors that transformed the organizational ideology and mentality.

For example the BODs diversified to include members from the private sector, justifying as necessary the introduction of commercial and promotional aspects, which in return would establish new contacts for sponsorship. The general director of the art and culture organization argued, *"people who for example represent private sectors helped the center to obtain sponsorship, add value and expand perspectives"*.

Integrating new members was justified as a way to potentially expand financial and relational resources. Yet, these members indicated the rise in the values of self-interest and the opportunistic aspirations of obtaining materialistic rewards.

The cases strived to justify the changes in the type of the people valorized as a way to adhere to the organizational values and visions. The director of the women's health program argued *"the new members could help us to bring back the focus on values, there is a tendency to have more systematic influence on the society"*. In other words, the inclusion of new members was justified by the possibilities of saving interests, establishing new relations, expanding horizons of fundraising opportunities, and eventually helping the cases to meet the emerging financial challenges.

At the operational level, the paid staff replaced volunteers and the recruitment basis varied based on the projects. Along with the projects-based contracts we observed the core contracts. The core contracts were considered more secured, although paid less, but with more connection to the organizational roots.

The projects-based contracts employees were recruited on short or medium term basis depending on the projects timeline, which raised the issues of convictions, belongings and connection to the organizational history.

The program director in the hydrology and water organization indicated that projects-contracts created internal instability, *"projects' orientation implied recruiting a few*

employees whose contracts terminated based on the projects' life cycle. The staff size inflated at some point and then dropped to 10". The projects-based contracts required soft skills, languages and networking, which meant high salaries, although short, insecure and unstable.

The new paid actors represented a new working class, which was largely oriented on earning money, seeking benefits and possessing more objects. The benefit-based orientations of the actors, significantly, detached them from one another and from the domestic collective concerns, eventually generating a serious rupture within the cases as well as at the context level.

The two types of contracts implied the existence of different generations, which caused tensions as the norms and beliefs of the different generations clashed. The clashing norms represented different orientations due to the transition from old management to new. In the new management, according to the director of land reclamation program in the agriculture organization, *"we became numbers oriented, with more paper work, financial planning, however, this is not the required approach if you want to work with farmers"*. The director of one of the medical centers in the organization of health commented, *"the new generation and management resonates with the funding logic, however, the technical field work is the key which made the old philosophy succeed"*.

The differences and clashes between the old and new management accelerated the transition of the organizational configurations from grassroots to professional entities. Professional configurations advocated for formalization, planning and institutionalization, while grassroots constructed on collective outlook and actions, technicality and adherence to values and norms as integral foundations.

In brief, our analysis of the new types of people valorized during the second time period for the cases of the first cluster, clearly suggests the growth of the market polity and the defeat of the civic as a dominant polity. Inviting new members from the private sector to the governance entities, injected the cases with new orientations based on benefits and business.

Valorizing the new type of actors at the operational level facilitated the dominance of the market polity as a new ruling principle. The dominance of the market polity

permeated social action in Palestine, which evolved as competitive spaces for winning funds from external resources.

The market perspective defeated the civic polity as the organizational actors disconnected with the collective national roots, who also started to lend themselves to the market opportunities. Furthermore, the growth of the market polity merged with elements coming from the industrial polity. However, those elements were observed to be used as requirements for external funds.

The new paid actors with different backgrounds and orientations caused frequent internal tensions and largely forced the cases to give up the civic polity as an overarching principle. Given the tensions and disagreements over the incorporation of the market polity, we assessed internal alignment low during the second time period. We next address the time conception.

Time conception

The conception of time also changed; as the finance director in the organization of hydrology and water stated, *"we mostly depend on funding, we have no sustainability and all our interventions are projects based"*. The short-term orientation of interventions prevailed across the four cases and heavily depended on funding opportunities.

The deputy of the general director in the organization of health hopelessly mentioned, *"we became funds-dependent, even our creative ideas, which are necessary for our struggle are all subject to funding, mobile clinics are evident examples"*. The short-temporal orientation of the interventions featured the second period. The projects became key variables in shaping the new reality of social action and deciding whether the interventions could continue over a given timeline or not.

On many occasions the projects were considered as rewarding achievements for both actors and cases; an advocacy and lobbying officer in the agriculture organization stated, *"I was promoted because I succeeded in writing three proposals that won external funds, I'm proud and happy about this achievement"*. With the dominance of the market polity, the actors became agents who intensively strove to earn external

funds. Interestingly, we noted that organizations with powerful financial capacity were perceived as influential and central within the institutional field.

Because projects became oriented to the short-term and were subject to termination, the cases became confined to external funds. The short-term conception was justified as part of the funding rules that organizations needed to conform with in order to secure financial resources. Weighing the quest for financial resources became an integral part of the social action in Palestine, which gradually contested the socio-economic revolutionary quest. In some cases, actors justified this shift by highlighting attempts in responding, within the projects scope, to certain contextual jolts such as the separation wall and checkpoints.

The changes in temporal conception from long-term revolutionary based objects to short-term based on the external funds reinforced the shift from the civic polity to market polity. The organizational actors, however, failed to build a compromise around this shift. We synthesize the main components within the first cluster during the second time period in table (5.2).

Table (5.2): the first cluster during the second time period: (1996-2015)

	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 6
Political allegiance	Confused	Confused	Limited	Confused
Values	Socio-economic needs in the military events: *(civic)* Volunteerism receded: *(market prevalence)* Rejection of ATC: *(civic)*	Volunteerism receeded, bias to poor, well-being: *(civic+ market)* Rejection of ATC: *(civic)*	Volunteerism limited: *(market)* Rejection of ATC: *(civic)*	Socio-economic needs, in the military events: *(civic)* Volunteerism receded: *(market)* Rejection of ATC: *(civic)*

Objects	e.g. infrastructure objects training programs, campaigns: *(industrial+market)*	e.g. campaigns, conferences, seminars: *(Market+civic terms)*	e.g. PIF, teaching Dabke: *(market+civic)*	e.g. infrastructure objects, training programs, campaigns: *(industrial+ market)*
People	Paid specialized staff + Technocrat, soft skills e.g. languages, networking: *(industrial+market)*	Paid specialized staff, health educators, PR, media officers, fundraising: *(industrial+ market)*	Paid staff, mostly projects coordinators, external volunteers in the time of PIF: *(industrial+ market)*	Paid specialized staff + Technocrat, soft skills e.g. languages: *(industrial+ market)*
Time conception	Short tem projects: *(market)*	Short term: *(market)*	Short term: *(market)*	Short term projects: *(market)*
Internal alignment	**Market polity+ industrial orientation as requirements for the market polity clashed** **with the ex-ante compromise = low internal alignment**			

Synthesis on cluster 1

We observed that the cases during the second time period embraced new values such as refusing conditional funding, creating training and campaigns instead of infrastructure objects, valorized actors equipped with soft skills and was dominated by short term-based projects. These dramatic changes suggest the dominance of the market polity as the new ruling principle across the cases of this cluster.

The dominance of the market polity was paired with elements coming from the industrial polity. To be precise, the organizational actors highlighted a few terms and concepts such as professionalism, efficiency, planning and institutionalization. Yet the combination of those elements was used as a means of complying with the requirements of the external funding. The market polity associated with the industrial

orientations eventually competed with the former civic polity. The cases of this cluster, however, failed to shape a compromise around a new combination of polities.

We observed the organizational failure to shape a compromise during the second time period through critical debates, and the dissatisfaction and tensions around the new combination of the polities. Consequently, the internal alignment critically changed from high to low. We therefore interpret the evolution of the internal alignment through the failure of the first cluster, during the second time period, to justify the new combination of the market polity as the superior principle combined with the industrial elements.

The second cluster (case 1)

The first time period (1993-2003)

Political allegiance

The organization of supportive education and scientific innovation declared its detachment from any political engagement, and developed a mission primarily founded upon personal passion. This organization intended to pursue its mission in a professional and science based approach that was featured as independent of any engagement in politics or affiliation with the local political parties.

The programs director confidently highlighted that the organizational approach had no political perspective, *"no engagement in politics, our scope of work is education, we do not want to interfere or engage in politics"*. Interestingly, the blunt declaration of the non-political affiliation did not generate any intimidation by the local context.

On the contrary, the declaration was deliberately conveyed to relieve the local stakeholders (e.g. the parents) of any political engagement; the programs director asserted, *"I think this is one of our strengths that we do not belong to political parties, we just want to serve our nation, and we had to assuage the concern of parents that we work with their children only in education, and we have nothing to do with politics"*. Hence, there was no political disassociation of this case, which interestingly was accepted by the local context, unlike the former situation with the other cases.

This case emerged later in time when the overall political system started to decline, and the local community obviously favored the non-political initiatives.

The non-political engagement of this case, however, was not shared collectively at the intra-organizational level. Rather, as we will explain later, the non-political engagement generated critical contradictory moments during the second time period, which contributed to the failure of the first case in shaping a collective compromise.

We proceed next to deconstruct the main analytical elements of the polities to understand why we assessed the internal alignment low over the two time periods.

Values

This case was founded with the aim of developing a new culture of scientific education through teaching logical thinking and enhancing competences in science and technology that could eventually provide youth with economic opportunities.

On the basis of personal conviction, the organizational belief system was developed further and was justified as a way to serve the nation, as stated by the founder,[39] *"I was very passionate about physics and technology, I wanted to serve the nation and benefit the students".* The organizational interventions were designed accordingly and framed with inspirational attempts to create interrelated interventions to enhance productivity and logical thinking in schools.

The type of values this case embraced suggests that the industrial polity prevailed coupled with elements coming from the inspired polity. Generally, the promotion of logical and critical thinking was not applied within this organization. The actors stressed that there was disparity between what was said and what was done; more precisely, the disparity between the working values and the actions.

Most importantly, we observed gaps and contradictions between the convictions of the staff and the real practices, especially in the critical thinking, the type of organizational structure and the declared non-political engagement. This accordingly contributed to the low internal alignment.

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[39] He is also the general director and the CEO.

We interpret the low internal alignment as arising from the failure of this case to reach a collective compromise.

Objects

Launching the organizational interventions was in line with the founder's announcement, which featured professional actors. A program coordinator affirmed, *"we work more than we talk, and we translate what we say in action, we started to fulfill our vision, the incubation is one of the demonstrations"*.

A few actors, however, criticized the interventions, especially the MIP, considering it an irrelevant idea, the programs director[40] questioned, *"let's be honest, what kind of inventions are we talking about, the program is just related to the passion of the founder"*. Such types of interventions are forms of gambling by the founder with less consideration for the local context. This furthermore, revealed the collective organizational inability to entirely embrace the logic and rationale of the organizational business, which was more inherent in the mind of the founder.

The approach of the interventions in terms of producing plans and timelines aligned with the industrial orientation, however, a benefitting school stated, *"that was not the plan, what we achieved was one step out of three, it was not clear for us what happened, the program was stopped all of a sudden without notice"*. The sudden termination of the program critically put in question the planning principle as the basis of industrial orientations.

Violating the planning principle clearly contradicted what the program coordinator affirmed, *"we wanted to sustain our work, to help the schools, we did not want to hit and run like other organizations"*. The professional approach did not enable the case to deal with the contradictory situations that had emerged due to the misalignment with certain elements such as planning.

More unique objects were produced, such as educational games, tutorial workshops and learning objects which the benefitting stakeholders affirmed as essential, *"learning objects are important, however, we only developed one unit of the curriculum which is not enough"*. The organization also established facilities, such as

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[40] She is the sister of the founder.

technology labs, which they integrated them into the schools with the aim of creating a proper environment for integrating technology in education.

The different stakeholders such as the ministry of education and the schools praised the technology labs. One of the schools that benefitted said, *"the labs are a lively facility for the teachers and the students alike"*. The type of the objects, especially the labs, demonstrated inspiration as the highest principle.

To summarize, the founder of this case conveyed emotional attachment and passion to create learning objects. He attempted to justify the objects, despite the refusal of the local context, and repeatedly referred to the awkward educational system, and the necessity of abandoning it in favor of integrating the new objects. The inspired imaginative objects could be considered as an attempt to first disrupt the connection with the existing objects in the targeted field, and second, to establish the organizational path.

Breaking the relation with the targeted field was inevitable in order to pave the way for launching the unique objects. In justifying these objects, the inspired founder was not reluctant to describe them as "crazy" in relation to what exists. The inspired basis of this case was notably combined with the industrial orientation, however, this combination was not collectively constructed or validated, and rather it primarily existed in the founder's head. Having said this, we could not spot any organizational compromise on the basis of the combination of polities we just identified.

People

This case valorized young actors, specialized mainly in science and engineering, who had fresh professional experience. The founder stressed, *"my objective was to recruit and mobilize fresh graduates specialized only in science without any direct connections with the political parties"*. The organizational actors notably revealed less engagement and unfounded awareness in the political affairs.

Despite their minimal experience, a few actors expressed a reflective outlook, based on their personal experiences with the local educational system. This generated aspirations close to the founder's aspirations and enthusiasm about participating in creating and introducing creative objects that could improve the educational system.

Few actors expressed their enthusiasm over the interventions, however, as doubts began to emerge as to their efficacy, and due to the lack of collective compromise, contradictions were not resolved.

Given that people valorized for this case were specialized and focused on professional aspects, we detected the prevalence of the industrial polity as a major ruling principle. The industrial polity was combined with elements coming from the inspired polity.

We conclude that this case, in the context of the doubts and criticism expressed by the actors around the organizational interventions and the overall approach, revealed deficiency in shaping a collective compromise.

Time conception

As this organization is the youngest amongst the other sample cases, many contextual jolts occurred after its establishment. The age of the organization essentially influenced the temporal orientation, in pursuing long-term objects.

The creative objects were oriented with a long-term outlook to construct a sufficient foundation for additional long-term progression. The founder clarified, *"I intended to create sustainable objects that could potentially become important assets for the educational system"*. The long-term orientation of the objects indicated that the incorporation of the industrial polity was combined with elements from the inspired polity.

We conclude the analysis of this case during the first period by emphasizing that the industrial polity adopted to rule the organizational choices and approaches, nonetheless was paired with elements from the inspired polity. The inspired-based elements were clearly demonstrated by the dedication of the founder who strived to materialize unfamiliar objects aimed at transforming the educational system in the local context.

This case fell short in building a collective compromise and so having low internal alignment during the first time period. We synthesize the main components within the second cluster during the first time period in table (5.3).

Table (5.3): the second cluster during the first time period (1993-2003)

	Case 1
Political Allegiance	Distance from politics
Values	Scientific innovation, serve the nation- improve the educational system: *(industrial+civic)*
Objects	Learning objects, educational games: *(inspiration)*
People	Paid Specialized in biology, chemistry, and engineering: *(industrial polity)*
Time conception	Long term: *(industrial polity)*
Internal alignment	**Industrial polity+ inspiration=low internal alignment**

The second cluster (Case 1)

The second time period: (2004-2015)

Political allegiance

The case launched its organizational activities and opened a branch in GS. The decision to open the office was made solely by the founder, who said,*"I was so upset by what happened and could not blame any side, that my anger led me to open the office, because I believed that professional connections based on common interests, science, technology and creativity are the key to unite WB and GS".* This justification was guided by civic objectives paired with industrial orientation as the potential way to influence politics in the local context.

The justifications, however, entailed a critical contradictory position to the early announcement regarding the strict non-political engagement. Furthermore, the sudden engagement in politics shown in launching the office in GS, clearly contradicted the position which the founder took against some actors.

Some actors were asked to resign; a former employee explained, *"I resigned because I was asked to resign, as I'm politically active, and that was not accepted especially*

when participating in demonstrations, and the founder attempted to isolate us from the external context". Banning the actors from engaging in politics, while taking an important organizational decision influenced by politics, caused contradictions and confusions resulting in internal critical gaps which this case could not handle.

In the events of the attacks on GS, the organization limited its reactions to organize campaigns of fundraising and donations for the affected people. The actors, however, were not allowed to engage in actions against the attacks such as protesting; as a program coordinator said, *"we were working in our offices, but to me, it was very contradictory because I did not feel any value in my work compared with what happened in GS".* In light of this, we could argue that this case was oriented to the market polity, epitomized in collecting donations for the people affected by the attacks. Collecting donations was essentially considered enough by the actors[41].

However, adopting the market elements to interact with the jolts did not resolve the contradictions regarding the political allegiance. This once again exposed the failure of this case to construct a collective compromise for managing emerging contradictions.

In brief, this case did not show internal consistency with the declaration of the non-political allegiance. On the one hand, the actors stressed the fact that the attempt was to work in education only without any engagement in politics. On the other, the founder prohibited the actors from engaging in popular collective activities such as the demonstrations, while taking a decision to launch activities in GS because of the political developments. Such a decision confused the actors and resulted in many contradictions.

Values

The mission later moved towards developing a new culture of scientific education through logical thinking, integration technology in teaching science, in order to eventually provide youth with economic opportunities.

Specialization, science and innovation sustained as the organizational mission and concept was praised by the public relations officer, *"we are succeeding, and this is*

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[41] Mainly the founder who considered that good alternative to other popular collective actions such as protests.

because the work remained specialized in education, and so we obtained credibility and trust". Based on personal dedication, this case further catalyzed its belief system and justified it as a way to serve the nation and benefit the students through improving their logical thinking capacity.

We detected the growth of internal contradictions around the internal policies. Examples included the detailed directive manuals produced mostly by the founder, which left only a tiny space for other actors to make decisions; a previous program coordinator complained, *"I resigned because of the type of management, the new systems, and the load exceeded my capacity"*.

Furthermore, the founder possessed strictly the control and conveyed the power within the manuals. A former employee signaled, *"the new manuals have been contradictory to our declared working values, to create, innovate and criticize"*. The founder-centric based interventions made the criticism, *"it is a mistake to focus all future directions around the founder, he seems to be the major player"* as reflected by a member of the GA.

In brief, maintaining the specialization in education with a marked tendency to materialize unique objects as a way to serve the nation prevailed as the main organizational values over time. That said, this case sustained the industrial polity as a dominant polity but was combined with elements coming from the inspired polity.

Despite the fact that this case maintained the same polities' combination regarding the values, the internal alignment remained low during the second time period given the contradictions and confusions the actors faced over what was said and done. This precisely applied to the concentration of power in the hands of the founder, which was clearly in contradiction with the critical thinking that the founder had promoted.

Objects

The unfamiliar objects materialized included public facilities such as the Science House and the Scientific Park. The two facilities were held to be essential to establish science culture; the coordinator of the science house stated, *"the science house provides the teachers and students with the opportunity to get exposed to a scientific environment and comprehend the models of physics, chemistry and biology"*.

Exhibitions, competitions and international exchanges of the innovators with NASA emerged as new objects as well. These types of objects reflect the industrial orientation of this case.

Despite this, we captured new orientations referring to a hybridization of market polity and fame polity that informed the objects. The fame polity was observed through the communication objects that intensely produced and disseminated brand organizational messages, such as innovation, technology and critical thinking. The objects included videos, brochures, the active presence of the founder and other actors in the local media.

The intensive launch of objects indicated the growth of financial resources, which demonstrated immense engagement and fundraising activities. As we learned during our research stay, the general director succeeded in launching new interventions and expanded many others thanks to the wide relational networks that he succeeded in establishing.

The relational networks introduced the general director to fundraising opportunities, which enhanced the growth of the market polity. A former projects' coordinator commented, *"look, by the end of the day this organization became like other NPOs; mostly concerned about funds"*. The growth of the market polity enabled this case to expand and obtain fame. The hybridization prevailed during the second time period, which consisted of industrial polity along with the market polity and the fame orientation.

The growth of the market polity essentially indoctrinated the aspirations of the actors who declared that writing fundable proposals was one of the most promising skills that would help the organization to win more resources. One of the branch managers stated, *"it is one of my ambitions to write a proposal on my own that could yield generous funds"*. The motivation of the actors to earn money through proposals as a milestone of personal development demonstrates the radical growth of the market polity.

To conclude, we observed the notable growth of the market polity that combined with the fame elements to expand[42] and exist across the Palestinian territories. The market

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[42] The expansion appetite stimulated due to the difficulties encountered in the establishment phase earlier in time.

polity and the fame polity mixed with the industrial polity especially in terms of specialization. We grasped the lack of collective compromise through the internal contradictions, disagreement and criticism raised by a few actors especially in relation to the immense growth of the market polity and fame polity.

People

The composition of the paid staff remained the same in terms of attracting specialized staff in science and engineering, mostly fresh graduates. Positions like public relations and fundraising were updated as well.

Nonetheless, we noticed changes at the governance level, as the founder invited new members from the private sector. The new members allowed this case to obtain access to more fiscal and relational resources. Inviting members from the private sector aligned with the market pursuits unlocked new opportunities for funds and the expansion of networks and connections.

To summarize, the prevalence of the market polity determined organizational choices such as the new members at the governance level. The market polity in combination with the industrial polity did not lead to a collective compromise.

Time conception

The creative objects materialized by this case were mostly oriented to a long-term outlook. The aim for pursuing long-term objects was connected to the founder's inspiration to integrate technology in education.

It should be highlighted that this case, due to its youth, did not experience a lot of contextual jolts, and so the organizational responses to contextual jolts were limited.

The temporal orientation of this case remained mainly influenced by the industrial polity. We synthesize in table (5.4) the evolution of the components in the second cluster during the second time period.

Table (5.4): the second cluster during the second time period (2004-2015)

	Case 1
Political allegiance	Distance from politics but failed to shape a compromise
Values	Scientific innovation, serve the nation- improve the educational system: *(industrial+civic)*
Objects	Science house, scientific park, technology labs, exhibitions, competitions, international visits-NASA: *(market+fame)*
People	Paid Specialized biology, chemistry, engineers, PR officer: *(industrial+market polity)*
Time conception	Long term: *(industrial polity)*
Internal alignment	**Industrial polity+market with fame orientation=low internal alignment**

Synthesis on cluster 2

The fame orientation started to play an important role within this case. The founder aspired to be recognized internally and externally, desired attention and recognition, and narcissistically produced his brand messages that reflected his individual paths. Strangely, the accelerated incorporation of the fame elements were seen in the intensive productions of communications with the targeted audience.

The production of communication was observed through films, regular interviews, exhibitions, competitions, brochures, leaflets and flyers. It was also associated with big names such as NASA, which conferred this case with power, visibility and recognition. The relations, recognition, networks and expansion entirely contributed to the virtue of the reputation this case created.

Combining these orientations with industrial and market polities, however, did not enable the organization to formulate a collective compromise to justify actions and to manage internal debates. The internal debates, contradictions and dissatisfaction that we observed designate the low internal alignment across the two time periods.

The third cluster: (Case 5)

The first time period: (1970s-1995)

Political allegiance

The organization of law and human rights established by competent lawyers who initiated legal activities to demonstrate the violations of the occupying power were based on robust legal research which, conducted without political connection with the local political parties, created domestic doubts.

Indeed, this case established distinguished international connections that increased the domestic doubts. Consequently, it was challenging for the organizational actors to launch activities without domestic recognition with the result that the actors had to approach the Supreme National Palestinian Movement to obtain its approval and eventually popular domestic recognition.

The organization was based on a national revolutionary outlook to address the violations of human rights produced by the Israeli occupation. These violations included, for example, eviction, displacement for constructing a massive number of settlements, and administrative detention. On that basis, the organizational mandate was conceptualized; to protect Palestinians from violations and to disclose human rights violations to the international community in a professional and legal approach.

Disclosing human rights violations was based on the rule of law and the standards of international human rights and humanitarian law. The organizational mandate translated accordingly into particular interventions to include legal research, documentation, advocacy, accountability and capacity building to tackle the violations of the individual and collective rights of Palestinians, irrespective of the identity of the perpetrator.

As this organization did not connect directly with any specific political party, we did not recognize narrow political allegiance. Rather it is the broad political allegiance that featured in this case across the two time periods and determined its organizational directions and choices.

Values

The establishment of the organization of law and human rights was driven by the values of equality and the welfare of Palestinians. Disclosures of human rights' violations were made using accredited international legal tools, as stated by the previous general director, *"to reveal the Israeli violations in a professional and accurate way and outreach the international community to show what is going on in reality"*. The lawyers who volunteered to launch the initiative collectively shared these beliefs.

However, some public figures doubted the quest of international humanitarian law as the major battlefield against Israeli violations. The volunteering lawyers argued for the non-feasibility of the political solution. The argument in question was supported by evidence from seminal work, which showed the false interpretation and exploitation of the rule of law by Israelis. This accordingly facilitated the birth of this organization mandated to legally reveal the Israeli violations.

The organizational mandate was to discredit the Israeli claim that its governance was premised on law, one of the founders emphasized, *"our project was to conduct an in-depth analysis, to show how the occupying power was using law as a tool to implement policy objectives that were themselves illegal"*. The organization therefore invested in legal research supported by documentation to challenge the Israeli claims.

The organizational actors stressed on the trademark approach to *"deliver precise and objective assessment of violations delivered in a professional, politically free language"*, as highlighted by the director of local accountability department. Accuracy, precision and free-charged language of politics or affiliations were adopted as the basis of the belief system of this organization.

Many military events occurred in the local context and complex issues emerged accordingly, such as the killing of collaborators and armed attacks against civilian targets. This case therefore engaged in critical internal debates around the organizational standpoints.

The debates ended simply by refusing to kill the collaborators; taking a legal professional stand, however, was only expressed secretly. Not taking a clear public position towards complex issues such as killing collaborators was considered a failure.

Nonetheless, the actors justified the failure in question because *"the overall atmosphere in OPTs was highly charged emotionally and politically, and any form of resistance was acceptable out of sheer frustration, and so we could not take an antagonistic position",* as argued by the general director. By referring to the example of collaborators, we intended to show that the actors remarkably succeeded in managing debates by designating the professional orientation of this organization.

In brief, we have clarified the broad nationalistic political allegiance of this case, and the organizational values epitomized in the common good and welfare precisely in terms of human rights. Essentially, a professional approach was applied to serve those values. We could argue that the dominance of the industrial polity to serve the civic objectives was the basis of the organizational compromise shaped and shared collectively during the first time period.

By referring to this compromise, the organizational actors managed the emerging debates and critical moments. At the same time, the collective shaping of the organizational compromise indicates that there were no internal contradictions and dissatisfaction amongst the actors. The congruence between what this case advocated and what it did, the construction of a collective compromise and the strong convictions and belonging of the actors led to assess the internal alignment high.

Objects

The objects produced included legal research, critical publications such as the seminal work[43], and papers to undertake well-documented positions regarding various issues.

New tools, including affidavits, questionnaires and standard reports were created to professionally facilitate the documentation process. Simultaneously, the organization introduced the concept of organizing campaigns around emerging issues such as family re-unification, and conferences such as the first international conference organized on the theory of belligerent occupation.

The first legal library was established as a major national asset to offer legal resources necessary for legal research. This case planned to materialize objects that could

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[43] Which was considered the first of its kind, called the West Bank and the Rule of Law, other seminal papers addressed the British Defense emergency Regulation regarding Israeli policies in the OPTs.

directly contribute to the identification of human rights violations in a technical and professional manner.

The professional approach practiced conferred prominent credibility on case. The credibility gained later influenced the organizational reactions during sudden events. As highlighted by the director of documentation unit, *"we always insisted on respecting precision, and not coming out publicly on any matter until it had been thoroughly documented by fieldworkers"*. The organizational approach was to collect information and undertake thorough legal analysis before making decisions so as to avoid any reactive positions or interventions.

To summarize, the type of objects and the approach applied to materialize those objects imply that this case incorporated the industrial polity and sustained the utilization of this polity for civic objectives. The congruence was sustained at the level of objects reinforcing the organizational compromise highlighted above.

People

The actors who populated this organization were specialized, technical and professional, which revealed the prevalence of the industrial polity. The actors' advanced degrees in law and their specialization were mostly centered on international human rights law and were equipped with technical and professional language.

The actors also demonstrated sophisticated political knowledge and sensitivity with a high level of awareness regarding the political evolutions in the local and regional context. It should be underlined that a few actors who were detained and tortured in the Israeli prison, were particularly motivated to expose the torture issues in legal terms.

The educational background along with the personal experiences positively influenced the convictions and positive feelings the actors possessed regarding the organizational mandate and so the objects. The head of the training unit[44] stated, *"I was arrested for a few years, and I know what it means to be tortured, it leaves physical and psychological impacts that stay with you; because of that I feel OK to be part of the organizational initiative to reveal and document violations"*.

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[44] In the applied training center.

We conclude that the technical specific capacities of the actors as well as the specialized backgrounds stimulated the incorporation of the industrial polity as a ruling principle.

While the personal experiences related to the organizational mandate and the political awareness of the actors reinforced the civic orientation, the particular combination of the industrial polity and the civic orientation shaped the foundation of the organizational compromise referred to by the actors when explaining the organizational objects. We evaluated the internal alignment as high.

Time conception

The temporal orientation of the organizational actions indicated a long time span with very few reactive interventions. Even during the military events such as the Intifadas and despite the accelerations of violations to quell the events, this case maintained its professional approach in documenting violations. The adherence to the professional approach strengthened the vision of long-term planned actions to establish the legal grounding for the disclosure of the human rights violation.

In addition, attention was given to the emerging issues of violations, as emphasized by the director of the documentation unit, *"the new issues integrated into our legal analysis such as travel banning, excessive military orders"*. The collected information provided the empirical foundation for further legal analysis in the context of international law without taking any immediate reactive position.

Industrial polity animated the temporal orientation and was integrated with civic objectives. The organizational vision demonstrated a far-reaching national outlook, pursued, however, by means of a legal professional approach.

In conclusion, mixing elements from the industrial polity to attain civic objectives resulted in the temporal orientation of the organizational objects. The enhancement of the organizational compromise on this basis, explains the consistency of this case in having high internal alignment. As in the other clusters, we condense the polities incorporated within the third cluster during the first time period in the following table (5.5).

Table (5.5): the third cluster during the first time period (1970s-1995)

	Case 5
Political allegiance	Distance from politics
Values	Reveal the human rights violations by Israel: *(industrial+civic)*
Objects	Seminal papers, conferences: *(industrial polity)*
People	Volunteering specialized- lawyers: *(industrial polity)*
Time conception	Long term: *(industrial polity)*
Internal alignment	**Industrial polity + civic objectives=High internal alignment**

The third cluster: (Case 5)

The second time period: (1996-2015)

Political allegiance

The distance from politics in its narrow perspective was sustained, while the active engagement in politics in its organic nationalistic perspective was reinforced. The clear conceptualization of political allegiance in this case remained a cornerstone of the organizational compromise formulated within this case. This was essentially reflected in the other elements as we underline below starting with the values.

Values

The organizational values persisted and were reflected in the commitment to legal analysis and accuracy of information as indicated by the director of accountability department, *"relying on accurate information, strengthening legal analysis and not using a political criterion to determine which human rights issues to address"*. As we noticed, the actors maintained the principles of professionalism and neutrality to inform the entire objects. At the same time, the organization intended to progress with its mandate to hold both the Israeli occupation and the PNA accountable.

In addition, we recognized that this case notably conformed to its mandate and when new interventions were launched, the actors had to associate them with the mandate.

Examples included the integration of business in human rights, accountability, advocacy and lobbying. These new topics and the respective links with the mandate discussed in one of the GA meeting that we attended during our research stay. The questions faced the relevance of addressing the new issues as a potential trigger that could lead the organization to deviate from its mandate.

Nonetheless, the general director presented justifications around those issues by referring to the organizational compromise constructed based on the prevalence of the industrial polity optimized for civic objectives.

To summarize, the organization of law sustained its values and strictly linked them to the new issues addressed. This was manifested through the justifications produced by the actors, who stressed the professional approach in the service of civic aims.

On the basis of integrating industrial elements and civic orientations, the organizational compromise was maintained and used to justify actions in relation to the values, as well as to manage any emerging internal debates. As this case maintained the compromise, the internal alignment remained high.

Objects

Given the establishment of the PNA, new objects were produced including the rights charters of different segments of the society, such as the charters for patients' rights. Legal research was constantly conducted, along with campaigns on different issues.

Conferences were maintained as main objects; for example an important conference organized addressed the new legislation of the PNA. The director of the local accountability and advocacy department declared, *"we organized the first conference on Palestinian legislation entitled, "towards the establishment of a Palestinian Legislative Strategy".* The conferences were organized around scientific and legal studies, yet were motivated by civic objectives to push for the establishment of local legislation for the regulation of many aspects of daily life.

Legal Position papers were produced intensively to address controversial issues such as the national call for a petition to boycott Israeli products. The professional approach of not responding randomly to events triggered debates. The general director explained, *"it was never the case to take a position without thinking of its legality, and so it is not*

legally supported to boycott products, however much morally supported, but it is not our approach to build on morals". As an alternative, a legal concept paper released presented banning instead of boycotting from a legal perspective.

The banning position was justified by one of the international advocacy officers, *"legally based, through which we called for penalties on the Israeli occupation, pressure on international partners not to buy the settlements products"*. Promoting a theoretical alternative mode of resistance to boycott as the industrial polity largely influenced popular resistance activity, and the emerging debates were managed by referring to the organizational compromise to expose the relevance of the alternative mode to the compromise.

The actors invested efforts to integrate media and other forms of technologies to produce documentaries showing the human rights violations and specializing in critical issues such as the exploitation of natural resources (e.g. the products of the Dead Sea). The new documentaries guided by industrial orientation with civic terms, were considered as a feedstock for accountability interventions and the integration of business with human rights violations.

The most notable infrastructure object created was the center for applied training. Initially the center was mandated to influence policies, transfer experiences, expand regionally and to raise public awareness about human rights; the head of training unit explained, *"we trained journalists, teacher and school guides to create a culture of human rights"*. The center was justified as an important platform to correct the concepts and even the wording used in addressing violations such as the Wall.

The applied training center was debated, as it reflected the phenomenon of creating Mega-NGOs to generate financial resources, indicating the growing integration of the market elements within this case. In return, the actors explained that the center remained based upon civic objectives such as raising public awareness and expanding the organizational influence for civic terms.

To summarize, we observed that the type of objects remained the same during the second time period with some additions, justified by the actors as relevant to the organizational mandate. The debates were managed by a reference to the fact that objects were created professionally and optimized for civic terms, strengthening the

prevalence of the industrial polity as an overarching principle. The internal alignment remained high during this period.

People

The paid staff during the same second time period remained unchanged apart from the addition of a new position of fundraising officer.

The fundraising officer was primarily assigned with proposal writing, fundraising and expanding the relational and fiscal relations. Integrating this new particular post suggests the growth of the market-based orientation.

However, the actors justified this new position and the new activities as long as they did not harm the civic objectives. In this context, the integrated market based elements did not degrade the internal alignment.

Time conception

The temporal orientation of investing in long-term planned objects was maintained, although we detected slight shifts in that respect. The organization advanced in delivering additional actions such as training the fieldworkers, especially at the time of the massacres in the second Intifada.

Fieldworkers equipped with advanced training intensified the documentation efforts, as confirmed by one of the fieldworkers, *"we were trained as paralegals to provide legal advice to the local community and we promoted new investigations on violations that accompanied the massacres"*. The legal training of the fieldworkers was new and raised issues of specialization which is the core of the industrial polity as a ruling principle. The actors justified this by the immediate responses needed in the face of the increasing violence.

The actors emphasized that the professional approach was applied to a great extent. It was demonstrated by the training and later by the campaigns, as the director of documentation unit specified, *"we had to respond quickly, yet, systematically, so we organized campaigns to widely publicize violations, we managed to exert pressure and embarrass Israel"*. When the organization had to take immediate action, the actors sustained the professional approach through documentation and legal analyses.

As a result, we argue that the actors responded using an industrial-based approach informed by civic orientation. In other words, the professional approach was reinforced as the basis of the organizational compromise geared for civic objectives. Thus, the internal alignment remained high during the second time period. We summarize the polities' components of the third cluster during the second time period in table (5.6).

Table (5.6): the third cluster during the second time period (1996-2015)

	Case 5
Political allegiance	The same distance from politics remained
Values	Reveal the human rights violations by Israel: *(industrial+civic)*
Objects	Research, position papers, documentaries, filed cases for courts, Applied training center: *(industrial+civic+ market)*
People	Paid specialized- lawyers, proposal writing officer+ Fundraising: *(industrial+market)*
Time conception	Long term: *(industrial polity)*
Internal alignment	**Industrial polity +civic orientation+ market elements= high internal alignment**

Synthesis on cluster 3

The industrial polity prevailed in the organization of law and human rights presented in the third cluster and was regarded as a superior principle utilized for civic objectives. Later, during the second time period, some elements were borrowed from the market polity to pursue civic objectives. This particular combination of the polities was the foundation for shaping the organizational compromise.

All the organizational interventions were justified on the basis of this compromise, which was also used as a reference to tackle emerging internal debates. We were able to observe the strong convictions of the actors regarding the organizational compromise, which explains the high internal alignment across the two time periods.

Conclusion

We have investigated in this chapter how organizations may crossbreed with different polities. The sample organizations investigated for this paper proved to combine three polities; civic, industrial and market. The combination of the polities took three different forms which we have presented in three distinguished clusters. Those clusters, identified on the basis of the evolution of the internal alignment, assesses how the organizations relate values to actions.

Assessing the internal alignment was guided by gaps in the collective convictions and internal debates within the cases. However, the different evolutions of the internal alignment across the cases were interpreted by investigating the polities incorporated and combined differently across the three clusters over the two time periods.

The first cluster consists of the majority of cases (2,3,4,6), which had high internal alignment degraded over time to low internal alignment. We interpreted the high internal alignment to the organizational capacity to construct collective ex-ante compromise. The ex-ante compromise combined civic polity as a superior principle, with civic orientations which determined the integration of industrial elements especially in terms of the working approach, the type of objects and specialized people.

The first cluster was submitted to changes during the second time period, which impacted the internal alignment to degrade from high to low. The evolution of the internal alignment occurred in relation to the confrontation within the cases that clashed with the ex-ante compromise.

The new method of combining the polities entailed the market polity as a dominant principle coupled with industrial orientations. However, the industrial orientation re-introduced as a requirement for the market polity caused low internal alignment and exposed the inability of the cases to produce justifications for the new combination.

The second cluster includes case (1) that had low internal alignment over the two time periods. We interpreted the low internal alignment to be due to the inability of this case to shape a collective compromise.

The organizational choices in terms of values and interventions were industrial-based oriented, with some rhetoric regarding the values. The industrial polity, however, brought about the failure of the organization to produce justifications of the organizational choices, and therefore resulted in low internal alignment.

Despite this, we deciphered the change in how the organization embraced and combined polities, but observed that the internal alignment remained low over the second time period. We interpreted the low internal alignment as due to the continuous organizational failure to formulate a collective compromise, through which justifications could be produced.

The new combination of polities comprised of industrial polity, along with the growth of the market polity, demonstrated intensive fundraising and fame orientation represented in attempts to expand. The absence of a compromise impeded the organization from dealing with the internal debates such as internal policies and the declared distance of politics.

The third cluster consists of case (5), which succeeded in maintaining high internal alignment across the two-time periods. The high internal alignment sustained for more than 30 years was assessed as the result of the capacity of the organization to build a sustainable ex-ante compromise. During the first time period, the ex-ante compromise evolved due to the hybridization of the industrial polity as an overarching principle. This determined the approach of the actions and specialized people, yet strictly adhered to the realization of civic objectives.

A new combination of polities emerged during the second time period to maintain industrial polity as dominant principle, oriented with civic-based values. In addition, the organization incorporated the market elements that optimized for civic objectives. The new combination of polities, nonetheless, reinforced the high internal alignment.

Justifications theory supported our analysis and extended it further to decipher the daily organizational debates around the evolution of values and interventions. We explained how the organizations of our sample managed new combinations of polities over time, leading to different evolutions of their internal alignment.

2.6 Findings through sensemaking theory - Interpretations of contextual evolutions: from shared sensemaking to conflictual sensemaking

Introduction

In this chapter we examine external alignment, i.e. the way organizational actors interpret and respond to signals and evolutions coming from the external context.

Organizational actors engage in reciprocal discussions to enact the external context. Prior to discussions, actors note concrete external features to construct a meaningful story that guides the organizational responses. We found that the actors succeeded in constructing a shared interpretation and common vision regarding the external context, and in consequence, the responses.

Using a contextualist framework (Pettigrew 1987) that guided our analysis we noted that over time actors started to construct fragmented interpretations regarding both contextual changes and organizational responses. Our guiding premise to observe those changes was the evolution of external alignment that led us to pose our research question; *how does external alignment evolve over time?* We utilize Sensemaking theory (Weick 1995) to answer this question. In particular, we look at three main sensemaking activities; selection of contextual evolutions, rejection or avoided test, interpretation of those evolutions, and responses to those evolutions. These activities were applied differently across the cases to help maintain some high external alignment, while the external alignment of some others diminished over time.

Sensemaking theory enhanced our analysis for investigating how the actors selected contextual evolutions, interpreting and responding to those evolutions that exposed the evolution of external alignment.

Our findings generally revealed shifts in the organizational capacity of reaching to common meanings. Based on the shifts in constructing common meanings through the evolution of external alignment over time and across cases, we present our data based on three distinct clusters. In the first cluster, we group two cases (3,5) which maintained high external alignment over the two time periods due to the endurance of shared sensemaking around the interpreted contextual jolts and the responses to those

jolts. The organizational actors engaged in constructing the meanings around the contextual jolts and the responses.

The second cluster includes three cases (2, 4, 6) showing an evolution trend in external alignment from high in the first time period to low in the second time period. Degrading from high to low was observed as some were excluded from constructing meanings and so the shared sensemaking was suspended. On the contrary, the actors engaged in conflictual sensemaking around the interpreted jolts and responses.

The third cluster includes case (1) where the external alignment remained low over the two time periods. We did not evaluate the third cluster with high external alignment because the founder of this case strongly influenced how the other organizational actors interpreted external context. In other words, the organizational actors embraced the meanings produced by the founder, and unlike the other cases, only referred to the founder.

To proceed with our analysis, we first construct a chronological list of key contextual evolutions that served as occasions for sensemaking. We also show which evolutions were rejected and avoided by some cases. Second, we explain which of those contextual evolutions were selected and how they were interpreted in order to create organizational responses.

We explain in this analysis what happened in these sensemaking activities across the three clusters in the two time periods; the first time period (1970s-1995), and the second time period (1996-2015) respectively. For the sake of time continuity, we analyze each cluster successively across the designated two time periods.

The first cluster (cases: 3 & 5)

The first time period: (1970s-1995)

The external alignment of the first cluster remained high over the two time periods. In this cluster, the interpretation of contextual changes continued to take place in a collective shared mode. We show below why and how collective interpretation endured over time.

1. The selection of contextual jolts

The first Intifada erupted in 1987[45] followed by the escalation of massive Israeli constraints. The contextual jolts related to the military invasions and events associated with the intifada were actively selected. The active selection and engagement with the local context led the actors to reach to shared meanings around the national struggle against occupation.

Part of selecting the jolts entailed understanding them. For example, the actors in the organization of law and human rights[46] anticipated that the human rights violations would escalate along with the first Intifada. The coordinator of the fieldwork explained that being aware of the former Israeli assaults led the actors to pay special attention to this jolt. He elaborated, *"we expected a new level of assaults and human rights violations, thus we carefully discussed the first Intifada as a major jolt"*.

Along with the first Intifada, controversial situations emerged such as killing collaborators. This sub-cue that emerged with the first intifada was selected by the actors in the organization of law for interpretations and responses. Some actors clearly supported the position of condoning the killing of the collaborators, while some others were in favor of the killing.

The actors in the organization of health selected actively important sub-cues. For example, attention was paid to the situation in Jerusalem where the director of the school health program said, *"the Israeli ministry of health deprived the Arabic schools in Jerusalem, in terms of vaccination and examination services, so we developed the school health program"*.

A distinct political development was selected by the organization of law and human rights, which recognized occupation as a political problem for Arab states and the international community. It was expected that Israel would freely proceed with its own agenda.

One of the previous founders stated, *"Israel was freely releasing a plethora of military orders that touched every aspect of peoples' lives, while simultaneously using law as a tool to implement policies that were themselves illegal"*. The practices of the

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[45] As the first national grassroots uprising.
[46] Case 5, known as AL HAQ.

134

occupying power were selected to highlight that law was exploited for the benefits of that power.

The Oslo accords largely provoked profound discussions amongst the actors. For example, the organization of law and human rights started thinking of new legal references given the new situation. Generally, the actors in the first cluster selected the main contextual jolts actively and engaged in interpreting those jolts, as we elaborate below.

2. The interpretations

Selecting the cues and reaching a shared meaning demonstrated the actors' capacity to engage with the external context. The shared meanings originated primarily from the national meanings, such as resistance and persistence. Those local nationally entrenched meanings were generated thanks to the turbulence of the Palestinian context as an occupied context.

For example, the actors in the organization of law and human rights predicted that the first Intifada would lead to more brutal human rights violations. This expectation occurred as a result of a retrospective reflection on the past military events as well as the policies of occupation. The general director stated, *"we predicted more brutal violations to quell the intifada, and so we placed more fieldworkers"*.

Contradictory meanings, however, grew due to doubt over the feasibility of documentation compared with the violations. The actors engaged internally in discussions to construct shared meanings. The director of the local accountability department asserted, *"we had to discuss what it means to document violations, and realized that the results could be far reaching, so we decided to dig deeper into the types of violations"*. Consequently, human rights violations, such as the travel ban and torture in prisons, gained organizational attention. Selecting and interpreting different types of violations were decided collectively as a way out for managing the contradictory meanings around the documentation.

The contradictory meanings disconnected the actors from the documentation efforts. Changes in the meanings were brought about because the actors could not value the importance of documentation to the national struggle against occupation.

Contradictions in meanings consequently triggered an occasion to re-interpret and develop documentation through contextualizing human rights violations. As a result, actors collectively re-connected with documentation considering it an important contribution to the struggle against occupation.

Interpreting the situation in Jerusalem entailed attributing meanings to the social services. The meanings referred to the concrete cases of violence, and the over-consumption of energy drinks by students in Arabic schools. The coordinator of the schools' health program emphasized, *"the level of violence in schools is wild and Israelis distribute large quantities of drugs amongst teenagers in an attempt to evict Jerusalemites"*. The actors constructed interpretations linked to the deliberate Israeli policies in Jerusalem.

The actors constructed interpretations around the phenomena in Jerusalem that reflected their orientations. The actors expressed their agency through contextualizing and refining more convincing interpretations. The produced interpretations were utilized to update the organizational role and accompany it with the social services. Eventually, the produced interpretations were transmitted to all organizational actors as political by-products.

The actors who did not live in Jerusalem interpreted the idea of integrating social services as irrelevant. A former health educator said, *"activities in Jerusalem are important but not relevant to our organization which specialized in health"*. This illustrative quote suggests that some actors could not carry the same meanings regarding the interpreted issues in Jerusalem. Some other actors believed in the views of the general director as one of the main carriers of meanings that progressed into a collective interpretation, as we show later.

The Oslo accords as a new political situation were interpreted as a disconnection of politicians from daily events, which would not lead to any substantial change. The actors foresaw the continuity of the existing situation, and so advocated for international protection, which they considered a relevant action for an occupied nation.

The actors in the organization of health strictly confronted Oslo. The chairman stated,*"the political and national implications of the accords turned down our*

national project". However, later the actors refined their interpretation and considered the Oslo accords as a threshold towards dismantling the national project, without improving daily aspects of life.

Other views expressed the hope that Oslo might potentially result in a national state, as director of a medical center stated, "*we tried to foresee a Palestinian state and so think of possibilities to contribute to the building of statehood".* Other divergent interpretations doubted the statehood, as the media officer stressed, *"Oslo would transform the revolutionary status into more episodic changes and misleading status".* The illustrative quotes reflect divergent interpretations regarding Oslo.

However, the actors refined those interpretations to agree that it could potentially lead to a state. Despite the organizational actors having divergent interpretations around the selected contextual evolutions, they strived to agree on collective interpretations to devise responses, as we elaborate next.

3. The responses

The intensity of the human rights violations led the organizational actors in the organization of law and human rights to increase the documentation efforts and place more fieldworkers. Moreover, the actors decided to study the types of violations and prepare comprehensive reports. The head of fieldwork unit explained; *"we documented the cases of 700 former detainees, and produced a detailed report with actual testimonies of methods of interrogation and torture".*

The report, however, was ignored by the international community, triggering more intra-organizational exchanges to think of different responses. The head of the international accountability department remarked, *"we presented the testimonies in the context of charging the Israeli doctors with violating medical ethics by complicity in the acts of torture".* The actors contextualized specific elements of violations, in order to construct plausible and meaningful narrative to address particular stakeholders.

According to the organizational actors, these efforts to deal with the intensity of violations through documentation were considered most appropriate and feasible for revealing the complexity of occupation through documented cases.

The organization of health responded to the first Intifada by creating mobile health services. A medical doctor in the organization of health[47] stated, *"we created mobile activities to deliver services close to checkpoints, especially when direct hostilities occurred"*. The actors agreed during discussions on the responses that any organizational response should contribute to the struggle against the Israeli occupation.

As we mentioned earlier, killing the collaborators was selected by the organization of law and human rights. After many internal discussions, the final organizational position was to interpret the killing of collaborators without due process, as an illegal act. The director of the local accountability department emphasized, *"I consider it a successful legal position as it emerged after rounds of internal discussions to crystalize an understanding and a response, yet with shortcomings as we intervened secretly with the militants"*. The response was a position paper that explained the illegality of killing the collaborators, and negotiations with the local militants.

A meaningful narrative was derived from the local notions underpinning this response. Consequently, the story was locally accepted and fit with the frustrated and emotionally charged situation. At the same time, the organizational response was accommodated with the legal work and professional approach.

Regarding the situation in Jerusalem, the organization of health responded with social services. The coordinator of the health program stated, *"we integrated activities such as planting trees, cleaning streets, and creating awareness about food and avoiding violence. For Jerusalemites, integrating such aspects made sense as they experienced daily violence problem and, unsafe roads"*.

In the organization of law and human rights, the organizational actors acted proactively to provide concrete evidences to challenge the misleading representation of the Israeli usage of law. The actors developed the interpretations to emphasize that the exploitation of law happened through presenting the Israeli rules in the Palestinian territories as being benevolent.

The Oslo accords to create the PNA later demanded organizational responses. The general director of the organization of law and human rights reflected, *"we had to*

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[47] Case 3, known as HWC.

demand and pressure the international community to protect Palestinians as a nation under occupation". The actors perceived the new evolving situation as a political development that happened as a result of diplomatic liaison and negotiation. Both organizations of this cluster responded in concrete actions as a contribution to the new emerging situation.

In short, the organizational actors of this cluster have different orientations that were the sources of the meanings ascribed to the contextual changes, i.e. Oslo. The actors, however, interacted actively together to create collective meanings and consensus. Those meanings were derived from nationalism and hopes to contribute to the potential state, for example through health protocols and community centers.

The first cluster succeeded in engaging all the actors in internal discussions to generate collective interpretations around contextual evolutions. The organizational actors constructed shared meanings around contextual jolts. The actors also devised the responses around the interpreted jolts. Consequently, we assessed external alignment high during the first time period; we condense this in table (6.1). We next investigate why the external alignment remained high during the second time period.

Table (6.1): the first cluster during the first time period: (1970s-1995)

	Case 3	Case 5
Selection of contextual evolutions	1. First Intifada 2. Conditions in Jerusalem, this sub-cue was selected only by this case 3. Oslo accords signed	1. First Intifada 2. Killing collaborators 3. Occupation recognized as a political problem, these two sub-cues were selected only by this case 4. Oslo accords signed

Interpretation	1.1 The first Intifada was considered an occasion to reinforce & continue the struggle against Israeli occupation	1.1 More escalations & violations expected along with with the first Intifada
	2.1 The bad conditions in Jerusalem were interpreted as trials by Israelis to evict Palestinians & Judaize Jerusalem	2.1 killing collaborators without due process interpreted as an Illegal action
	3.1 Oslo accords were perceived as a possibility to lead to a national state	3.1 Considering occupation as a political problem was interpreted as a way to show that occupation was benevolent, Oslo accords were perceived as a possibility to lead to a national state, but the nation remained occupied
Responses	1.1 Mobile medical services were created in response to the events accompanying the first Intifada	1.1 More fieldworkers placed & detailed reports developed in response to the first Intifada
	2.1 Social services were developed to improve the conditions in Jerusalem	2.1 Position paper developed regarding killing of collaborators, and negotiations took place with the national militants
	3.1 Community center & health protocols created to present a model for the potential state	3.1 Seminal papers & conference held to explain how Israelis exploited the laws for illegal actions
		4.1 Considering the nation as occupied led to seeking protection from the international community
External alignment	*Active selection of contextual evolutions, intra-organizational collective interpretation & shared meanings = High external alignment*	

The first cluster: (cases 3 & 5)

The second time period: (1996-2015)

1. The selection of contextual evolutions

The second time period brought new contextual jolts that were selected by the organizational actors. The first contextual jolt selected was the creation of the PNA,

which was considered a major event. Selecting the PNA entailed discussing certain issues such as the emerging organizational roles, the services that should be handed to the PNA, and the references that the organizations should rely on. The director of local accountability department at the organization of law stated, *"we had to re-consider our legal references given the creation of the PNA"*.

The second jolt selected for interpretation was the second Intifada, which erupted after the establishment of the PNA. The main issues addressed along with this jolt were related to the relief works that were needed given the military events. The director of one of the medical centers in the organization of health explained, *"we could not turn a blind eye to the sudden invasions that were launched and the brutal military assaults that erupted, we had to discuss the reasons and the consequences, etc."*.

The third jolt selected was the evolution of external funding. Several issues were discussed in relation to it, such as the type of donors, the new conditions imposed and the type of activities proposed as part of the external funding. The financial director at the organization of law and human rights explained, *"the external funding accelerated and the donors requested they run the activities and design the financial structure on short projects-basis. Thus, we had to discuss these changes and what to do"*.

The fourth jolt selected was the split between Gaza Strip (GS) and the West Bank (WB). In relation to this jolt issues such administrative and legal references were discussed to deal with the split. Both the organization of health and the organization of law and human rights discussed the consequences of the split at the level of the organizations. The general director of the organization of law argued, *"the main issue for us was the consequences of the split on the continuity of our work in GS"*.

The military attack on Gaza Strip (GS) was the fifth jolt selected by the organizational actors of both organizations. The public relations' officer at the organization of health mentioned, *"the assaults on GS were so obviously to be avoided, we had to discuss what we needed to do in the face of those assaults"*. The sixth contextual jolt was the annexation and expansion wall. For example, the organization of law and human rights discussed the legal aspects related to negative impacts upon the Palestinians who lived in proximity to the wall, or even on the mobility in general.

The director of international accountability at the organization of law and human rights reflected, *"the wall was a major topic of our discussions regarding the impacts of it on the basic human rights of Palestinians, such as mobility and work"*. In the organization of health the issues of medical services and outreaching the communities that reside behind the wall caught the attention of the actors. The deputy of the general director of health organization mentioned, *"most of our discussions addressed the possibility of working against the constraints of responding to the medical needs of people affected by the wall"*. Based on selecting those contextual jolts, intra-organizational discussions took place in order to come up with interpretations, as we explain next.

2. The interpretations

Intra-organizational interpretations were generated to make sense of the PNA. The organizational actors interpreted the creation of the PNA as a violation of nationalism. The head of training unit in the applied center[48] commented, *"dealing with such authority is a violation of our noble cause"*. Other views considered the PNA nothing but an administrative entity that would replace the Israeli occupation in the administrative affairs. The general director of the organization of law said, *"we considered the PNA as a contracted body by the international community to take over the administrative duties of occupation"*.

The PNA was not perceived differently by the organization of health, which took an opposing political position. The PNA was seen as a milestone through which, *"an occupied nation was transformed from a revolutionary status to a state, but in reality non state"*, a director of a medical center asserted.

The organizational actors considered the PNA as a new imposed situation, which would yield to re-engineer the overall local context and NPOs. The re-engineering would require distancing Palestinians and NPOs from the meanings of resistance. In return, new meanings would emerge such as the building of statehood.

The actors in the organization of law and human rights considered the new situation to be serialized, and anticipated the emergence of new needs.

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[48] Organization of law and human rights.

Later, the military events, including the second Intifada and attacks on GS, were interpreted as a new level of aggressions against Palestinians reconnecting the actors with the meanings of patriotism and struggle against occupation. The split with GS was interpreted as a political struggle within the PNA.

The external funding created a difficult situation with inconsistent features and demands that actors had to handle for the first time. Nonetheless, the actors relied more on professional and nationalist orientations to make sense of the situation.

The organizational actors considered the annexation and expansion wall as a critical evolution and new level of fragmenting the territories and limiting mobility. This evolution, according to the actors, required long term and strategic responses. In the following section we analyze the responses that were developed.

3. The responses

The responses to the PNA were collectively endorsed in the organization of law and human rights. The responses were to extend the remit of the work and upgrade the legal references. The director of the applied training center remarked, *"new strategies were introduced to focus on human rights law instead of humanitarian law, and we decided to monitor and report the PNA conduct"*. We could argue that negotiating new references and extending the work-.i.e. monitoring the PNA, were organizational attempts to influence the new situation.

The new roles discussed at the organization of health and responses included CBR[49] and joint clinics. Through those responses NPOs intended to maintain their terrain and initiate certain forms of engagement with the PNA. The director of primary health care stressed, *"we thought of the joint clinics so as to exchange expertise, and coordinate to avoid duplication"*. The joint clinics were a translation of the new meanings, such as collaboration and coordination, as a response to the existence of the public organizations.

Initiating new venues such as joint clinics could be considered as platforms and outlets. These platforms were created in order to transfer experience and demonstrate know-how for dealing with issues such as disability and the elderly.

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[49] Community Based Rehabilitation Centers.

Public policies, legislation, and the practices of the PNA gained the attention of the organizational actors. This could indicate that NPOs started to support and complement the work of the PNA instead of being scandalizing by it.

Simultaneously, the actors started to create new forums such as the council of human rights and the gender based violence coalition. The new forums were considered as inevitable actions to construct a collective power as well as to influence the policies and practices of the public organizations.

The organizational actors tried to see an asset in the PNA as being a transitional phase towards establishing a national state. Consequently, the actors initiated a dialogue with the PNA, and trained key officers and security forces.

At the same time, equipped with the knowledge and expertise acquired through training and exchange, the actors intended to maintain the power the new authority lacked.

The director of the local accountability department remarked, *"we intentionally delivered trainings and seminars to the forces as they lack knowledge"*. The actors attempted to disseminate the professional standards to the public organizations, with a tendency to interfere and create knowledge based dependency.

The new level of field escalations of the second Intifada challenged the actors to intervene and support the PNA, despite the political positions. The organization of law and human rights immediately intensified the volume of documenting the human rights violations. According to the coordinator of the documentation unit, *"we attempted to open up new investigations on violations that accompanied the massacres"*.

The Israeli military invasions, targeting the buildings of the PNA, led to a shift in the organizational positions. The NPOs considered the attack on the PNA and the siege of Arafat to be very symbolic. Moreover, the siege, considered a critical attack against all Palestinians, required a unified national position.

In the organization of health, reactions largely included mobile health care services. As stated by the director of the primary health care department, *"daily surgery and*

first aid was carried out in response to the escalation of the military events". The intense closures and checkpoints stimulated new organizational actions. A member of the BODs proclaimed, *"we had to insist on opening new medical centers although it was costly, but patients could not reach other nearer centers"*. The military events that erupted suddenly pushed the actors into coming up with responses such as duplicating the number of medical centers.

The increase of the medical centers burdened NPOs with extra financial expenses that provoked internal argumentations around the responses. The actors, however, succeeded in overcoming the divergent positions by reconnecting with nationalism and the obligation to struggle against occupation.

Other illustrative examples include constructing the "Tubas"[50] hospital, although it was rejected by a few actors in the organization of health. The rejected views argued that the hospital was not needed in the given location, and was a financial burden. The financial officer at one of the medical centers argued, *"Tubas hospital was not an informed decision. We wasted resources and the hospital is not operationalized"*.

However, the decision to build the hospital was finally endorsed by organizational actors. They agreed that some actions should be purely political[51] to deal with the complex conditions of the second Intifada.

With the increasing military invasions, the fieldworkers were trained as paralegals to provide immediate legal advice to the local community. Emphasis was put on legal research as the human rights violations increased in scale and intensity. The coordinator of fieldworkers noted, *"we had to develop an emergency plan, and the work was carried out on an ad-hoc basis"*. Working on an ad-hoc basis evolved after exchanging incompatible internal views.

The head of the fieldwork unit said, *"it was a risk that the fieldworkers could provide inaccurate advice, especially as it was not easy to monitor their work, given the mobility restrictions"*. The actors finally agreed to act on an ad-hoc basis, since the objective was to support people amidst the military events. As a result, the actors thrived to bond around one collective objective.

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[50] Please see the full monograph of the organization of health (case 3).
[51] In particular, the political decision at stake, demonstrated in the decision taken by the late Arafat to build the hospital in this particular area, as it was threatened to be confiscated by Israelis.

More critical controversies emerged amidst the second Intifada, such as the national call to boycott Israeli products. The organization of health decided to actively engage with the boycott calls through taking part in protests and campaigns. The actors responded with the direct engagement of boycotting as part of the organizational philosophy, which meant engaging with events on the streets. Active involvement, according to the actors, was essential to sustain meanings that came through connecting with people.

The actors in the organization of law proposed an alternative to boycotting. The director of local accountability department stressed, *"we did not take any immediate position, we reached to a legally correct position which was to plea for banning"*. The banning response reflected the orientations of actors to handle the contextual signals in a correct legal approach.

The legal approach was coupled with the meanings coming from the nationalist local frames. The actors supported the banning approach through integrating business with human rights. This integration aimed to pressure the international companies to withdraw their investment from the settlements, considered by the organizational actors to be facets of colonialism. The actors begged the international community not to support the products of settlements and not to contribute to the systematic exploitation of the natural resources in Palestine.

The abundant funding from external donors which increased at the time of military attacks was considered problematic to actors in the organization of health, some of whom resigned. A former employee stated, *"I could not meet the new administrative obligations which constrained my work; besides I'm against funding. It is political"*. The general director criticized, *"funding is a curse, you get trapped without realizing"*. Despite opposition, the organizational actors crystalized their own terms for managing external funds: first to reject conditional funding, and second to accept funds coming from certain countries such as Spain.

The the administrative and financial director specified, *"30% of our budget is funding based, 60% from Spain, programs and centers feed 50%, GA membership fees 20%"*. Managing the external funding was endorsed collectively, which demonstrated that the actors maintained the same approach to making agentic responses in relation to the external situations.

The same thing was observed in the organization of law where the main donors remained unchanged. An organizational financing structure developed based on core funding. The financial director explained, *"we refused to work on the project, and maintained the core fund"*. The response was the core fund which aimed at maintaining the same line of activities and managing any influence that might come from donor agendas and their short-term projects.

The organizational actors considered maintaining the offices in WB and GS as one unity to be impossible after the split and the political splitting with GS resulted in dividing up the offices of the two organizations of this cluster.

A few actors considered separating the offices as the first step towards fragmenting national unity. Some other actors considered this decision appropriate, given the different legal and financial references of the two offices. Despite the divergent interpretations of the split, actors reached to a middle ground, through which they insisted on maintaining a genuine coordination between GS and WB in terms of scope and interventions.

The different military attacks against GS stimulated a new level of responses, such as accountability in the organization of law. The director of the international accountability department stated, *"we prepared solid files with many real cases to as to stand before international courts and hold occupation accountable"*. The efforts of accountability were presented as part of the aim of protecting a nation under occupation. In the organization of health, the responses towards the military attacks entailed mostly mobile medical services.

The construction of the annexation wall triggered different responses. Part of the organizational responses included preparing legal files of cases[52] affected by the wall and presented before the international courts. At the local level, awareness trainings were conducted to upgrade the capacities of the media graduates and correct the terms, *"we intended to correct the meanings and connotations, i.e. apartheid wall vs. expansion and annexation wall,"* as a training coordinator explained. The organization aimed at creating a collective and national understanding by correcting the terms regarding the wall.

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[52] Such as those who lost their lands or lost connections with their families

Synthesis on cluster 1

This cluster succeeded in maintaining and refining the meanings of struggle and patriotism. These were the major sources that the cases consulted to generate sense and consensus regarding the external evolutions. The actors reached to decisions and responses after rounds of exchanges and discussions at the intra-organizational level.

Discussions and engagement of actors helped to avoid any domination or imposition, and furthermore gave space to every actor to express meanings so that a consensus could be reached. The collective consensus managed the divergent interpretations that mainly emerged in the second time period.

The actors also actively engaged with the external context, interpreted the contextual signals, and connected the interpretations with the responses. Nonetheless, the external alignment remained high in the second cluster during the second time period. In table (6.2), we summarize the contextual evolutions that occurred during the second time period. We then analyze the second cluster across the two time periods.

Table (6.2): the first cluster during the second time period: (1996-2015)

	Case 3	*Case 5*
Selection of Contextual evolution	1. Creation of PNA 2. Second Intifada, boycott of Israeli products 3. External funding 4. Split bet GS & WB 5. Military attacks on GS 6. Annexation & expansion wall	1. Creation of PNA 2. Second Intifada, boycott of Israeli products 3. External funding 4. Split bet GS & WB 5. Military attacks on GS 6. Annexation & expansion wall
Interpretation	1.1 The PNA was interpreted as the transformation of the revolutionary status to a state-building phase. New meaning here evolved such as collaboration & coordination, 2.1 the second Intifada was considered as a new level of Israeli military aggressions against Palestinians,	1.1 The PNA was interpreted as a violation of the national cause & a contracted body to handle administrative load, 2.1 The second Intifada as well as the military attacks witnessed during this time were interpreted as a new level of aggression & escalations against Palestinians,

	3.1 The evolution of external funding was interpreted as part of the political developments; the actors relied on nationalist orientations to make sense of the situation,	3.1 The evolution of external funding was seen as a difficult situation with new demands; the actors relied on professional orientations to make sense of this situation,
	4.1 Split with GS considered a critical evolution,	4.1 Split with GS considered a political struggle within the PNA,
	5.1 Military attacks reconnected the actors with patriotism & struggle against occupation,	5.1 Military attacks reinforced struggle against occupation,
	6.1 The wall was interpreted as an escalation against Palestinians & mobility,	6.1 The wall was interpreted as a new level of fragmenting the territories & constraining mobility,
Responses	1.1 Joint clinics were developed & coalitions formulated	1.1 Updated legal references, monitor the PNA conduct, training of forces,
	2.1 Mobile health care services were developed, new medical centers were constructed, & direct engagement, e.g. protests	2.1 Investigations, trained fieldworkers as paralegals, legal research, banning, business with human rights
	3.1 Conditional funding was rejected & limited percentage was accepted from particular donors, e.g. Spain	3.1 Core funding only
	4.1 Divided up the offices, maintained similar scope	4.1 Divided up offices, maintained similar scope
	5.1 Emergency activities were developed such as mobile activities,	5.1 Prepared legal files for accountability & approaching international courts,
	6.1 Mobile clinics were created to reach out to affected areas,	6.1 legal files prepared to defend affected people & awareness training implemented,
External alignment	*Active internal discussions and engagement with the external context led to collective meanings=High external alignment*	

The second cluster: (Cases: 2, 4, & 6)

The first time period: (1970s-1995)

The external alignment of the second cluster degraded from high during the first time period to low during the second time period. We examined how interpretation of contextual changes shifted from collective interpretation to fragmented interpretation and we underlined this shift through the discontinuity pattern.

1. The selection of contextual evolutions

The expulsion of the PLO from Lebanon, considered critical in the organization of agriculture, stimulated the search for new national platforms in order to work for the Palestinian cause.

The actors, watchful of Israeli policies in agriculture, collectively selected certain elements they considered deliberate negligence of farmers' needs. The general director emphasized, *"farmers suffered from high taxes, and poor extension services to maintain the local economy subservient to the Israeli economy"*. The organizational actors crystalized a common purpose as a result of selecting sector-based elements.

The organization of art and culture[53] was very concerned about the absence of a Palestinian public organization to protect heritage and folklore. Consequently, the actors selected the contextual void as one of the founding volunteers stated, *"no one is in charge of maintaining Palestinian heritage which is intensively threatened by Israel"*.

The actors in the organization of water and hydrology[54], aware of severe water problems caused by neglected infrastructures, sought technical solutions for them. When we asked the actors about the sources of meanings they carried, they relied on their relation with the context and selected the detailed features of the respective sectors.

A border was constructed to separate WB and GS; this evolution was selected to discuss possible responses to work against such separation. The eruption of the first Intifada was difficult to ignore. The organizational actors in the organization of art

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[53] Case 4 (PAC).
[54] Case 6 (PHG).

and culture considered the first Intifada as an occasion to mobilize people to combat the military hostilities. A member of the GA highlighted, *"we worked to mobilize the local context to resist occupation"*. At the same time, the organizational actors experienced constraints such as arrest, home raids and confiscation of their assets. Those constrains were seen as trials to quell local efforts of resistance.

The bilateral negotiations preceded Oslo accords, and the Gulf war selected only by the organization of water. The long experience and technical expertise of the actors were considered as assets that should be optimized to add value to the content of the accords. And so, the actors actively engaged in drafting the terms of accords regarding water issues.

The other cases of the second cluster avoided the accords, and so did not take an organizational position. However, at the individual level, the actors expressed their opposition to the accords.

2. The interpretations

The expulsion of PLO was interpreted by the organization of agriculture as a way to constrain the activities of the Palestinian struggle against occupation, and so required new forms of actions. The Israeli policies were interpreted as deliberate intentions which aimed to run down the local economy such as the agriculture sector. The current general director explained, *"the expulsion invited us to think of the consequences of loosing one of the platforms of our struggle against occupation.*

The organization of art and culture avoided discussing the expulsion of the PLO as a major jolt. A member of the GA argued, *"the expulsion was not a major change to develop specific actions; we utilized our organizations in any case as platforms to mobilize people and work for our cause"*.

The organization of agriculture interpreted the border that was constructed to separate GS and WB as a way to fragment the Palestinian nation and confiscate more territories. The former general director reflected, *"the new border constructed between GS and WB attracted our attention, and required internal discussions and actions"*.

The organization of art and culture avoided selecting the border as a major evolution in order to interpret it and develop a particular response. One of the founding volunteers explained, *"the border was not a surprise for us, it reflected the Israeli policies, we did not think of interpreting the border as an evolution, perhaps also because we do not exist in GS"*. We observed the same thing in the organization of water and hydrology, which avoided interpreting the border as a major jolt.

The eruption of the first Intifada attracted the cases to engage in internal interpretations. The organization of agriculture interpreted the first Intifada as a continuity of the Israeli hostility against Palestinians. The organization of art and culture interpreted the first Intifada as a major evolution that would accelerate the oppressions against Palestinians. One of the dancers stated, *"the first Intifada was discussed internally considering it as a major evolution that would cause severe trauma"*.

The organization of water and hydrology also interpreted the first Intifada, considering it a major jolt that could not be ignored. The program director specified, *"the first Intifada was a major event that we discussed and we assumed that several needs would emerge"*.

The negotiations for signing the Oslo accords were seen by the organization of water and hydrology as a significant occasion to influence the Israeli water policies. The executive director explained, *"we considered the bilateral negotiations an important opportunity to contribute to the clauses of the accords and hopefully to influence the situation in the water sector"*. The Oslo accords were not interpreted as major jolts by the organization of agriculture or the organization of art and culture.

In general, the evolutions were interpreted during this period based on the national references and former policies of the Israeli occupation.

3. The responses

The expulsion from Lebanon motivated the organizational actors to take NPOs as platforms for continuing to resist the Israeli occupation. The internal evaluator in the organization of agriculture affirmed, *"we considered social resistance as a synonym for military resistance to deal with the complex and long occupation"*.

The absence of public organization and the Israeli policies that threatened the local culture inspired the actors in the organization of art and culture to respond. The responses included preserving heritage and transmitting folklore to new generations.

In relation to the new border between GS and WB, the organization of agriculture formulated popular committees in villages. The previous general director clarified, *"it is not about donations; we wanted to convey a message that we intended to gather people as one unity"*. The actors' orientation was to keep the nation united through possible platforms such as the committees.

When the first Intifada erupted, the actors in the organization of art and culture were inspired to come up with more cultural activities such as training Dabke, incubating local troupes and organizing festivals. The cultural activities were infused with the meanings of struggle, protecting folklore and breaking the cultural siege.

The other cases (2 & 6) reacted to the first Intifada on a relief basis. The executive director of water and hydrology organization stated, *"we provided basic services and drinking water especially for the poorest families"*. Simultaneously, an international dimension was integrated as one of the responses. The programs director elaborated, *"we started to publish a magazine of water and environment, and distributed it widely to international stakeholders"*. The actors were oriented towards aiding people, resolving emergency situations, and trying to expose events on the ground.

The previous general director of the organization of agriculture stressed; *"all efforts were re-directed to aid and relieve our people, to maintain them on the land"*. These relief-based efforts were aimed at sustaining the Palestinian people against the prolonged military attacks during the first Intifada.

The relief responses were accompanied by other responses such as training local agronomists and a household economy program. The actors agreed to create a food industry through this program to strengthen the boycott of Israeli products. A member of BoD mentioned, *"we developed the program into a notion of resistance economy to invest in the local resources"*. Resistance and working against the Israeli policies fundamentally guided the organizational responses.

To sum up, the organizational actors as meanings carriers extracted meanings from the national frames which included resistance and unity against Israeli attempts to fragment Palestinians. Furthermore the actors maintained connections to those meanings and sustained them at the time of the military attacks.

On the one hand, the meanings significantly connected the actors together to exchange and interpret the contextual evolutions. On the other hand, those meanings connected the organizational actors to collectively shape responses to the interpreted evolutions. Because of this, we assessed the external alignment high during the first time period. We needed to understand if this remained the case in the second time period. We summarize in table (6.3) our analysis of the first time period.

Table (6.3): the second cluster during the first time period: (1970s-1995)

	Case 2	Case 4	Case 6
Selection of contextual evolution	1. The expulsion of PLO 2. The border was constructed bet. GS & WB 3. The first Intifada erupted 4. Oslo Accords signed	1. The expulsion of PLO 2. The border was constructed bet. GS & WB 3. The first Intifada erupted 4. Oslo Accords signed	1. The expulsion of PLO 2. The border was constructed bet. GS & WB 3. The first Intifada erupted 4. Oslo Accords signed
Interpretation	1.1 More constraints to diminish the national struggle against occupation, 2.1 Fragmentation of nation's unity, 3.1 Continuity of the Israeli hostility, 4.1 Avoided as an evolution for interpretation & responses,	1.1 Avoided to select the expulsion of the PLO as an evolution, 2.1 Avoided as a major evolution because this organization does not exist in GS, 3.1 More oppression expected to accompany the first Intifada, 4.1 Avoided to be selected at the organizational level for interpretation & responses,	1.1 Avoided to select the expulsion as an evolution, 2.1 Avoided because the actors did not consider the border as new, 3.1 The first intifada was interpreted as an evolution that would yield to several needs, 4.1 The accords were interpreted as an opportunity to influence water issues
Responses	1.1 Alternative platforms, social resistance 2.1 Popular committees to help rupture the fragmentation between GS &	1.1 no particular response was developed, 2.1 no particular response was developed,	1.1 no particular response was developed, 2.1 no particular response was developed,

	WB, 3.1 relief & sustainable actions developed in the time of the first Intifada, e.g. household economy, 4.1 There were no particular responses in relation to the Oslo accords,	3.1 mobilization, entertainment & cultural activities were undertaken in response with the first Intifada, 4.1 there was no particular response in relation to the Oslo accords,	3.1 relief actions were undertaken in relation with the first Intifada, 4.1 participated in negotiations
External alignment	*Collective interpretation, inclusion of actors and engagement with the external context=High external alignment*		

The second cluster: (Cases: 2, 4, & 6)

The second time period: (1996-2015)

1. The selection of contextual evolutions

When the PNA was created, critical issues emerged. One of the founding volunteers in the organization of art underlined, *"we were asked to host particular troupes and singers that did not resemble our ideology"*. The organizational actors after many exchanges agreed to retain the choice of delaying the festival as a way to reject the demands of the PNA.

We observed fewer tensions between the PNA and the organization of water and the organization of agriculture. These two organizations possessed remarkable technical knowledge and practical experience that the PNA lacked. Hence, the organizational actors were not intimidated by PNA control.

The sudden eruption of the second Intifada confused the NPOs while the massive military invasions constrained the implementation of the projects. However, the NPOs were obliged to follow the proposals' guidelines. The organizational actors considered the military escalations in the presence of the PNA cynical. Generally, the military attacks re-connected the actors with the initial meanings of relief.

Interestingly, the external funding largely increased and evolved during the second Intifada. The conditional funding of monies coming from USAID was seen as one of those evolutions. Crucially, the conditional funding implied a new political criterion

at two levels. At the national level, the political criterion determined who was eligible to benefit from projects. At the NPO level, this criterion determined whether an NPO was eligible to obtain funds and could thus demand to sign the ATC[55].

The split between GS and WB caused the NPOs to discuss various issues related to the mobility and coordination.

The massive military attacks on GS were discussed and critically generated more fragmentations amongst actors. The actors in the organization of art and culture were, for example, perplexed about whether they should suspend the arts activities.

Once the second attack on GS erupted, the organizational actors undermined the previous arts demonstration and were confused about how to respond to the new attack. A program coordinator explained; *"the same troupes asked me to organize the second art demonstration, which made me hate and underestimate the idea. Gaza does not need our money, the brutality of assault is very intense, and an art demonstration will be disrespectful to our people"*.

During the second attack the external context was not welcoming for festivals or other arts' activities. The general director said, *"I'm still convinced that if we carried out with the PIF we could again convey a powerful message against the Israeli aggression"*. We highlighted those illustrative quotes to show the divergences amongst the actors around the contextual evolutions and responses.

The organizational actors avoided tackling and initiating collective responses towards the annexation and expansion wall.

2. The interpretations

The organizational actors interpreted the demands as trials to exert control by the PNA, and to diminish the space for the NPOs to exercise sovereignty. Hence, the organizational actors insisted on maintaining their autonomy, and so rejected the efforts of the PNA to exert control.

The organizational actors interpreted the PNA as potentially the first stage towards a normal state. With this goal, the actors agreed to re-define the scope of the

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[55] The anti-corruption contract.

interventions to fulfill the gaps in case the PNA fell short. A program officer in the organization of water stated, *"we prioritized remote areas that the PNA did not reach"*. The complementary role was presented by the actors as the most appropriate response in order to give the PNA the opportunity to fulfill its duties as a normal state.

The interpretation of the ATC predicted national fragmenting and clustering Palestinians, as well as the NPOs. This prediction developed because USAID defined resistance as terrorism. Resistance, however, is one of the national principles which collectively institutionalized and united Palestinians.

The actors in the organization of water and hydrology had divergent interpretations regarding the split and how the responses should be made. Some views advocated maintaining the offices interconnected as one whole organization in order to work against fragmenting the nation, while other views promoted splitting the offices.

In advocating the division of the offices it was predicted that the split would imply different legal and financial terms of reference that would eventually impede the flow of work. Mobility constraints were stressed to justify advocating the split. Technicality issues were an integral part of the advocating for the split, as infrastructure projects required field visits and direct follow up.

The organization of agriculture had different interpretations as well; one group favored the split, arguing that regular communication would be difficult. The actors who pushed for that response attempted to bring the political patriotic aspects as the major driving force for not suspending the activities.

Running the art-based activities was considered by many other organizational actors as very trivial compared to what was happening in the streets. At the same time, as stated by the head[56] of troupes, the political content of the activities was doubted, *"we tried to work against the intended and systematic manipulation of the Palestinians' awareness, but I think we still need more focused activities to work against that"*.

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[56] He is also one of the founders.

3. The responses

In relation to the creation of the PNA, responses varied across the organizations. The executive director of the organization of water and hydrology explained, *"we decided to leave the task of the drinking water supply to the water authority, and focused on other issues such as policies and legislation"*. The organization of agriculture also relocated some services to the ministry of agriculture and transferred expertise to the ministry's officials. The organizational actors re-oriented the logic of their work on the basis of filling gaps left empty by the PNA.

The eruption of the second Intifada posed a dilemma regarding the appropriate response. The programs director of the organization of agricultures stated, *"the streets were boiling over so we decided to leap back to relief"*.

By leaping back to the relief mode of delivering activities, the organizational actors of the second cluster conceptualized the notion of relief for development. This conceptualization was instituted to respond to the military events and at the same time to comply with the external obligations.

The NPOs considered the conditional funding as crucial at the national level, and so initiated in this regard some regulations that were presented within the framework of the PNGOs. The regulations were epitomized in a membership condition, which entailed banning any NPO member from signing the ATC, and so accepting funds from USAID.

Thus, the rejection of the conditional funding was the official response thoroughly discussed by the organizational actors who interpreted its critical consequences in terms of dividing and penetrating the nation via political money.

Nonetheless, some actors who regarded banning the ATC as an inadequate organizational response pleaded for more serious measures to prohibit both direct resources and indirect resources of the USAID funds. A program officer in the organization of water and hydrology commented, *"I'm afraid that in the end we accept the ATC, as we take funds from contracting organizations, which originally come from the USAID"*.

Moreover, many actors who doubted the application of the measures to ban the ATC did not share the point of view of those who had devised the measures. A project coordinator in the organization of art and culture said, *"it is true that officially we do not accept ATC, yet, we as coordinators have no idea how the rejection applied and who defined the terms of rejection"*. During our research stay, we observed that many actors who were not involved in interpreting this contextual evolution were excluded from devising the organizational responses.

The external funding generated clashing interpretations and positions. Some actors promoted and accepted the external funding, while many others refused considering external funding the beginning of crucial shifts. A member of GA in the organization of agriculture said, *"before we refused external funds and considered accepting funds as a form of betrayal of our cause"*. The GD of the organization of agriculture stated, *"no one disagrees about the importance of money, we need to survive, but you know funds and funders are not innocent, it is all political"*.

The actors who refused external funds believed in nationalism as the original frames and sources. These actors advocated sustaining the sources, and deriving responses out of them, whereas other actors interpreted external funds as enabling and necessary to meet the external challenges and evolutions. These actors believed in the meanings that come from new sources such as resources, opportunities and expansion. The evolution of the external funding marked a critical shift in the interpretations process amongst the actors.

Regarding the split with GS, some views held that keeping the organization as one unit would be a strong response against the political split between WB and GS, *"we were determined to maintain PARC as one organization, despite difficulties in communications and procedures, but we wanted to try"* the director of advocacy and lobbying in the organization of agriculture stressed. The organizational actors considered the appropriate response to be keeping the two offices as one unit, which would convey the message of maintaining one whole nation across WB and GS Despite the conflicting views, the organization decided to divide up the offices as a response to the split between GS and WB.

During the attacks against Gaza, part of the actors appealed for suspending the art activities regardless of any obligations, as a program coordinator explained, *"the attacks reminded us how small what we do is compared to the sacrifice of people in Gaza".* A dance teacher specified that during the attacks in 2007, the organizational response was *"an art demonstration called -You will not Pass-, in which patriotic songs were performed, and money was raised for Gaza, but I found that another art demonstartion would be meaningless compared to the second attacks".* Before developing this response, some actors proposed maintaining the festival and other art activities. These actors, who favored launching the festival, argued that the festival would be a powerful response against the attacks and would uplift the people's moral.

The other organizational views advocated to postpone all the planned activities during the second attacks on GS. Those views believed that the context changed and the impact of the art activities, during the attacks, will not be the same as before. a BoD member clarified, *"during the first Intifada, if it happened there was only one martyr, we would go to the family of the martyr to ask for permission to go ahead with the art activities or not".* The organizational actors finally decided to postpone all planned activities.

Concerning the annexation wall, most of the organizational responses towards it were limited to individual initiatives, and low profile activities such as demonstrations.

Synthesis on cluster 2

In brief, the organizations of the second cluster radically shifted over time in the way that meanings and interpretations were generated in relation to the contextual evolutions. The shifts demonstrated a failure to reach common meanings around evolutions and organizational responses. We were thus unable to observe consensus amongst actors in terms of interpretation or responses to contextual signals.

The absence of consensus happened due to change in the actors' orientations and the sources of meanings. Moreover, the lack of consensus resulted from the exclusion of some actors from the interpretation process. Having said this, we recognized that the external alignment degraded during the second time period. In table (6.4) we sum up the external alignment during the second time period and then analyze the external alignment in the third cluster.

Table (6.4): The second cluster during the second time period (1996-2015)

	Case 2	**Case 4**	**Case 6**
Selection of the external evolution	1.The creation of the PNA 2. Second Intifada erupted 3. External funding 4. Split between GS & WB 5. Military attacks on GS Most signals were addressed, but without responses in some cases	1.The creation of the PNA 2. Second Intifada erupted 3. External funding 4. Split between GS & WB 5. Military attacks on GS	1.The creation of the PNA 2. Second Intifada erupted 3. External funding 4. Split between GS & WB 5. Military attacks on GS
Interpretations	1.1 Potential state 2.1 Continuity of Israeli polices to quell resistance activities 3.1 Political money to influence some aspects, violation of internal policies 4.1 Fragmentation of Palestinian unity 5.1 Continuity of Israeli hostility The cases started to refer to new references & sources to generate meanings, e.g. statehood building, etc. meanings diverged amongst actors	1.1 An authority that would control the work of NPOs 2.1 Place more constraints 3.1 Violation and imposition of conditions 4.1 Fragmentation of Palestinians 5.1 Continuity of Israeli hostility	1.1 Potential statehood 2.1 Damage of infrastructure 3.1 Needed but should be managed carefully 4.1 Political problem 5.1 Continuity of Israeli hostility

Responses	1.1 Divided up tasks, fulfill gaps, address policies	1.1 Refused control & postponed activities	1.1 Trained the officials, focused on areas neglected & issues
	2.1 Relief services, development for relief	2.1 Entertainment activities	2.1 Relief mostly
	3.1 Banning of conditional funding	3.1 Refused ATC & normalization	3.1 ATC banned
	4.1 Maintained the offices	4.1 No office in GS	4.1 Coordination maintained but not offices
	5.1 Relief services	5.1 Art activities postponed	5.1 No specific response
	Responses devised by including only some actors, absence of consensus around those responses, doubts around the actual application		
External alignment	*Divergent meanings and interpretations, and exclusion of many actors =Low external alignment*		

The third cluster: (Case 1)

The first time period: (1993-2003)

The external alignment of the third cluster seen in the pattern of indoctrination remained low over the two time periods of the organizational evolution. This case demonstrates a strong rejection process dealing with a few contextual signals, but shows the ability of the founder to convince the other actors of the value of turning a blind eye to some of them.

1. The selection of some contextual evolutions

The founder was the main interpreter who decided on a plausible story to explain the organizational responses in relation to the contextual features. The founder explicitly stated, *"I know exactly what the educational system lacks, I reflected on my own experience. Look around, our economy is limited to a few industries that are controlled by a few businessmen"*. The founder, as the main interpreter, did not

engage with others to obtain their stories and interpretations. Rather his personal past experience led him to explain and assume that the educational system is problematic.

The founder selectively chose contextual signals, such as the industries of the local economy, and created an interpretation for those signals accordingly. Later, the story that was constructed solely by the founder was transmitted to other actors who in turn, adopted the same interpretation of the signals as the founder.

The founder selected some transformations, such as proliferation of the local NPOs, and the increase of external funding, as important signals to develop organizational actions. According to the founder, the logic of external funding dictated the content of the organizational actions he used as a concrete reference situation to present a different designing logic.

The founder affirmed, *"I do not want donors to influence my programs, I could approach them asking for knowledge and expertise exchange but not in content, because we know what to do"*. The founder selected the external funding and its impact in order to present the incubation process logic as the plausible correct action to *"respond to the unemployment rates, and as a way out to motivate job creation instead of job searching"*.

Nonetheless, the founder expressed his uncertainty and confusion about how to proceed with his approach, given the complexity of the context, *"to tell you the truth, I did not know back then what I was doing, and how I could find my way around such a complex context, especially when the other volunteers decided to quit"*. At that time, the founder failed to create and transmit to others the meanings he generated through interpreting the context and its signals.

The founder continued to select contextual signals such as the decline in production and aggressive competition over resources stating, *"I strongly believe that the approach of designing interventions, dependency on donors' money, and confinement to donors' agenda are the main reasons for the decline"*. We explain the following interpretations by selecting the salient contextual signals used by the founder as the basis for creating a narrative that explains the correctness of the interventions he planned to deliver.

2. The interpretations

The founder focused on constructing convincing narratives that were underpinned by selecting aspects that presented the planned actions as appealing, *"I wanted to spread the word about integrating technology into education through activities and tools"* the founder remarked. As a result, it became tempting to integrate technology, and the founder developed the notion of thinking technology while suspending other ambitious interventions.

The founder constructed narratives to stress that the organizational actions had no connections to politics. By highlighting the political disassociation, the founder selected the decline of the overall production as a salient signal that was deployed to advocate that the planned actions should overcome such a decline. For example, he highlighted the incubation process logic, *"if we want to re-generate production and focus on human capital, we need to follow this logic"*.

Later, the founder started to mobilize interns and volunteers. He also made a connection to salient signals important for the actors to perceive the organizational ideas as relevant. The programs director remarked, *"I'm an architect and the working conditions and prospects at the municipality have not been tempting for me, and so I saw some relevance in the work of Al Nayzak, as it targets education and youth who lack opportunities"*. Through selecting certain issues that are relevant to the mobilized actors, the founder started to transmit the meanings and the relevance of the organizational interventions.

Despite the reflection on personal experience and the selection of salient cues to construct a reasonable story, it did not help to reach to a consensus and so have high external alignment in the beginning of the organizational life.

3. The responses

The new notion was further catalyzed by integrating only selected elements that resonated with contextual features, such as poor infrastructure and scarce resources of schools as well as the outdated technological skills of teachers. By elaborating on these features, the founder presented interventions that included technology labs,

training and mobility programs for teachers, and the creation of new models including chemistry in the kitchen, robotics, physics and electricity on the streets.

Introducing tempting enticing elements that responded to crucial shortcomings in the educational system created the basis for other actors to foresee the meanings of the organizational interventions. This eventually helped the founder to gradually transmit the meanings to other organizational actors and the external stakeholders.

Nonetheless, the marginal optimization of the labs and the sudden termination of the projects were criticized. Although this was collectively perceived to be problematic, the founder chose to avoid discussing and explaining any drawbacks, insisting on highlighting how he responded to the salient contextual and sector-based signals, *"we gained important achievements for the educational system, despite the scarcity of resources because I refused to follow the trendy thematic interests for the sake of funds, while innovation and creativity are not tempting for donors"*.

The founder deliberately ignored the sudden termination and non-optimization of the labs, and avoided testing the reasons for it. On the contrary, he intentionally called attention to the critical issues associated with the educational sector in general.

We summarize with the observation of some instability of the external alignment. During the first time period, the external alignment was low. The founder could not completely transmit to the organizational actors the meanings he constructed about the relevance of the organizational actions in relation to the context.

We showed that in certain situations the founder selected a few salient cues coming from the context and the educational sector to prove that the organizational actions had been the correct response. At the same time, the founder deliberately refused to explain particular drawbacks related to the implementation of the organizational actions. Thus, this organization demonstrated a strong rejection process, and the founder constructed solely meanings regarding the contextual features and some evolutions.

However, the founder failed during the first time period to transmit his own interpretations and meanings to other actors who quit the organization. As a result, we assessed the external alignment to low. In table (6.5) we condense the external

alignment of the third sector, and later we analyze what happens in the external alignment during the second time period.

Table (6.5): the third cluster during the first time period (1993-2003)

	Case 1
Selection of contextual evolutions	1.Educational system shortcomings - Proliferation of NPOs - Decline in production - The evolution of external funding along with its dictated themes ▪ The founder was very selective in choosing some contextual features, & some other salient features
Interpretation	1.1 The shortcomings of the educational system were interpreted as being due to the lack of enabling teaching environment, and problems in teaching pedagogy, ▪ The sources of interpretations were derived from the personal experience- the founder was the main interpreter
Responses	1.1 Notion of thinking technology was developed, 1.2 New models were created, e.g. chemistry in kitchen ▪ The responses were derived based on the founder's views & vision
External alignment	***Intensive reflection on personal experience, rejection of many contextual signals & exclusion of others' interpretations= Low external alignment***

The third cluster: (Case 1)

The second time period: (2004-2015)

1. The selection of contextual evolutions

Two main contextual evolutions were selected by the founder of this organization. The first was the split between GS and WB selected by the founder who decided to take actions. The founder stated, *"I was very angry when the split occurred; because of that I decided to act"*. The second evolution selected was the military attacks on Gaza.

The founder continued with attempts to transfer his own interpretations to other organizational actors, advocating for advancing actions to create a productive society through enhancing science capacities.

In so doing, the founder rejected many structural and contextual factors; as the program director sarcastically proclaimed, *"Let's be honest, what kind of inventions do we have, MIP was just a fancy catchy idea the context could not absorb"*. A former employee emphasized, *"we are under occupation, we deal with a complex context, so I doubt whether what we tried to do is relevant"*.

The founder disregarded other views and insisted, *"we need to encourage the young generation to invent in relation to the local market, and eventually to have patents, and registered companies"*. The different actors could not create or internalize the founder's meanings. For example, the founder insisted on working on innovations regardless of the fact that the context was under occupation, which posed serious constraints impeding innovation.

Furthermore, the founder selected a few rhetorical and catchy words in order to underline the significance of innovations and their specific relevance to youngsters. He refrained from discussing the constraints due to the occupation that could impede organizational actions, and he deliberately selected few signals to explain the organizational actions.

The insistence on selecting some signals while rejecting others, started to influence the perception of other organizational actors. For example, a field coordinator believed there was some sense, although with reservations, *"our context is still not ready, and that's why we encouraged small projects such as smart gas"*. We have observed that other organizational actors reluctantly started to develop some meanings similar to those generated by the founder, but with a few reservations in the hope of adjusting the scope of the organizational actions to fit with the external context and its evolutions.

2. The interpretations

The founder interpreted the educational pedagogy as problematic; this interpretation was transmitted to other actors. The actors in turn tried to retain a plausible story

based on the founder's interpretation of the problems associated with the educational system.

The monitoring and evaluation officer remarked, *"the founder, in fact, inspired us to reflect on the educational system, and also to realize how important it is to work regardless of obstacles created by the occupying power to hinder our educational journey"*. We observed during the interviews and the research stay that the actors constantly refer to the founder as the only interpreter of contextual signals. The actors ascribed the meanings to the founder.

We could argue that the founder indoctrinated other actors with the meanings he constructed, although we did not notice a profound shared meaning and consensus amongst them. Some actors considered the organizational actions as a gambling attempt by the founder who overestimated the context in terms of its needs and readiness to absorb the organizational interventions. A program director stated, *"the educational system has drawbacks, and our context needs many things, but what we do is all about what the founder thinks important and needed"*.

The attacks on Gaza stimulated opposing interpretations about how to respond to the attacks. A former employee explained; *"I was asked to resign because I'm politically active, I could not ignore for example what happened in Gaza, and sit on my desk organizing for trainings. It seemed such nonsense to me, I had to go out into the streets to demonstrate, and the founder attempted to isolate us from the external context"*. The organizational actors faced restrictions from the founder regarding any active engagement in political activities during the attacks.

The founder attempted to convince the organizational actors that responding to contextual signals should be not only through demonstrations. He commented, *"it is not that we ignored the attacks, our volunteers constructed temporary houses for people whose houses were demolished, but we need to continue to work on other activities, we can not stop working during the attacks"*. Obviously, the founder had been trying to offer an alternative for other organizational actors on how to engage with the contextual evolutions.

The other organizational actors reproduced the meanings of work inculcated by the founder but they did not fully internalize these meanings. A program officer commented,

"the brutality of the attacks paralyzed and provoked me to question what we do, it was so heart-wrenching to sit in the office and work amidst the events. The donations and voluntary work are zero compared with the attacks". The actors were vessels of meanings coming from the founder, who attempted to disseminate the main meanings he carried and considered appropriate to the turbulence of the external context.

3. The responses

In relation to the split between GS and WB, the founder launched an office in GS. According to the founder, the office in GS would be the strategy to again unite the two parts (GSWB), *"technology and creativity are the key to unite WB & GS"*. The founder selected the political split to establish an office in GS. He explained that the office was the plausible response to expand the organizational actions to GS, presuming that this would rupture the split.

External views questioned the relevance of the organizational actions to the external context. For example, an expert in education raised a question in that regard, *"what kind of inventions is this organization producing, what is the added value, how is it invented under occupation?"*. The ministry of education expressed their concerns regarding how interventions were conceptualized in relation with the local context, *"the problem with the interventions was that they were all based on what the founder thought could work for the context"*. A member of GA emphasized, *"the work of Al Nayzak is in the head of the founders, he is the maestro, and that is very risky in my view"*.

The founder was aware that other actors had divergent meanings regarding the organizational actions in relation to the context but he insisted on ignoring such divergences saying, *"I'm convinced of what I do, and I prepared for this through readings, exposure to other experiences, and also my own experience"*.

The science house was produced on the founder's interpretation of the problematic issues of the educational system. A program officer remarked, *"science in schools is not taught the right way, the science house provides the students with the opportunity to visit, see and comprehend the models"*.

The coordinator of the science house indicated, *"the science house is one of those unique facilities open for people to be exposed to science, which has been always the*

vision of the founder". On many occasions, the organizational actors, when explaining the significance of the organizational actions, made constant references to the founder.

In relation to the attacks on GS, some in-house volunteers took the initiative to construct houses for the people affected by the attacks. The founder proudly highlighted the initiative, wishing to prove that relief activities were appreciated and supported more than demonstrations.

Synthesis on cluster 3

The founder is the main interpreter who selected certain signals, attributed meanings to them, and devised actions accordingly. He attempted to indoctrinate the meanings he generated to other actors and at the same time turned a blind eye to certain contextual features when designing responses.

Selecting specific signals while ignoring others, the founder essentially retained the most plausible story from his own perspective to explain the organizational actions in relation to the context. The other actors referred to the founder's interpretations of contextual evolutions and responses; we assessed the external alignment to be low during the second time period. In table (6.6) we brief the external alignment, followed by the conclusion of this chapter.

Table: (6.6): the third cluster during the second time period: (2008-2015)

	Case 1
Selection of contextual evolution	1.The founder maintained his focus on the drawbacks of the educational system 2. Split bet GS & WB 3.Military attacks on GS - The founder insisted on choosing the signals he wanted, & believed in the relevance of innovation to solve those signals
Interpretations	1.1 Considered the lack of innovation the reason behind drawbacks, & came up with rhetoric & catchy words about innovation & technology 2.1 Fragmentation of Palestinians, work & innovation could re-unite the two parts 3.1 No specific interpretation underlined

	▪ Meanings & interpretations came from personal experience & reflection then transmitted to others
Responses	1.1 low profile work such as smart gas, science house was constructed, 2.1 launched office in GS 3.1 Low profile voluntary work, temporary houses constructed, other actors were banned from participating in demonstrations ▪ Responses developed based on the founder's beliefs, while important contextual & structural features ignored
External alignment	***One main interpreter who indoctrinated his interpretations & transmitted his meanings to others=Low external alignment***

Conclusion

We examined external alignment in order to understand how organizational actors interpreted and responded to signals and evolutions coming from the external context. Primarily, we created the external alignment to assess whether the actors reached a common vision and meaning regarding the contextual signals, and if so, how they managed to reach to a common vision.

The focus of this paper was to find out whether organizational actors interpreted signals and reached to common meanings through selection and rejection as the main sensemaking activities. We pursued our focus through grouping the studied cases into three distinct clusters and examined their external alignment over two time periods (1970s-1995 & 1996-2015) respectively. The passage from the first to the second time period was the evolution of the external alignment.

The first cluster maintained high external alignment over the two time periods. We observed that the organizational actors successfully reached to consensus regarding the contextual signals. The consensus was reached through including all the actors who interacted actively and generated meanings that came from the national references. Interaction to reach to consensus enabled the actors to mitigate all contrasting views and interpretations to guide the organizational responses.

The organizational actors maintained and refined the meanings of struggle and patriotism as the major sources of meanings regarding the external evolutions,

reaching to responses after much debates and discussions. They also avoided domination of one group over another within the same organization. The first cluster demonstrated a case of active selection and engagement with the context, where actors acted as interpreters of the events and not vessels to the external actors' meanings. Thus, the actors of this cluster endured their role as interpreters to reach a consensus around collective meanings.

The second cluster is a case of degradation where external alignment shifted from high in the first time period to low in the second time period. Essentially, the actors belonged to the meanings that stemmed from the national frames such as resistance against occupation. The actors succeeded in maintaining connections to those meanings especially in the time of contextual jolts such as military attacks. The meanings at issue connected the actors together to collectively shape responses to the contextual signals.

Over time, the actors failed to reach common meanings and consensus around evolutions and organizational responses. The absence of consensus primarily happened as the orientations of the actors changed, as well as the sources of meanings. Moreover, the lack of consensus resulted from excluding some actors from the interpretation process.

The third cluster, composed of one case, demonstrated a strong rejection process, with the founder as the major interpreter of the contextual features and signals. The founder attempted to convey his meanings to other actors, but failed during the first time period to transmit his own interpretations and meanings to other actors who had left the organization. As a result, we assessed the external alignment low.

The external alignment remained low in the second time period because the founder successfully convinced other actors of his interpretations and meanings. He furthermore turned a blind eye to certain contextual features without considering them when designing responses.

2.7 Findings through institutional work theory - Problematizing givens: the intensive role of institutional work in legitimation process

Introduction

This chapter analyzes the dynamic alignment (DA) we used to investigate how organizations build alliances and obtain support to create or transform the organizational field. We found that problematization was an obligatory institutional work required to create organizations and initiate actions that would result in maximizing alignment with the local context.

If problematization was weak, the probability of alignment with the local context would be low and the initiation of actions would be impeded. Integrating institutional work into a contextualist framework allowed us to observe the change in the dynamic alignment which was influenced in two situations. The first was the inconsistency of dynamic alignment from high to low. The second was the evolution of dynamic alignment from low to high.

Thus, we posed the question: *how does dynamic alignment evolve over time?* To pursue this question, we employed an institutional work lens concentrating on the type of institutional works applied across the cases over the two time periods impacting the evolution of dynamic alignment.

The different type of institutional works led to different evolutions of the dynamic alignment over the two time periods. We present our data based on a clustering process, so as to classify the cases into two distinct clusters. The majority of the cases (2, 3, 4, 5 & 6) are grouped within the first cluster. These cases are characterized by similar dynamic alignment from high in the first time period to low in the second time period. The evolution from high to low was caused by changes in the institutional works.

The second cluster included case (1), which had low dynamic alignment in the first time period and high dynamic alignment in the second time period.

To proceed with the analysis on the basis of the two clusters, we structure the chapter by analyzing how the institutional works took place within the cases. We start by

problematization across the two clusters over the two time periods: the first time period (1970s-1995), and the second time period (1996-2015) respectively. For the sake of time continuity, we analyze each institutional work in each cluster successively across the two designated time periods.

During the analysis of our empirical data we were guided by the evolution of dynamic alignment and investigated the changes in the institutional works that maintained or not high dynamic alignment.

The first cluster: (cases 2, 3, 4, 5, 6)

The first time period: (1970s-1995)

1. Problematization

We found that problematization during the first time period was ideological. The institutional workers were alert to the local problems that concerned local people and touched their daily lives. Historically, the major concern was related to the absence of public organizations to handle the daily services. This was coupled with the poor civil administration, which caused collective sufferance for the whole nation especially the peripheral committees.

The collective confrontation of problems compelled the institutional workers to consider the concrete existential conditions as challenging problems whose transformation and possible solution required great efforts. Examples of these conditions include high taxes and subservience to the Israeli economy, abandonment of agricultural lands, water shortages, poor health services and torture in prisons.

The institutional workers studied these conditions in search of solutions, for example in the organization of health, the local problems were described by a former general director who stated; *"many neglected areas suffered from severe diseases and bad health conditions".* Formulating the exact problems enabled the institutional workers to devise solutions and initiate actions.

In this way, the institutional work tended to overcome the local problems and resonated with the revolutionary phase predominating during the first time period. Because of this, the NPOs existed and celebrated largely in the local context. This is

the first reason, which essentially explains the high dynamic alignment of the prevalent five cases[57] as stated earlier.

We found that problematization, based on considering collective existential situations as problems, was an inevitable entry point for NPOs. This begs the question of how exactly problematization happens. Intrigued by this, we noticed that problematization in the five cases happened during the first time period in a specific way.

The institutional workers during the first time period unpacked the local problems through questioning certain situations, analyzing and specifying in detail the main constituting elements. For example, the low productivity of agricultural lands referred to the abandonment of lands and subservience to the Israeli economy. Unpacking the agriculture problems reflected political and collective awareness, however, that was insufficient for change.

Considering the political situation as a reason behind the problems could have led the institutional work astray, if the intentionality had been to transform the problematic situations. This meant that the analysis of the local problems stretched beyond political aspects to comprehend the substance of the local problems.

For example, in the organization of agriculture, the former general director stated, "*we realized there were crops and soil diseases, and a lack of know-how on the part of the farmers*". Technicality and precise specialization played a determining role in analyzing the exact causes of the local problem and then of finding solutions based on existing local resources such as the springs, agricultural lands and farmers.

The unique technicality embedded within the institutional work was expressed through direct communication and interaction with the local communities so as to find possible solutions. For example, a branch director in the organization of water and hydrology commented, "*the intention was clearer in our minds than the possible actions but the time we spent with people enabled us to comprehend what was going on*". Engaging the local community provided genuine data and revealed the reality further conferring an important access to carry out an information-supported problematization.

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[57] PARC, HWC, PAC, ALHAQ, PHG

The exposure and engagement of the local communities empowered the institutional work with information and facts. The technicalities and capacities of all actors processed the information further through certain mechanisms that we label as intra-organizational discussions and interactions.

For example, the general director of the organization of law and human rights stated, *"the Wednesday meetings which we considered marathon used to continue till night so we could develop more ideas"*. We learned that the same thing happened in the other cases such as the organization of agriculture and the organization of water and hydrology. The executive director of the latter stated, *"we were patient and persistent so as to think and argue internally"*. As a result of the intra-organizational discussions, it was realized that collective problematization departed from the local concerns. It is important to note that the actions created through intra-organizational discussions obtained organizational consensus.

The technical expertise, scientific knowledge and awareness of the institutional workers, eventually enabled the technical analysis of the elements that created problematic situations and called for solutions.

To conclude, problematization prevailed as the dominant institutional work during the first time period (1970s-1995) and was carried out through collective interpretation and analysis of the local problems that concerned everyone in the local context.

2. Institutional experimentation

Institutional experimentation as an institutional work refers to the trials and errors to generate and combine resources and create objects. Based on our data we observed that institutional experimentation took place in a specific way across the two time periods in the two main clusters. We begin by analyzing this institutional work in the first cluster during the first time period.

The institutional workers in the first cluster improvised with what was available to them. The major objective of improvisation was to satisfy and respond to the daily needs of local people, such as in the provision of direct services. The former general director of health organization told us, *"we started simple and small, by going weekly*

to distressed communities to treat patients". Small and significant activities were undertaken to help the local communities. The initial target of the experimentation was to deliver direct and simple actions, prioritize the most distressed communities and maintain the linkage with them in every possible way.

Thus, the organizations commenced initiatives in an ad hoc way to solve either chronic or emerging problems. The organizations, moreover, responded through trials and errors to needs, adjusting to the local context.

Some institutional work evolved from small actions into more systematic actions. For example, work on fences, cleaning and planting inspired the agriculture organization to develop new actions. The program director asserted, *"we constructed the agricultural roads that enabled people to outreach their land and use in the time of siege"*. The agricultural roads, considered as properties for both the local communities and the NPOs, were used in the time of siege for different purposes and not just for agricultural activities. The agricultural roads are examples of actions that essentially originated from close exposure and interaction with the local communities.

Similarly, in the water and hydrology organization, the institutional work grew from distributing water tanks to rehabilitating infrastructure and establishing water resources, as described by a branch director, *"we rehabilitated many springs to overcome the water shortage"*.

Improvisation involved combining local resources through local bricolage, searching for volunteers and utilizing their capacities. Local bricolage primarily consisted of associating the local human capital with different educational backgrounds and specialization. For example, in the art and culture organization, the local resources combined to objectify actions, as described by a member of GA, *"because I'm an architect I was in charge of designing whatever was needed for PAC and El Funoun"*. The ideological virtues conditioned the attempts to attract human resources in an unstructured way without a formal recruitment process. However, this process was more symbolic so as to transform the most pressing issues in the local context.

The local resources were pooled and human capacities were optimized to realize concrete actions that dealt with relevant problems. The NPOs combined local,

specialized human capital and available material resources in an informal approach facilitated largely by social ties and word of mouth.

Experimentation entailed objectifying tangible and concrete actions to overcome the public problems. For example, in the organization of water and hydrology, trials were initiated to overcome the water shortage and unfair division of the groundwater; a program officer mentioned,*"we optimized springs to respond to the water needs of our communities"*.

As a result of improvising random small work, critical objects were established such as that which we learned in the organization of law and human rights; one of the founders remarked, *"we drafted a Palestinian Charter for Patients' rights and initiated a campaign to disseminate the charter in hospitals & clinics"*. For a while, the charters were introduced to various clinics, but over time were abandoned and presented as an important former achievement.

The improvised random actions were concrete and tangible as well as locally originated and scaled up by combining local resources with human capital. Through trial and error, the situational features were seen as the core of the interpretive explanation provided to people. The institutional workers undertook discursive attempts relying on direct and simple communication with people to explain the actions.

To summarize, institutional experimentation was dominated by improvisation which yielded to emerging local problems. Institutional experimentation relied on combining and benefitting from a considerable mass of local actors who were willing to devote their time and capacities without economic return to respond to local needs.

3. Establishing support

Establishing support as the third institutional work took place differently. The political linkage of the organizations, including constant relations with politicians & key figures, conferred approval and notable support for the institutional initiatives. The political parties were considered main strategic alliances that the NPOs could not bypass. In general, the supreme national political movement and the PLO as the supreme legitimate entity were required to approve the institutional trials. Political

support was considered a foundation on which a niche vis-à-vis the local context could be established.

Support was also sought from legitimate groups, such as the professional groups. For example, the organization of agriculture established unique alliances and collaboration with the JAA in Jordan. The same thing happened in the organization of law and human rights, as one of the founders highlighted, *"we reached out to the Jordan Bar Association to present our project, but the bar was extremely conservative and rejected it"*.

Historically, the local communities were considered powerful and vital political alliances. Intensive efforts were launched to cultivate and sustain direct simple relations with them, and were extended to sustain direct and simple relations, one of the branch managers in the organization of health stressed, *"we continuously work to renew the support of the local communities, part of my job is social, where I participate in the joyful and tragic occasions, locals are my alliances and my power"*. The direct link with the local communities was maintained through mechanisms such as door-to-door visits, participation in meetings, and focus groups.

In most cases, maintaining relations with the local communities empowered and facilitated the institutional work through donations. The CBR actions in the health organization were facilitated by the support of the local community, as a director of one of the community centers emphasized, *"a few entrepreneurial initiatives such as CBR centers, were accepted by the local community, and also celebrated by donating lands, and houses to use as offices"*. Without the financial and moral support of the local community, it would have been impossible for NPOs to exist and flourish.

Establishing alliances with the local communities entailed discursive practices showing how the institutional work was associated with the national vision so as to eventually convince the local communities. The CBR undertaken in the organization of health could be considered as activities advocated through intensive discursive works, a former director of one of the CBR centers stated, *"we engaged the parents in weekly meetings to demonstrate the positive influence of our work, and how we empowered generations to stand against the Israeli practices to evacuate Jerusalemites"*.

The human rights approach was strongly resisted by the local community which was highly suspicious, as one of the documentation officers explained, *"people refused to give information about violations experienced, and often asked what we were going to do with the information"*. The rejection and suspicion of the human rights approach led to the intensification of the institutional efforts aimed at convincing the local communities of its importance in the struggle against Israeli occupation. These two examples show the importance of the local communities' support and the difficulty for the institutional efforts to evolve without it.

Establishing support extended to the construction of international alliances, in particular with European leftist solidarity groups, who strongly believed in the justice of the Palestinian cause. The support initiated with the European friends deliberately aimed at disclosing the reality on the ground, exchanging expertise, training and obtaining small funds.

Any institutional efforts would have been a failure if they had been undertaken without obtaining approval from the local parties and the national supreme movement. Establishing support during the first period occurred in simple and direct interaction with both the local and the selective international communities. Constructing the alliances took place on the basis of shared outlook and ideologies. Establishing direct support with the local communities contributed to a high dynamic alignment.

4. Institutionalization

The NPOs achieved accomplishments institutionalized in different ways in the different sectors. Creating a network known as a PNGO[58], considered as a Meta structure, embraced the vast majority of NPOs. This structure is known as the first formal frame established on the signing of the Oslo accords.

The main objective behind PNGO was to structure and enhance cooperation, coordination and consultation across the members as well as disseminating their practices and mechanisms. At the same time, PNGO focused intensively on advocating and lobbying for certain policies, decisions and laws seeking to establish an appropriate structural and legal environment for NPOs in the Palestinian territories.

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[58] Palestinian Network of Non-Governmental organization

The members of PNGO shared unstructured practices and mechanisms. One relevant example, known as social contribution, was the main mechanism applied to verify the participation of the local communities. The program director of the land proclamation in the organization of agriculture affirmed, *"social contribution is holding our people engaged and responsible for the work"[59]*. A program director in the organization of water and hydrology stated, *"it is essential to enhance the sense of ownership"[60]*. Social contribution was maintained as a mechanism contributing to the normative structure in order to respect the dignity of local people.

As part of the social contribution, the local communities had to contribute to the expenses of the interventions. The contribution was specified at around 25% of the total budget of any intervention. Other examples of shared mechanisms included door-to-door visits where NPOs engaged directly with local communities.

To summarize, PNGO as a Meta structure obliged NPOs to commit to the norms, respect and engage the local communities. This Meta structure empowered NPOs to regulate, and organize the work legally[61] and structurally. The structure gave NPOs power because they worked in a context featured with a quasi-state. In addition, PNGO was established in order to regulate compliance with the validated principles[62] and enforce sanctions in case of violations. Institutionalization in this way contributed to the high dynamic alignment during the first time period.

We provide in table (7.1) a synthesis of the institutional works in the first cluster during the first time period.

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[59] As expressed by the organization of agriculture
[60] As highlighted by the organization of water and hydrology
[61] Given the 2000 law objectified by NPOs.
[62] Such as the ATC.

Table (7.1): Institutional works in the first cluster during the first time period (1970s-1995)

Institutional work	Specification
1. Problematization	Analyze main constituting elements of local problems, e.g. low productivity of agriculture sector Specify the causes of the local problems, low productivity caused by high taxes Derive solutions based on the existing local resources Engage the local community Intra-organizational discussions => problematization
2. Institutional experimentation	Doing what is possible with what is available Delivering direct & simple actions Ad-hoc actions to respond to needs Combining local resources, local bricolage, utilizing human capital in an informal way Tangible work & actions
3. Establishing support	Relations & support from the political parties Establishing direct relations with the local communities; door to door visits, meetings, focus groups Constructing international alliances, Friendship relations with the leftist solidarity groups in Europe
4. Institutionalization	Creating a network known as PNGO, which is a meta structure for enhancing cooperation, disseminate practices & mechanisms across NPOs, e.g. social contribution
Dynamic alignment	*Information supported problematization, combining local resources, delivering actions, & interacting directly with the local communities, relations with the political parties & international solidarity groups = High dynamic alignment*

Next, we analyze what happens in the four institutional works across the first cluster during the second time period.

The first cluster: (cases 2, 3, 4, 5, 6)

The second time period: (1996-2015)

1. Problematization

We found that problematization during the second time period was pragmatic. The focus of the institutional work shifted mostly to concern over continuity and survival instead of focusing on collective concerns, as had happened in the art and culture organization. According to a program officer, "*hosting unimportant troupes was a compromise to earn money after the financial crisis*". Sustainability and continuity was primarily focused on problematization at this time.

The head of primary health care in the health organization reflected, "*if we want to continue we need to change some aspects of our approach to overcome our financial crisis*". On the one hand, institutional work was transformed over time to accommodate resources, opportunities, and new players with power and mutual interests, while on the other, new concerns were integrated that could potentially yield more funds necessary for continuity.

As the pragmatic outlook shifted the focus of ideological problematization, the institutional workers started to embrace global terms and new tools. The organization of health for example, started to conceptualize the local health problems through a comprehensive approach expressed by the director of the women's health program, "*all health issues are now inter-related, and I can for example talk about early marriage to show how that is connected to different health aspects*".

The new conceptualization of problematization led to address certain aspects more comprehensively. The organization of art and culture problematized the lack of opportunities in order to enhance the capacities of individuals, as the general director emphasized, "*our thinking in fact advanced to incubate social change as a broad incremental aim*". Special programs investing in local human capital became an integral part of the institutional work and used different approaches that exposed individuals to different environments and new international experiences.

New tools were utilized to problematize the same old issues. The agriculture organization intensified its efforts in advocacy. The director of lobbying and advocacy stated, *"we advocated to reveal the land confiscations; the destruction of greenhouses and fences should be all revealed through campaigns"*.

New international references such as international human law were applied as a main reference to reveal the human rights violations. According to the general director of law and human rights organization, they aimed to, *"evaluate and rethink past work, so that new strategies could be introduced to focus on human rights law instead of humanitarian law"*. Media and technology were increasingly used during this time as an important tool for problematizing certain situations.

Much media documentation was produced, as the media officer in the organization of health indicated, *"using media we managed to demonstrate how the distressed communities are deprived of health services"*. New tools such as questionnaires and surveys became the principle media for obtaining information about problematic situations rather than direct interaction and discussions with the local communities.

The establishment of the PNA led to problematizing new aspects such as the performance of the public organizations in the provision of services. In the organization of water and hydrology the new proposals initiated by the PNA were heavily problematized and according to the executive director, *"we had to oppose the policy of the pre-paid water supply and we had to lobby to change it"*.

Analyzing new aspects was motivated to exert pressure and embarrass the PNA, in order to influence the basic aspects any government needs to consider towards local people. Later the institutional works were extended to advocate and place more pressure on the PNA to construct facilities. A branch director at the health organization stated; *"PNA should provide facilities for people with disabilities when constructing hospitals or other public ventures"*.

In brief, upon the creation of the PNA, the first cluster reconsidered problematization that was initially influenced by ideology. This paved the way for pragmatic problematization, through which unpacking the local problems was sustained with more comprehensive global terms and tools.

2. Institutional experimentation

The institutional workers started to think of non-tangible actions, varying across the cases, which could change policies. For example, in the organization of law and human rights, business was integrated with human rights, while the organization of agriculture undertook actions that brought to light the Israeli policies of land confiscation. Similar trials were embraced by the organization of health, as the general director explained, *"advocacy and lobbying based actions became the core of our efforts, we organize professional evidence based campaigns to influence policies in the long term".* Such actions in some cases failed while in others, achieved moderate success.

We could thus argue that the provision of services and random improvised actions were replaced by planned actions aimed at changing public policies. These planned actions were intended to expand the initial jurisdiction of the NPOs and generate new possibilities of interventions.

Drafting the well-known 2000 law was considered part of the launch of new actions to regulate relations with the PNA. The 2000 law was a negotiation process to protect the NPOs' interests and power. It tended to reduce the probability that the PNA would exert control upon the NPOs, but was also a form of acceptance of the PNA as a public authority and a stepping-stone into statehood.

In terms of the PNA perspective, objectifying the 2000 law was an acknowledgment of the important role of the NPOs and a recognition of their power.

In addition, the institutional workers started to opportunistically generate resources through which the NPOs entered the aid industry. As part of seeking and diversifying financial resources, the local agenda was re-considered in order to integrate new topics.

The trials recognized the introduction of recycling by international donors to the local context in the organization of art and culture; a program officer stated, *"we hosted an orchestra of recycled musical instruments, and organized workshops on recycling, though we questioned its usefulness".* This shows that the institutional workers borrowed recycling from particular donors. The same orientation in integrating new

ideas was observed in the organization of agriculture which decontextualized organic farming through the Italian donors.

Nonetheless, both organic farming and the recycling endeavors were not totally new to the local context. We observed that these new actions were essentially the result of the new orientation revealed in the intensive presence of the international donors. Furthermore, organic farming and recycling had a short life span and were abandoned on termination of the fundable projects.

The trials to generate resources required cultivating relations with potential donors and applying for proposal calls. In the organization of agriculture, continuous trials were intensified to obtain resources, *"our organizational mentality changed, we started to seek for resources and funds"*. The attempts to win fundable proposals dominated the actions of generating resources, becoming a critical concern for the organizations.

At the political level, approaching diversified financial resources entailed the well known conditional funding because of which many institutional trials to generate more resources failed. For example, the organization of health abandoned a few fundable opportunities when the donors requested the organization to sign the ATC[63].

The accelerating entry of the aid industry caused the organizations to conduct different evaluations. For example, the organization of agriculture achieved the ISO 9002 to signal to the donors that the quality standards were applied to the organization. In the organization of law and human rights, several rounds of evaluations concerning administrative and management policies were carried out. In the organization of health, a gender audit was conducted, but was considered by the actors as abnormal because it was associated with the requirements of donors.

The audit and the ISO, as we learned, were not actually applied but presented as achieved status. Such achieved status, according to the organizations, could potentially yield future opportunities. These examples were considered as institutional trials signaling to potential donors that certain procedures and sensitivity to certain segments were being respected.

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[63] Anti-Terrorist Contract.

On the one hand, the new types of trials entailed conflicts and tensions with the PNA, and the specialized ministries which emerged as the PNA strived to influence the approaches guiding the organizational actions, and to re-shape the niche the NPOs had established vis-à-vis the context.

On the other hand, the competition over resources featured the relation between the PNA and the NPOs. Examples of tension over resources appeared mostly in the organization of agriculture due to the latter's financial power. These examples were managed through new frames such as consortia.

In short, the NPOs started to undertake new types of actions with different aims such as changing policies, strengthening dominant positions and roles, and reinforcing power. The institutional trials and errors noticed in the first cluster during the second time period was transformed from a local bricolage of combining human, financial & social capital, into seeking and diversifying resources. At the same time, the cases of the first cluster tried to maintain their initial line of interventions in terms of improvisation, services provision, and objectifying concrete objects.

Nonetheless, because the provision of services was the main source of legitimation, some of the cases we studied launched attempts aimed at reproducing the services provision into more structured deliberate actions. These cases planned to transform public policies through networking and campaigns.

Because of the shift in the institutional trials of the first cluster during the second time period, we assessed the dynamic alignment as low.

3. Establishing support

We observed shifts in the way the NPOs established support. The institutional workers started to negotiate and stimulate local participation. New relations were established with new local stakeholders as main alliances, such as the village councils that replaced direct relations with local community members. The role of the new alliances was consolidated more to validate the beneficiaries of projects based on a pre-set criterion. The new alliances started to have different roles and engagements that were organized in a more standardized fashion.

The establishment of new entities, such as security forces, introduced new stakeholders causing NPOs to establish strategic relations with these entities and assign them critical roles. The director of local accountability in the organization of law and human rights explained, *"by getting the seniors in security forces to be aware of violations, they themselves took charge of searching for the violations, resulting in a decrease of 80%"*. Assigning roles to the new forces represented a new form of participation for the official stakeholders.

NPOs formulated new alliances such as protection groups; the programs director in the water and hydrology organization stated, *"the protection groups in fact were important for representing us in areas and could quickly reach the locations in case of problems"*. Protection groups were considered as guarding arms for NPOs with a specific role during emergencies. The programs director in the organization of agriculture emphasized, *"without the protection groups, we would probably have lost all the projects we had established in the south; they could reach the damaged greenhouses[64] quickly"*.

The cases of the first cluster soon started to pay special attention to the community-based organizations (CBOs). On the one hand, NPOs attempted to rely on the CBOs as implementation arms in the locations, but on the other hand they attempted to use those CBOs as representatives. The organization of agriculture considered the CBOs as a key alliance through which projects in villages and towns could be implemented. The CBOs essentially protected the interests of NPOs and their niches vis-à-vis the local communities. NPOs intended to use the CBOs to establish a new form of indirect relations with the local communities.

At the same time, the CBOs facilitated the expansion of institutional work. The general director of the organization of art and culture explained, *"the strategy was to cultivate a partnership with the CBOs, organizing performances in villages instead of bringing peoples to the city"*. Resorting to the existed CBOs implied a new definition of relations with the local communities. We could further argue that the CBOs were considered as new resources for NPOs, facilitating the launch of new actions in different territories. In addition, new alliances established with the private sector were considered the solution to securing new resources and sustaining actions.

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[64] Note from non-participatory observation of a field visit included the studied case and the donating agency.

The arrival of new players, such as the international donors, caused NPOs to start to diversify their alliances. NPOs initiated relations with the different formal stakeholders such as the PNA, and started to organize and structure relations through consortia used as platforms to organize and validate collective actions to deal with the PNA and organize relations with the international donors.

To summarize, the new approach of building alliances generally became more complex and indirect. The complex relations were organized on different platforms such as consortia and networks that defined new boundaries with the local communities and established strategic relations with the new entities. The interactions and relations were framed in a more formal and standardized manner.

We observed the growth of the use of intermediary channels to replace the direct informal relations with the local communities. The village councils, municipalities and the CBOs are examples of those channels. Because of the shift in how the cases of the first cluster formulated the alliances, the dynamic alignment degraded low.

4. Institutionalization

We detected change in institutionalization that prevailed in the first cluster during the second time period. The institutional workers transferred practices and assets to the public organizations, mainly to the ministries. For example, the organization of agriculture transferred part of its services to the ministry of agriculture, as the director of the extension services in the ministry explained, *"in fact we built on the NPOs' experience, and its capacities in the extension services"*. The relocation of certain services and assets indicated a clear division of tasks between the PNA and NPOs.

NPOs, moreover, created unique infrastructure assets that other organizations relied on, such as the PNA, INGOs and UN organizations. For example, the organization of health produced health protocols and rehabilitation centers which significantly contributed to the ministry of health.

This was also observed in the organization of art and culture as highlighted by the ministry of culture, *"it was not possible to start from scratch, the musical archive for example was a national repository that we could further build on"*. The publications of the organization of law and human rights were considered essential assets; the

ministry of justice stated, *"almost all our work was based on Al Haq publications, when we approached the United Nations our main source was those publications"*.

Evidently, NPOs created a bundle of assets and services that were considered a unique national repertory optimized by the PNA in different ways. Since the PNA was established as a state, NPOs had to relocate part of services and assets to the public organizations, which eventually transformed the global field.

Consequently, institutional workers started to work with various segments such as the new generations and housewives. In the organization of water and hydrology, the efforts focused on new aspects, as the director of the north branch said, *"we started to raise the awareness of many segments, for example, we coached the housewives on how to manage water consumption"*. In the organization of law and human rights, similar efforts were observed; the training coordinator stated, *"we started to heighten the awareness of journalists so they would report the violations very professionally, and use the correct terms"*. Thus, NPOs focused on disseminating the proper practices to various segments.

Disseminating showed the tendency of NPOs to connect with different segments such as the new generation. The connection was strengthened through the diffusion of new concepts and culture. It could be argued that NPOs attempted to retain their position and re-define new spaces of connection with different stakeholders including the new generation.

Institutional workers started to expand locally, regionally, and internationally. The expansion was shown in the establishment of mega NGOs. Certain tasks were relocated to those NGOs that started to work with new segments. For example, in the organization of art and culture, a violin institute was established; the director of the institute stated, *"the violin institute was established to teach the violin for very low fees or for free for those who can not pay"*. Some other NPOs established mega organizations to help the new public organizations.

We observed this in the organization of water and hydrology, and in particular, in the establishment of the water institute; the director of the institute said, *"we established the water institute as an institutionalized platform to transfer expertise to local governance bodies"*. NPOs started to influence the new public organizations through these mega

organizations, further revealing their tendency to structure and divide the work.

NPOs started to expand regionally based on their long experience, as observed in the organization of law and human rights; the director of the international accountability argued, *"it is a must to transfer the Palestinian experience to other countries and to build good collective policies"*.

The regional expansion, moreover, was able to generate opportunities and resources; a branch manager and a trainer in the organization of water and hydrology explained, *"because of the expansion, we developed new concepts such as integrating corruption with water issues"*. The regional expansion indicated a growing phenomenon that represented immense efforts to create new niches, potential opportunities and new sources of legitimation.

Some organizations started to expand internationally, yet in different ways. Examples include exchange trips, field visits, conferences, training, and the inauguration of external offices[65].

Structurally, NPOs invented new arrangements such as clusters, or specialized groups. In the organization of water and hydrology an e-cluster was formulated; a director of one of the branches specified, *"we originated e-wash cluster to transfer our long expertise and optimize opportunities for improvement"*. Similarly, in the organization of health, we observed coalitions; the director of the women's health program said, *"we are part of coalitions such as reproductive health, gender based violence; it is a platform to exchange and exert pressure"*. The new coalitions and clusters reflected the interests of NPOs to expand and generate collective power.

More structures, such as the council of human rights, were created to exchange and expand experiences; the coordinator stated, *"the council of human rights was established to replicate our long experience as a pioneering organization"*. We also observed this in the organization of art and culture; the general director argued, *"the strategy now, as an organization with a long legacy, is to rejuvenate some old*

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[65] such as the offices of the organization of law and human rights, which are based in Holland and Brussels.

cultural centers in different cities and villages". The two empirical examples reveal the efforts established to extend the long experience of NPOs to other new organizations, or even to old neglected CBOs. In addition, NPOs had branches in different cities, which evidently showed the deliberate efforts to expand in territories and increase their visibility.

To summarize, the five cases of the first cluster followed the same approach, although with subtle variances, to the diffusion of practices and mechanisms developed over time. These cases invested tremendous efforts to expand at different levels, and create new platforms. The new platforms such as coalitions and mega organizations distanced the NPOs from having direct engagement with the local communities. Consequently, the NPOs started to lose the high level of dynamic alignment during the second time period. We synthesize in table (7.2) the institutional works in the first cluster during the second time period.

Table (7.2) Institutional works in the first cluster during the second time period (1996-2015)

Institutional work	Specification
1. Problematization	Quests of continuity & sustainability, seeking for resources & opportunities
	New tool applied to obtain information; e.g. questionnaires & surveys
	Global terms embraced; e.g. gender-based violence, lobbying & advocacy
	New international references; e.g. humanitarian law
	New interests & aspects problematized; e.g. the performance of the public organizations
2. Institutional experimentation	Planned actions with new objectives, e.g. advocacy and lobbying, 2000 law
	Seeking & diversifying financial resources, decontextualizing recycling notion, organic farm, evaluations such as ISO 9002, gender audit
3. Establishing support	Diverse international donors arrived, organizations started to negotiate local participation through new channels, e.g. villages' councils, protection groups,
	Creating inter-organizational alliance, e.g. consortiums

4. Institutionalization	Transposing practices & assets e.g. extension services, health protocols, rehabilitation centers, musical archive, disseminating, e.g. outreaching new segments; journalists, expanding locally, regionally & internationally, New mega NGOs, clusters, coalitions, external offices, etc.
Dynamic alignment	*New tools & global terms, international funds instead of combining local resources, campaigns instead of tangible actions, indirect relations with the local communities, transmitting practices, assets to the public organizations & new platforms distanced the NPOs of having direct engagement with the local communities= Low dynamic alignment*

Next we analyze the second cluster, and examine the same four institutional works during the two time periods.

The second cluster: (Case 1)

The first time period: (1993-2003)

1. Problematization

This case tended to create problems that were essentially rooted in the founder's passion, which revolved around teaching-science by doing; the founder clarified *"I intended to manufacture and introduce educational games to teach the students logical thinking"*. Problematization further rested on the founder's interpretation of the gaps in the national economy and thought to which he had the solutions, *"creative science, innovation, and the creation of a productive thinking society which would change the economy"*. Based on individual problematization, the sixth case furnished actions and intended to exist vis-à-vis the organizational field.

Because of the dependence on individual problematization, the founder deeply reflected upon his personal experience of influencing problematization, stating, *"I know exactly what the educational system lacks, I reflected on my own experience as I was rejected at the local universities because I had obtained low grades in Tawjihi[66]"*. The personal experience of the founder led him to contemplate the educational system from his own perspective so that he could intervene to compensate for its lacks.

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[66] "Tawjihi" is The General Comprehensive Secondary Examination in Palestine.

The interpretation of the problems of the educational system based on the founder's outlook were transposed to other institutional workers in order to criticize and attack the system; a branch manager emphasized, *"we all went through the same educational process and we know what kind of problems our system has"*.

Having former teachers involved in the institutional work of this case boosted the employment of reflexivity of personal experiences; a project officer stated, *"I was a teacher, and I know that our educational system has serious problems"*.

In addition to attacking the educational system, the founder criticized certain issues witnessed in the Palestinian context, and specifically in the NPOs, *"I believe there is massive decline in production, to which the NPOs greatly contributed"*. The institutional efforts focused further on decomposing the working approaches of the NPOs; the programs director criticized, *"their approach to designing interventions is problematic as they are dependent & confined to the donors' agenda"*.

To summarize, the approach of problematization was observed as the main institutional work through which the institutional workers criticized the problems of the educational system that, according to the founder, could be solved by creating alternative proto-institutions. Interpreting and reflecting on personal experiences spread to the staff later, to become a shared interpretation only at the intra-organizational level.

The individual founder-centric problematization led to the failure of the institutional work to establish a niche vis-à-vis the context. Thus, the dynamic alignment was observed to be low during the first time period.

2. Institutional experimentation

The institutional experimentation of this cluster mostly showed unusual objects. In the beginning, the attempts at experimentation were concentrated on finding financial resources by means of responding to tenders and outreaching different stakeholders.

These attempts, however, failed resulting in the main institutional worker financing the initial trials. Because of the self-financing mode, these trials were short term and of limited scope.

The institutional worker tested the new methodology of teaching science by doing; the founder clarified *"I started to manufacture simple educational games and organized workshops for students to disassemble and re-assemble objects"*. By creating and introducing small actions such as events he intended to show the stakeholders how and what could be done through the educational games.

The early trials, however, failed to open a new path showing how the new methodology could be realized. The new methodology was experimented in low profile models demonstrating how Information and Communications Technology (ICT) could be integrated into the educational system. In the trials, models were created: physics & electricity on the street, chemistry in the kitchen, Palestinian literature, know your rights, music and mathematics.

The introduction of the models as trials designated the re-orientation of the institutional experimentation to produce new ideas and actions in order to overcome the gap in local problematization. The models further aimed at demonstrating what could be achieved through institutional innovation in general.

3. Establishing support

The institutional worker in the first cluster established support by investing efforts to construct local alliances and an enabling environment for schools to employ ICT in education. The MOE complained that, *"our schools lack an enabling environment that could elevate the capabilities of the students"*. To obtain the support of the formal stakeholders, the founder of this organization used materialistic rewards to motivate the stakeholders to engage in the organizational interventions.

The labs, learning objects, exchange trips for teachers, and the visits to NASA were all very appealing; one of the beneficiaries commented, *"it is very encouraging to reach NASA and present our projects, I had never dreamt that I would compete one day to go to NASA, I'm very inspired"*[67]. The material rewards provided by this organization were exceptional for the concerned stakeholders. The stakeholders concerned appreciated the exceptional material rewards and interventions of the organization.

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[67] That was part of a short talk with one of the nominee of the MIP during one of the non-participant observation.

At the same time, this organization established relations with the local organizations, as explained by the MOE, *"the founder is involved in the strategic planning at the ministry level, and we gave him consent to access schools"*. The support of the ministry extended to participating in the evaluation jury of the competitions. The teachers, who were engaged in the training related to the learning objects, were represented at the governance level of the organization. One of the teachers said, *"I was asked to identify the exact needs so that the trainers could turn the curriculum into games"*. We observed that the teachers formed important local alliances supporting this organization.

The organization of the second cluster established relations with a few key local experts in the private sectors of technology and engineering, who were considered important local alliances.

Strenuous efforts were paid to building relations with the local community. The desire to reach the local community was projected at accessing different geographic areas without being intimidated or rejected. According to the director of one of the branches, *"we expanded our networks locally, I often went to the governorates and I could see how the governorates were eager to support us, the schools and students were happy to participate in our activities"*. To summarize, this organization established relations with a few local alliances, such as the private sector, the schools and the local community.

These alliances were limited to a small scale, but supported the organization and allowed the organizational interventions to facilitate the high dynamic alignment during the second time period. We could further argue that this organization replicated the same approach of the cases of the first cluster inversely.

4. Institutionalization

Regarding the second cluster, we could not observe any stabilized mechanism that transposed to others during the first time period, due to the institutional works being launched by this case on an ad hoc basis. Moreover, the founder was the main institutional worker who tried to convey his passion to other organizational actors. We synthesize in table (7.3) the institutional works in the second cluster during the first time period.

Table (7.3): institutional works in the second cluster during the first time period (1993-2003)

Institutional work	Specification
1. Problematization	Rooted in the passion of the founder, e.g. teaching science by doing
	Reflection on the personal experience & thoughts from the founder's own perspectives to offer what is lacking
	Criticism of some aspects in the Palestinian context, NPOs & existing institutions based on personal experiences, interpretation of the educational system based on the founder's outlook
2. Institutional experimentation	Testing new methodology through teaching science by doing, ICT integrated, creating new models
3. Establishing support	Constructing local alliances e.g. the support of the official stakeholders, relations with the private sector, & local community
4. Institutionalization	No stabilized mechanism that transposed to others, because the institutional works launched on an ad hoc basis,
	The founder was the main institutional worker who tried to convey his passion to other organizational actors
Dynamic alignment	***Problematization was founder-centric, teaching by doing, trials to obtain resources, the focus was to obtain support from local community, private sector & the official stakeholder = Low dynamic alignment***

Below we analyze the shifts, within the first cluster, in the four institutional works during the second time period.

The second cluster: (Case 1)

The second time period (2004-2015)

1. Problematization

The contextual evolution permitted this case to find an alternative to problematization through the utilization of a specific contextual jolt. The latter was related to the changes within the specialized ministry, which the founder optimized as an

opportunity to register the organization. The registration permitted the initiation of the actions requiring re-problematization.

The re-problematization through which the founder reached to a shared outlook with the key stakeholders was aimed at transforming the educational system by means of new and appealing ideas and material rewards that profited the stakeholders. We elaborate on these ideas in the following chapter on institutional experimentation.

Re-problematization meant developing a shared outlook with the MOE as a key stakeholder, and studying the issues hindering the improvement of the educational system that required intervention. The re-problematization included soft appraisal of absent enabling facilities. The founder explained, *"the idea is to support the schools with the proper infrastructure that could supplement the curriculum",* and *"empower the teachers with the required skills".*

Re-problematization eventually allowed the initiation of actions vis-à-vis the organizational field. The founder, however, remained the key player with some engagement of the MOE and other concerned external stakeholders.

2. Institutional experimentation

The institutional worker experimented through designing by building, aiming to adjust and develop ideas and projects. The programs director clarified, *"we tested the context, our programs did not work for the context, so we stepped back to understand what was needed".* Designing and improvising actions by building to accommodate with the local context required abandoning the original idea of programs such as MIP[68], while encouraging other small and low profile inventions such as smart gas.

The institutional experimentation resulted in objectifying unusual new objects including the tabs with the educational platforms, technology labs in the selected schools, science house and scientific park. Inaugurating the science house as a public facility marked a crucial change, as the public relations officer reflected, *"we wanted our people to get science at the science house, to see and understand models for physics, chemistry & biology".*

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[68] Made in Palestine program.

The scientific park was recently launched because the former professional experience of the main institutional worker[69] had the opportunity to study different models in science and technology, which in turn led the founder to create the park as an unusual facility in the Palestinian context. The aim of this park was to tackle larger problems in the educational system and to generate new funding opportunities.

We observed that the staff in this organization was very young. Working here was considered a good employment opportunity, especially as academic background alone led to limited job opportunities in the local labor market.

The strategy of attracting interns and part timers was another unusual way of attracting graduates who preferred to continue working with the organization instead of looking for jobs. Attracting young volunteers could be seen as replicating the trials in the first cluster during the first time period.

To conclude, institutional experimentation of the second cluster rested mainly on constructing and introducing exceptional objects that were unfamiliar to the local context. Some trials were later abandoned because they were inconsistent with the local context. The abundant unusual objects introduced to the context were not fully utilized, although in some cases, as the external stakeholders emphasized, some of those objects were occasionally used. In terms of bricolage the institutional trials combined young graduates and rejuvenated volunteerism through establishing the unit of volunteers. Because of such expansion and shift in the institutional experimentation, the dynamic alignment in the second cluster evolved to be high during the second time period.

3. Establishing support

Official authorization was obtained from the key official stakeholders[70] because this organization did not attach its efforts to any political party. Striving to obtain support was coupled with attempts to obtain financial support from international donors. Focusing on official authorization, approaching international donors only for financial resources and avoiding political linkage showed the different approach followed by this organization to obtain support.

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[69] The main institutional worker is the founder who worked at CISCO.
[70] Ministry of Interior.

Because of this, the organization managed to maintain high dynamic alignment during the second time period.

4. Institutionalization

Institutionalization occurred during the second cluster in a different way compared with the first time period. Efforts were intensified to access different schools and integrate ICT into education. Part of disseminating the work was the training of different age groups, and their engagement in competitions and exhibitions. Annual exhibitions and public events, considered important to increase the visibility of institutional efforts, were organized regularly.

In addition, this case expanded through establishing branch offices in different cities that represented the organization and obtained access for more schools. The institutional efforts expanded internationally. We detected this expansion by sending teachers on exchange trips, and delegating the winning competitors to NASA.

Although this organization entered the field later, huge efforts were paid to institutionalize the work. Some efforts replicated what other older NPOs did, such as the launching of branches in different cities, while others were new and exceptional, such as the annual delegation of the competitors to NASA. At the same time, this organization aimed at establishing close relations with the local communities. As a result, we assessed the dynamic alignment high during the second time period. Table (7.4) synthesizes the institutional works in the second cluster during the second time period.

Table (7.4): institutional works in this second cluster during the second time period (2004-2015)

Institutional works	Specification
1. Problematization	The shared outlook developed with the MOE as the main external stakeholders, the outlook included soft appraisal of difficulties such as absent enabling facilities
2. Institutional experimentation	Designing by building, e.g. improvement of simple items, accommodation of projects with the context Providing unusual objects, e.g. tabs, science house, scientific park

3. Establishing support	e.g. Support obtained from the official stakeholders, international donors
4. Institutionalization	Disseminating through competitions, annual exhibitions, & public events, expanding through different branches, exchange trips, delegates to NASA
Dynamic Alignment	**Soft appraisal of difficulties in the schools shared with the external stakeholders, exceptional objects materialized, authorization from the official stakeholders, some balance between establishing relations with the local community & expanding internationally through exceptional events=High dynamic alignment**

Conclusion

In this chapter we analyze the dynamic alignment finding that local problems, as collective concerns, were integral to the existence of Palestinian NPOs. This was translated into local problematization as a key institutional work and the first stage of legitimation. Problematization therefore emerged as the crucial institutional work that prevailed across the investigated cases of the first cluster and permitted them to exist.

This crucially gave space to cluster the contrast case, in which the fundamental institutional work was demonstrated by attempts at finding a problem for an already created solution. The struggle was to problematize issues associated with the educational system, which were primarily entrenched in personal interpretation. The founder-centric definition of the problems caused the efforts of the institutional work to fail. We explained, however, how the contrast case succeeded in finding an entry point other than problematization. The alternative point of the contrast case was identified through the utilization of a specific contextual jolt related to changes in the staff of the ministry of education.

Distinguishing the five cases of the first cluster, the importance of problematization was revealed with this contrast case. Problematization was a concrete base for existence and the obtaining of public recognition. The absence of problematization resulted in failure to exist vis-à-vis the local context, and so low dynamic alignment was observed. We therefore showed that re-problematization was a must for the contrast case which had to re-problematize through constructing a shared outlook with key stakeholders regarding the problematic issues of the educational system.

Ideological local problematization was the core institutional work across the five cases, largely contributing to high dynamic alignment during the first time period. Over time, however, problematization was transferred from ideological to pragmatic, and global tools and concepts were embraced more than collective concerns. Thus, the dynamic alignment started to degrade across the first cluster during the second time period.

Institutional experimentation as a second stage of legitimation was seen across the five cases to occur in the improvisation of small actions, aimed at responding to the concerns of the population, and which depended on the available local human and material resources. This contributed to high dynamic alignment across the first cluster during the first time period.

With the contextual changes, the institutional experimentation, which focused during the second time period on intensifying actions attempting to influence, change public policies and transform certain situations, shifted in the second cluster. Simultaneously, intensive actions were launched to obtain and diversify financial resources through international funding. The shift in the institutional experimentation contributed to degrading the dynamic alignment of the first cluster during the second time period.

The contrast case, however, improvised launching ad-hoc initiatives financed by the seed money of the main institutional worker. Later, this case relied on creating and introducing unusual objects, considered new and appealing for the local context and for teachers, who had limited capacities and opportunities. The shift in the contrast case in terms of institutional experimentation elevated the dynamic alignment high during the second time period.

The third stage of legitimation was establishing support. The first cluster during the first time period established direct and simple relations with the local community, which was facilitated by the political approval conferred to the NPOs. International support was a key factor, nonetheless, exclusive to European solidarity groups, which shared the same ideological foundations as the NPOs. Establishing support was another contribution to high dynamic alignment during the first time period.

Over time, the intention of the first cluster to establish support was consolidated in expanding international support including financial and technical exchange. At the

local level, the direct simple relations with the local community became more indirect, and were facilitated by an intermediary structure such as the CBOs.

During the second period, the NPOs began to detach all their institutional efforts from any political association. The indirect ways of communicating with the local communities degraded the dynamic alignment to low during the second time period.

The contrast case limited the efforts of cultivating support to official authorization and approval and at the same time approaches were made to the international donors. This case did not seek political engagement and deliberately emphasized its disassociation from politics. Over time, we observed the inverse in terms of establishing support, meaning that this case gave special attention to establishing direct relations with the local community, eventually contributing to high dynamic alignment during the second time period.

Institutionalization is the last stage of the legitimation process through which the cases diffused and stabilized accomplishments. During the first time period, the efforts of the prevalent five cases focused on creating a structure known as PNGO. This structure was the main body allowing its members to cooperate and structure their work. PNGO was the main Meta structure which controlled the compliance of the members with established norms and practices. At the same time, sanctions were enforced in case of their violation. This led to high dynamic alignment during the first time period.

Over time, the cases of the first cluster were applied differently to institutionalization. Examples included transferring assets and some services to the public organizations. Furthermore, the first cluster started to multiply its structure and visibility by expanding locally, regionally and internationally.

Regarding the second cluster, we could not observe any efforts at diffusion, which could be explained because this organization was at that time still establishing its own niche vis-à-vis the local context. During the second time period, however, the contrast case replicated the experiences of other cases to stabilize the work. For example, the case disseminated and expanded locally and internationally as a form of institutionalization. As a result, the dynamic alignment became high during the second time period.

2.8. Transversal analysis

We have developed this transversal analysis based on our findings and the literature. The aim is to investigate factors behind the findings and link them to the question of the legitimation process of not-for-profit organizations working in a turbulent context. We pursue threefold objectives; the first is to map out the results of the three alignments as the main pillars of legitimation: internal alignment (IA), external alignment (EA), and dynamic alignment (DA).

The second objective is to synthesize the evolutions' trends amongst three distinct clusters. The third objective is to draw theoretical contributions that could be added to the three theories we mobilized for our study. In addition, we aim to arrive at some managerial implications which should highlight how our findings could help the organizations we studied in terms of legitimation.

Our main observation drawn from the analysis is the varied evolutions of the three forms of alignments. We observed the evolutions based on assessing the different forms of alignments amongst three main variables: the organizational values, organizational interventions and responses regarding the contextual evolutions. The evolutions are underlined across the six organizations studied over the two time periods (1970s-1995) and (1996-2015), which we recognized based on our analysis.

We assessed the three forms of alignments relying on empirical data and deploying three theoretical lenses. The first lens is economies of worth (EoW), through which we assessed the IA that delineate organizational capacities to shape ex-ante compromises based on the orders of worth incorporated.

Organizations constructed ex-ante compromises as different orders of worth combined in a coherent relation. The evolution of the IA took place because the ex-ante compromises were challenged and alternative compromises prevailed. As a result, confusion and tensions were generated within the organizations, and the convictions of the actors were largely affected.

The second lens is sensemaking through which we evaluated the EA that track how organizations interpret the contextual evolutions and respond accordingly. The organizations studied developed a shared interpretation which was a stepping-stone

for developing responses in relation to the context. The shared interpretation enabled the organizations to see the real picture of the contextual evolutions. The evolution of the EA took place because the organizations studied started to have conflictual interpretations which caused designing responses irrelevant to the contextual evolutions. Because of this, the organizations lived in a bubble that impeded them from recognizing the reality of the contextual evolutions.

Finally, the DA was evaluated by institutional work, to reflect how organizations managed to exist, and establish support. The evolution of the DA resulted from the changes in the institutional work performed by the actors who shifted their focus from the local to the international level. The organizations obtained abundant resources and complex networks as a result of this shift.

In the following, based on the three forms of alignments, we dedicate three different sections for each form of alignments. In section four we discuss and synthesize the three forms of alignments together.

Section 1– Internal alignment through organizational capacity to shape compromises or not Why did some of the three clusters succeed in maintaining the compromise while others failed to do so? What factors can explain the evolutions of the internal alignment that reveal the capacity to shape compromise? Our findings revealed contrasting evolutions of internal alignment across the three clusters (see table 8.1).

The evolution of internal alignment in the first cluster from high to low happened as this cluster lost its compromise over time. The second cluster had low internal alignment over the two time periods as it failed to shape a compromise. The third cluster showed another evolution where internal alignment remained high over the two time periods due to the organizational capacity to shape and maintain a sustainable compromise. In this section we transversally analyze the findings of internal alignment and highlight the factors that caused the contrasted evolutions across the three clusters.

Table (8.1): the different evolutions of the internal alignment over the two time periods across the three clusters.

	Internal Alignment		
	Cluster 1 (cases: 2,3,4, & 6)	*Cluster 2 (case 1)*	*Cluster 3 (case 5)*
Time 1 (1970s-1995)	High	Low	High
Time 2 (1996-2015)	Low	Low	High

1.1 Weakening of the political system

Political allegiance played a principle role in constructing as well as losing the compromise. Interestingly, political allegiance enabled some of the organizations studied to maintain the compromises.

Political allegiance with the local political parties was fundamental for the different clusters to shape compromises. The allegiance influenced the organizational choices in terms of values adopted, type of people, objects and time conception, but influenced the clusters in the incorporation of the civic order of worth as the foundation of the ex-ante compromise.

Historically, left-wing parties founded and incubated the majority of the cases of the first cluster (Cases: 2,3,4,6). Together, they intended to extend the political work through using the NPOs. The second and the third cluster however, had no direct political allegiance with any political parties.

Regardless of this detailed difference in political allegiance, during the first time period the first cluster manifested a political allegiance strictly connected to patriotism and nationalism. According to this type of political allegiance, the first cluster shaped a political compromise underpinned by civic worth as a superior principle but combined with elements coming from industrial worth.

Based on the political allegiance of the first cluster, a political compromise was shaped as a response to the institutional environment (Smith & Besharov 2012), which we considered turbulent. Because of this turbulent environment the

organizations of the first cluster had to work as developmental arms to serve political objectives and had to provide services such as health, agriculture, water, etc. Undertaking a state-role in terms of services' provision aimed at keeping Palestinians on their lands and mobilizing them to participate in non-military activities against occupation.

As we mentioned earlier, the first cluster clearly defined politics and accordingly made critical choices (Lee & Battilana 2013), such as the type of people mobilized and the type of objects materialized (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006). The critical choices were determined by the hybridity (Battilana & Dorado 2010; Pache & Santos 2012; Besharov & Smith 2012) of development and politics. Such hybridity formed an ex-ante compromise and succeeded due to the strong Palestinian political system at the time.

The power of the political system stemmed from the fact that the system was considered the supreme national reference. This system was underpinned by a unified vision and wide acceptance and recognition from Palestinians. The unified vision entailed the national aspirations to liberate the nation, and so enforce any collective effort that could contribute to those aspirations.

The political system included multiple political parties with contradictory ideologies. Nonetheless, these parties united to work for national liberation as the main concern, and worked under the umbrella of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) as the only representative of all Palestinians, whether at home or abroad.

It is important to note that the PLO existed abroad and its members were banned from entering Palestine. Because of this, the supreme national Palestinian movement represented the PLO.

The powerful political system, widely recognized and united around one national vision, protected the NPOs from falling into clashes and divergent narrow interests and agendas.

In this way, the political allegiance of the NPOs, rather than leading to clashing interests was a major pillar in the process of legitimation. The constructed legitimacy based on politics was demonstrated by the political compromise which coalesced with civic order as an overarching principle, integrated with elements from the industrial

order (e.g. long term oriented objects, technically qualified organizational actors), as well as elements of fame order (e.g. the public recognition of organizational actors).

The superiority of the civic order influenced how the NPOs deployed the elements of the other orders. For example, the organizations of the first cluster created strategic objects during the first time period, such as agricultural roads, data bank, etc. Both objects, belonging in terms of nature and approaches to the industrial order, were nonetheless used to serve the civic order.

Over time, the radical weakness of the political system began to cause the first cluster (cases: 2,3,4,6) to lose the capacity to maintain the political compromise. The degradation situation we observed across this cluster accelerated because the political system lost its credibility and ended up obtaining relational and financial resources from the cases of the first cluster, and the political parties started to act as if they owned these cases, no longer considering them developmental arms to serve and mobilize Palestinians.

At the same time, the composition of the political system changed. Changes began with the creation of the PNA which replaced the PLO and created frustration. As a result, the cases of the first cluster faced serious intrusions by the political parties in particular and by the PNA in general.

The impositions along with frustrations about the PNA generated confusion between nationalist-based politics and narrow political and personal interests. As a result, the cases of the first cluster considered that politicization did not fit the social action, and the association with the political system was no longer appropriate. The cases accordingly overthrew the ex-ante compromise and permitted an alternative compromise to develop. The alternative compromise, confusion and intrusions by the political parties, all led to loosing high internal alignment during the second period.

The second cluster (Case 1) had no political allegiance in any form since it was founded during the failure of the political system. Hence, the association with politics was not a source of pride for the NPOs. The age of the organization of this cluster, therefore, encouraged the founder not to engage directly in politics without expecting intimidation from the local context.

Not engaging in politics enabled the founder to maneuver and take decisions on a political basis, which generated internal contradictions amongst the actors. Alternatively, this case sought to obtain its legitimacy from the PNA (Greenwood et al. 2002; Greenwood & Suddaby 2005) which became the main source for the NPOs to obtain legitimacy. In other words, the PNA became an alternative source for building legitimacy instead of the supreme national movement.

Despite the second cluster obtaining its legitimacy from the PNA, no compromise was shaped. The failure of this cluster to shape a sustainable compromise over the two time periods was related to the severe internal contradictions and confusing organizational position towards politics. In addition, the concentration of power in the hand of the founder of this case largely contributed to the failure to shape a compromise.

The third cluster, which includes case 5, validated the significance of the political system as an inevitable source for the legitimation of organizational interventions. However, the case of this cluster offered a different arrangement compared to the other two clusters. Specifically, independent lawyers founded case 5 to carry out legal research, in order to reveal the human rights violations arising from the Israeli occupation. Evidently, this case developed a revolutionary mission supported by legal research.

Although the mission was revolutionary, the founding lawyers faced challenges and doubts that impeded the launch of organizational interventions. That occurred because the lawyers had no political connections as individuals, and so could not establish the organization without direct political allegiance. To undertake the organizational interventions implied obtaining the approval of the supreme national movement.

The lawyers succeeded in establishing a professional organization coupled with a revolutionary mission, but with no direct engagement with the political parties. This enabled the organization to shape a compromise strengthened by the primacy of the industrial order which was utilized for civic objectives concerning the institutional environment (Meyer & Rowan 1977; Zucker 1977). The clarity of the political engagement of this organization over the two time periods protected it when the

political system weakened, and therefore contributed to shaping a sustainable compromise.

On the basis of this compromise, the organization of the third cluster succeeded in legitimating organizational interventions over the two time periods, although the political system weakened during the second time period. The persistence of this compromise contributed to the preservation of legitimacy of the organization of the third cluster.

1.2. The departure of some actors

The organizational actors who belonged to the first and second generation helped to shape the political compromise based on the civic, industrial and fame orders. When these actors existed within the cases of the first cluster the compromise was strictly guarded, but when the actors departed, the political compromise was threatened.

The internal alignment was degraded over time in the first cluster (cases: 2,3,4,6), because the actors of the first and second generation had departed. These actors demonstrated strong political awareness and technical competence enabling them to filter out what could contribute to the nationalist vision and what could negatively impact that vision.

In addition, their political awareness enhanced the collective goals regarding the national concerns and their strong convictions resulted in dedication to the achievement of these goals and the prevention of individual pursuits. As a result, the cases of the first cluster integrated civic order with the foundation of any efforts and choices.

The primacy of the civic order was derived from elements of the industrial and fame order. The blend of the three orders of worth was strengthened by the well known-figures who established social action in Palestine underpinned by the combination of the three orders.

We observed that the actors enjoyed a good reputation and respect due to two salient traits. Firstly, the actors were all educated and volunteered to work full time without salaries, which conferred them with trust and respect. Secondly, they belonged to

either a poor social class or a middle social class, which meant they were part of the local communities and shared their concerns.

It became evident that these two traits permitted the actors to access the local context and establish a relation of influence based on respect and trust. Lastly, working as active agents and offering the local context with clear visions and paths for improving the neglected sectors of health, agriculture, water, etc. gave them distinguished value.

Due to competent influential and recognized actors (K.Konhausner 2014), the primacy of the civic order was enhanced and coupled with the industrial and fame elements. The combination of these orders of worth worked as an immune system to sustain the ex-ante political compromise.

The departure of the actors, however, who belonged to the first and second generation, expedited the overthrow of the ex-ante compromise during the second time period. Simultaneously, the arrival of a new caliber of actors allowed a new compromise to grow that was deeply rooted in the market order.

Replacing the ex-ante compromise caused by the departure of some actors took varied paths. For example, a few influential actors departed to establish their own businesses or to work in other sectors. The trend of establishing businesses raised doubts about the exploitation of resources, which in turn produced tensions and accusations within the first cluster questioning the credibility of the ex-ante compromise and its consequences.

Some former actors who had a unique social position within the local community, resigned to take official positions within the PNA. This shocked the local communities, given the social position of NPOs in general and the negative feelings about the PNA.

The new workers were paid, belonged to a different age group, were oriented to new management approaches, and challenged the political compromise. They further made the link between this compromise and the problems experienced in the cases of the first cluster.

Eventually, the new actors equipped with these management approaches pushed for embracing the market order, combined with industrial elements to obtain resources. Along with the paid workers and the new management, new members were invited to the BODs. These new members had connections to the founding political party and intended to facilitate the narrow interests of the party members.

We observed during the research stay that the cases of the first cluster suffered from internal tensions, weak convictions and negative feelings, especially when the actors talked about their work and the new actors who had joined at the level of the BODs.

The actors of the first generation remained but were integrated with young paid workers. Despite the balance in the composition of actors, the ex-ante compromise was challenged and the market order gradually grew. The growth of the market order prevailed progressively as the cases of the first cluster followed the same approach (Battilana & D'aunno 2009; DiMaggio & Powell 1983) of accepting to work on new interventions that had no link to the organizational values.

Maintaining part of the first generation within the cases of the first cluster did not protect the ex-ante compromise. However, the existence of the first generation, especially in cases 3, 4 and 6, managed to some extent the internal contradictions, and reached to a state of general agreement (Patriotta et al., 2011). In addition, the business of those cases helped the actors to control the contradictions.

The evolution of the market order as the new basis of the emerging compromise implied recruiting new actors with fundraising capacities to expand financial resources. In parallel, relations with the private sector established and enhanced the invitation of members to the BODs in order to financially support certain organizational initiatives.

Moreover, the cases of the first cluster undertook initiatives to generate income from the medical centers, community based centers, training, sponsorships, art activities and festivals, in order to lessen dependence on external funding. These details demonstrated the growth of the market order, but also contributed to the management of internal contradictions.

The existence of the actors, who attempted to bring more money to the cases of the first cluster, pushed the market order to challenge the primacy of the civic order.

Regarding the second cluster (case 1), the founder recruited, during the two time periods, fresh science graduates. The educational backgrounds of the actors created a specialized and focused image of this case which reinforced the primacy of the industrial order, since the main vision had been to promote critical thinking and creativity.

In addition, the founder of case 1, who was also the GD and chairman, determined organizational choices (Lee & Battilana 2013), such as recruiting specialized young actors. Recruiting specialized actors and maintaining the specialization of the organization reflected the incorporation of the industrial order.

The founder, by attracting fresh graduates, intended to offer a different model characterized by the creation of technical scientific apolitical NPO. The industrial order was assimilated in order to build a compromise through dis-engagement in politics. The disengagement in politics was declared proudly, but inherited contradictions. On the one hand, the founder disrupted the disengagement when he made a political based decision to launch an office in GS, and on the other, when he prohibited the other organizational actors from engaging in politics.

The founder seemed to be alone in conceptualizing the notion of the critical thinking to be pursued, as we detected some critical contradictions. To be precise, he wanted to transform the educational system through new models which evoked the inspired order.

Moreover, the inspired entrepreneurial objects that aimed to impact the targeted sector (Dacin, Dacin, & Matear 2010; Mair & Marti 2006) inherited contradictions such as the real feasibility of those objects in an occupied context.

Nonetheless, the founder launched attempts to enhance critical thinking within the educational system, and espoused an internal centralized decision-making process by which power was concentrated in his hands. The espoused authoritative management reinforced contradictions and hindered this case from shaping a compromise.

In the third cluster (case 5), the same type of actors was maintained with a slight change. This was seen in the recruitment of a fundraising officer, and a resulting increase in fundraising activities which indicated the embracing of market-based elements despite which the collective compromise was maintained over the two time periods. Maintaining the same actors who had a long history in legal research and political activism served as the backbone for maintaining a compromise, as we illustrate below.

An interesting model was revealed in case 5 through recruiting competent actors with the capacity to dis-embody their political activism. However, the politically active actors succeeded in optimizing politics in order to strengthen the civic orientations and objectives of this case despite incorporating market-based elements. In other words, the introduction of the market elements did not affect the compromise but rather changed its composition. The actors played a vital role in maintaining the compromise by keeping a balance between market-based elements and the civic orientations and were able to utilize the elements of the industrial order to serve the civic objectives.

In addition, the organization of the third cluster maintained its financial structure composed largely of the core-based and to a lesser extent of the project-based structure. This financial structure protected the organization of the third cluster from the impositions of the external donors. The external impositions would have been possible through the project-based, as the latter put restrictions in terms of the implementation approach and the time limits.

The homogeneity of the actors in terms of skills, experience and charisma created an equal and cooperative relation amongst them. A collective shared approach was established to decide on the organizational choices. The cooperative approach was not only limited to the management but to the governance level such as the GA. We noted a strong and active GA composed of members distinguished in different domains at the national level, which engaged and questioned many organizational choices before endorsement. The GA in such a composition played an important role in guarding a shared compromise.

The competent charismatic actors enabled the third cluster to gain a prominent social position both nationally and internationally. Furthermore, these actors contributed to establishing a vigorous history and expertise in the domain of law and human rights recognized by Arab countries and the international community. The organizational actors considered the real assets those which averted the extreme growth of the market order, and hence blocked the destabilization of the compromise based on the industrial order utilized for civic objectives.

Section 2- External alignment through inclusive vs. selective sensemaking in contextual interpretations Why did some of the clusters succeed in sustaining shared interpretations of the external context while others started to suffer from conflicting interpretations? What factors can explain the evolution of the external alignment? In this section we transversally analyze the findings of external alignment and highlight the factors that caused the contrasted evolutions across the three clusters

We found different trends of external alignment evolution across the three clusters (see table 8.2). In the first cluster external alignment remained high over the two time periods as the cases maintained interactions and inclusion of actors for the construction of collective interpretations and common meanings. External alignment in the second cluster degraded from high to low due to the exclusion of actors and lack of interactions to have collective interpretations and shared meanings. The third cluster had low external alignment over the two time periods as actors were excluded from interactions, interpretation, and common meanings.

Our results for assessing external alignment through sensemaking theory led to the recognition of three aspects. The first is linked to the significance of active selection and inclusion of actors in interpreting the contextual signals. The second is related to the impact of excluding some actors from taking part in interpretations. In the third aspect we learned that when an actor imprints interpretation there is high probability for organizations to disconnect with salient contextual signals and to live in a bubble.

Table (8.2): the different evolutions of the external alignment over the two time periods across the three clusters

	External alignment		
	Cluster 1 (cases: 3,5)	Cluster 2 (cases: 2,4,6)	Cluster 3 (cases: 1)
Time 1: (1970s-1995)	High	High	Low
Time 2: (1996-2015)	High	Low	Low

2.1. *Active selection and inclusion of actors*

We detected this situation at the first cluster (cases: 3,5), which succeeded in the two time periods in constructing shared meanings regarding the external signals, and so to have high external alignment. Despite the pressing external demands, this cluster achieved consensus around evolutions by including actors in discussions and interpretation.

The inclusion of the organizational actors took place in the internal intensive rounds of talks and exchanges. The actors revealed active selection of external evolutions and gave those evolutions attention (Weick et al. 2005, Weick 1995). The active selection of evolutions occurred through communication and horizontal interactions (Balogun & Johnson 2004). Selecting the external evolutions (Nigam & Ocasio 2010) to begin conversations was a central issue that helped the first cluster to maintain shared interpretations.

During interactions, the actors offered different views and predicted the effects of evolutions. For example, through exchanging views to develop responses regarding the military events, the actors analyzed and referred to the former actions and policies (Weick 2001) of the occupying power. The exchanges and open discussions set the platform for actors to share and negotiate their understanding of external evolutions.

In the process of exchanging interpretations, no imposition of one interpretation over another took place. However, equal conversations took place to amalgamate the different views in order to reach a common vision that could yield to actions (Zilber 2002). Creating responses to evolutions was the ultimate collective concern to

motivate the actors, establish shared meanings and eventually reach a consensus. As we will show later in this analysis, this affected the type of responses developed.

The conversation model we noticed was underpinned by open horizontal interactions. It aimed at responding to the external evolutions, allowing the actors to reconnect with some frames, but also to update others. Reconnecting with some frames was contingent to the military events such as invasions by Israeli forces, or popular resistance events such as the two Intifadas. Facing these kind of external evolutions brought back the actors to nationalism based frames, and meanings of national resistance and bond.

By bringing back these meanings and frames to interactions in order to create responses, the actors managed to not only carry the meanings but to connect them with actions (Zilber 2002). In particular events, the actors of the first cluster had to refine the meanings related to civil resistance into more strategic resistance. Yet, by this refinement, the actors did not abandon the original meanings but introduced new perspective to those meanings in order to produce appropriate responses.

The creation of the PNA was considered by the actors as unfamiliar evolutions, which triggered attention to create responses. In this vein, the actors had to take agentic initiative to connect with the existing frames in order to make sense of a national authority created by an international decision in an occupied context. As a result, the actors did not accept the PNA as a state, and approached the international stakeholders by continuing to treat Palestinians as an occupied nation.

Through active selection and interpretations, the actors drew on salient features that resulted from external evolutions such as conditional funding. Thus, they manifested a distinct capacity to initiate agentic responses to handle conditional funding through the organizational financial structure. For example, the decision was made not to accept external funds exceeding a specific percentage of the organizational budget.

Another arrangement developed was the core budget as the major financial structure. The core budget was considered as a response to the growth of external funding and limited any imposition from the external funders in terms of themes and models at the expense of local responses.

The actors of the first cluster had a notable capacity to openly and continuously interact. Through interactions, the actors selected external events and devoted rounds of discussions to explain these events. The active selection of events to offer interpretations reflected how the actors practiced their agency (Hernes & Maitlis 2012) in order to respond to external events (Weick 1995).

In addition, the actors put forth different mechanisms such as managing committees to assure the discussions and horizontal interactions. This sustained the process of producing collective interpretations, and accordingly produced relevant responses. In summary, our discussion explains why the first cluster maintained external alignment high over the two time periods.

2.2. *Exclusion of actors and conflicted interpretations*

A situation of shift from collective interpretations to conflicted interpretations, and so degradation from high external alignment to low external alignment, was detected in the discussions to explain external evolutions. The second cluster (cases: 2,4,6) demonstrating this trend of degradation abandoned the principle of including all actors in internal interactions to reach to collective interpretations regarding the external evolutions, and the organizational responses. Instead, sub-groups emerged within the organizations to carry out separate interpretations and divergent understanding to organizational responses.

Some actors were excluded because interpreting the external evolutions took the form of vertical interactions that were concentrated amongst senior actors. The vertical interactions permitted the rejection (Mullarkey 2012) of other views. Ignoring the understandings that the excluded actors formulated about the external evolutions contributed to the failure of the second cluster to offer collective explanations and evolutions, and hence produce relevant responses.

The actors who merely interpreted the external evolutions without considering other internal views permitted external actors to impose their themes and develop irrelevant organizational responses, although those responses were considered relevant by the second cluster. In perceiving the coerced responses as relevant, the actors drew on detailed features and represented (Weick 1995) them to transfer to the other excluded actors the significance of those responses. For instance, some actors attempted to

show that accepting the proposed projects from external donors helped to address local economic needs.

Accepting the external demands was epitomized in the type of organizational responses imposed by foreign donors. Some organizations, as a result, changed how they interpreted the external evolutions. For instance, the cases of the second cluster implemented projects conceptualized by external donors relating to development. This in turn led to discussions that included only some actors to accommodate the content and alter the implementation approach of those projects.

Despite such attempts, the second cluster could not completely resist the approaches of interventions introduced and imposed by external donors, and failed to create a collective understanding at the organizational level.

Nonetheless, we were able to observe variations in terms of the intensity of allowing external pressures to interpret the external evolutions differently and develop responses accordingly. For example, in some cases the exclusion of many actors and the penetration of external demands was very intense, one of the reasons being that the external intrusions and agendas were embraced by the new actors who had joined the organizations.

In other cases, the intensity of accommodating to the external pressures was lesser. One of the reasons was the resistance of the external demands thanks to the pure technical skills and talents of actors. These skills enabled the actors to try to accommodate the responses in relation to the external evolutions. In order to accommodate the responses, the technical actors were included in discussions over how to adjust the content or the approach of those responses.

Furthermore, the actors with talents negotiated the imposed responses, and tried to alter them to correspond to contextual evolutions. Although these actors tried to develop interpretations regarding the responses and their relation to the context, we did not obtain a cohesive view in the second cluster that explains organizational responses. Rather, many actors could not embody the explanations offered to them and stressed that the responses were irrelevant to the context. The actors furthermore considered the responses a salient deviation of the capacity of the NPOs to read the external evolutions.

Excluding some actors was a key factor impacting how the second cluster used to interpret and respond to the external context. As a result of this exclusion, conflicting interpretations were produced regarding the same evolutions. Excluding other actors entailed eliminating other views that could potentially have led to better responses. This ultimately weakened the second cluster in its resistance to demands that conflicted with the organizational approach to handling the external context.

The change in the organizational actors and the isolation of some of them from discussions over the interpretation of external evolutions fragmented the collective interpretations.

In addition, fragmenting interpretations converted the actors from active interpreters of evolutions to passive carriers of meanings (Weick 1995; Zilber 2002), who represented the views of the external donors channeled through the imposed responses.

Because only a part of the actors saw the external views, we could not detect shared meanings, thus resulting in the production of non-coordinated responses (Balogun & Johnson 2004). The absence of coordinated responses disconnected the actors of the second cluster from the external context, and weakened their capacity to create responses relevant to the context.

Exclusion and embodiment of conflicting views within the same NPO clustered the actors, where every actor attempted to hold her (his) view. This situation generated oblique stories around the responses, and produced rumors that transformed the coherent views and shared meanings.

2.3. Imprinting organizational actors with the founder's interpretation, irrelevant to the external context

In the third cluster (case 1), we noticed a different situation where we learned of a different form of interpretation related to indoctrinating other actors with one view. This form of interpretation explains the low external alignment of this cluster over the two time periods.

The founder and general director of this organization was the major interpreter who chose to reject salient contextual features and evolutions in order to impose his own

understanding on the educational system in particular and the external context in general. The individual understanding was underpinned by the personal experience of the founder who tried to draw on similar experiences of the other actors to transmit his own understanding to them.

The educational system was represented through personal experiences, which the founder attempted to manipulate (Weick 1995), in order to create the context that suited his understanding and the organizational interventions. The attempt to manipulate entailed the rejection of contextual signals such as the feasibility of inventions in the occupied context. The founder of this organization interpreted the external context through his conviction that he was visionary, capable of influencing others and of impacting the context through entrepreneurial interventions (Dorado 2013).

The heroic vision that the founder tried to emphasize, and the intention of linking that vision to unusual interventions implied a self-fulfilling prophecy (Weick 1995). For example, when the founder explained the (Made in Palestine) program, he predicted innovation as the way out to disrupt the teaching methods.

By this definition, the founder nonetheless ignored the fact that the schools lacked the necessary infrastructure for inventions to take place. He also disregarded the severe constraints imposed by the Israeli occupation that would likely have hindered innovation trials. The deluded conception proposed by the founder that overlooked the context was criticized by other actors who considered the organizational interventions a fantasy.

With the passing of time, the founder succeeded in influencing other actors who started to use the same explanation and terms, and considered innovation the key to improving the educational system. The founder-centric explanations progressively conditioned all the actors, who even referred to the founder when restating those explanations (Lee & Battilana 2013).

The organizational responses at the time of military events, for example, to the attacks on GS, demonstrated the founder's conceptions of what those responses should be. Other actors considered these conceptions irrelevant by referring to tangible variables such as the checkpoints. However, the founder neglected these variables and avoided testing (Weick 1995) the relevance of the organizational responses in relation to the variables.

Consequently, the founder-centric interpretation and his conceptualization of the context led to creating a dogma that influenced all the organizational actors and ultimately isolated them from the local context.

Section 3- Dynamic alignment through various forms of institutional work Why did some clusters manage to exist vis-à-vis their context, while others faced severe difficulties? Which factors could explain the evolutions of the dynamic alignment over the different clusters? We found different trends of dynamic alignment evolution across two clusters (see table 8.3). In the first cluster (cases 2,3,4,5,6), dynamic alignment degraded from high to low over the two time periods as the cases changed the focus of institutional works from local to international. Dynamic alignment in the second cluster (case 1) evolved from low to high as the case profited from the power games amongst the actors.

The NPOs studied in Palestine performed various forms of problematization that led to more or less intense institutional work (Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca 2009; Lawrence & Suddaby 2006; Greenwood & Suddaby 2006; Greenwood, et al., 2002) vis-à-vis their turbulent environment.

Table (8.3): the different evolutions of the dynamic alignment over the two time periods across the two clusters

	Dynamic alignment	
	Cluster 1 (cases: 2,3,4,5,6)	*Cluster 2 (case: 1)*
Time 1: (1970s-1995)	High	Low
Time 2: (1996-2015)	Low	High

3.1 Matching with a turbulent context through problematization

The cases of the first cluster historically legitimized their existence and work as they largely invested in problematization. Problematization was undertaken through questioning the way in which the Israeli civil administration thwarted the social services provision. It also entailed analyzing local problems to formulate an informed understanding regarding how they conditioned the daily lives of Palestinians.

For example, the technical reasons and conditions specified behind the scarcity of water, high taxes, subservience to the Israeli economy and confiscations of agricultural lands contributed to the deterioration of agricultural productivity in Palestine.

In order to grasp the causes of the local problems, the first cluster established dense networks with local communities and key constituents of the targeted sectors. The networks were more informal as the first cluster was involved closely with the locals and the international solidarity groups.

The causes of the local problems were unpacked such as the low productivity of the agricultural sector that the first cluster analyzed in order to craft the solutions to those problems (Battilana et al., 2009). The cases of the first cluster were able to legitimize their existence vis-à-vis the local context by finding solutions through talking to local communities and analyzing the complications of their daily lives. This explains why the first cluster had high dynamic alignment during the first time period.

It is interesting to note that the first cluster unpacked the local problems in accordance with the normative pillars (Scott 1995; 2001) to respond to the collective concerns of Palestinians.

The first cluster initiated entrepreneurial actions which were instilled with agency (Currie et al., 2013; Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca, 2009) to disrupt the approach of service provisions by the civil administration of the occupying power. The actors improvised efforts (Gawer & Phillips 2013) to change approaches that had been previously taken for granted (Fligstein 2001; Zietsma & Lawrence 2010), and to utilize the local resources.

At the beginning, the cases of the first cluster were more idealistic and attempted to optimize the available resources to produce tangible actions. They also approached the local communities to legitimize the organizational interventions.

Nonetheless, these initial blocks demanded other complimentary institutional works to come up with solutions for the local problems. The complimentary institutional works included institutional experimentation, establishing support, and institutionalization, which were carried out differently according to each cluster.

In contrast, the second cluster (case 1) tried to enter the field later, and proposed a solution centered on the founder's passion and interest. By offering a pre-determined solution for a non-existent problem, the founder ignored in the beginning the approach (Oliver 1991) established by the cases of the first cluster.

The second cluster failed to legitimize the work because the founder attempted to theorize the solutions (Mena & Suddaby 2016) in stead of specifying problems. This failure pushed the second cluster to later replicate what other cases had developed and to espouse re-problematization. In this way, the founder conceptualized a shared outlook centered on the difficulties that impeded the educational system.

Re-problematization could be considered a form of decoupling (Meyer & Rowan 1977) which the second cluster was obliged to develop as a way of adjusting and replicating the actions of other NPOs, in terms of conceptualizing problems in order to obtain legitimacy and recognition. The second cluster decoupled the approaches of the other NPOs, and so complied with the regulative pillar (Scott 1995; 2001).

However, because the case of the second cluster was striving to survive and obtain recognition, the founder followed a more opportunistic approach to obtain approval from the key stakeholders. Using an opportunistic approach the founder had to optimize the changes in the ministry of education as a major external stakeholder.

Furthermore, the founder challenged the existing institutions in education to create new ones, and facilitated the birth of the organizational models and objects, proposing models and objects that relied on specific capacities concentrated in the organization.

We therefore consider problematization that was undertaken by the first cluster and re-problematization that was undertaken by the second cluster as the two forms of institutional work. Those two forms of institutional works served as the initial blocks in the legitimation process.

The other complimentary institutional works, especially establishing support, were developed by this case on an opportunistic basis to gain as many resources as possible. The institutional experimentation and institutionalization were performed on a technical basis as the founder intended to offer something new to the local context.

With the radical political changes, the NPOs deployed tactics to conceal their deviance from the original institutional works. The following point addresses some of these tactics.

3.2. Dealing with global vs local issues

The first cluster (cases: 2,3,4,5,6) started to address global issues which the local communities could not relate to and sometimes could not understand. The NPOs were involved in the global issues, which led to perform problematization in global terms and approaches.

The attention of the first cluster to globally oriented aspects was an opportunistic way to gain more resources. For example, the first cluster started to engage in cultivating international complex networks based on interests, instead of combining local human capital as well as financial and social capital.

By shifting the focus to legitimize the work vis-à-vis the international community, the first cluster disconnected from the local community. This shift was manifested in the use of global terms, and started to work on aspects that local people could not comprehend. The cases of the second cluster, nonetheless, needed to sustain their work at the local context, and unable to rely only on the international community as a source of legitimation, used tactics to hide the shift.

Interestingly, the first cluster referred to the initial problematization of the local problems and accomplishments realized in the past. They also tried to allure the community with the materialistic benefits gained. The first cluster also endeavored to use the community-based organizations (CBOs), and village councils so as to have more connections with local people. The first cluster also focused on fieldwork, trainings, and festivals as an attempt to conceal the deviance.

The second cluster, nonetheless, focused on approaching international donors, in order to promote entrepreneurial ideas and earn resources. As we explained earlier, the founder had to alter the focus and conform to the regulative pillar. In order for this case to legitimize the work and enter an already established field, it was essential to address the global community first and then target the local stakeholders. Thus, the second cluster espoused an opportunistic approach for outreaching the local

communities in order to legitimize the organizational models and obtain more recognition.

Maintaining relations with both the local and international community was coupled with tactics deployed to steer attention to achievements such as the unusual objects. At the same time, the founder intensively highlighted the materialistic rewards offered to the target groups in the local community.

Therefore, when organizations correlated the work with the external context, the institutional works took the local-centric path which was ideological and collective. When the younger organization tried to establish work centered on individual passion, institutional works were more globally oriented.

With the contextual evolutions, the local oriented institutional works performed in the first cluster shifted into global oriented institutional works, with the ensuing use of tactics to mask that shift and shed light on past achievements. The institutional works performed in the second cluster taking a global focus from the beginning had to re-shift the focus over time on the local community by constantly stressing the unusual achievements, objects and opportunities offered.

Section 4: Synthesis

Based on our analysis so far, we can group our cases based on the variable evolutions of the three main alignments (see table 8.4). Most of the cases (2,3,4,6) started with high levels in terms of the three main alignments (IA, EA, DA), however, over time the level of the three alignments degraded.

The second group includes case (5) which succedded in maintaining high internal and external alignment, but experienced some problems in dynamic alignment.

The third group of cases consisted of the atypical case (case 1), which had low internal alignment and low external alignment over the two time periods but moved from low dynamic alignment in the first time period to high dynamic alignment in the second time period.

Table (8.4): assessment of the three forms of alignments (IA, EA, DA), across the three groups of clusters in time 1 and time 2

	Time 1 (1970s-1995)			Time 2 (1996-2015)		
Groups of clusters	*IA*	*EA*	*DA*	*IA*	*EA*	*DA*
Group 1 *(cases: 2,3,4,6)*	High	High	High	Low	Low	Low
Group 2 (case: 5)	High	High	High	High	High	Low
Group 3 (case: 1)	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	High

In this section we synthesize the evolution of the three alignments and discuss the main factors that explain the differences between these three groups.

We argue that three main factors played a major role in the evolution of the three alignments across the first group (2,3,4,6). The first factor is politics, the second factor is financial resources and the third is actors. Because the political system lost its power, and many political developments took place in the local context, the political parties, trying to conceal their weakness, started to heavily interfere in the daily aspects of the cases.

Financial resources contributed to the degradation of the three alignments across the cases of the first group. Some cases of this group were forced to constantly seek resources while others had inflated financial power due to generous external funds. Whether the cases experienced financial crises or had distinguished financial power, financial dependency influenced the level of the alignments. Actors influenced the evolution of alignments in the first group of cases. In particular, the cases experienced changes such as restructuring, turnover and resignation in actors who belonged to the older generation.

The second group over time faced problems in dynamic alignment, but maintained a high level of internal and external alignments. Three main factors can be inferred from the evolutions; the first factor was related to politics. The fact that this group managed and clarified engagement in politics prohibited direct intrusion from the political system. The business of this case in human rights violations was the second

factor because this case focused on conducting legal research concentrating more on the officials and the international community, sustaining the professionalism of this case and limiting the interference of external forces. The third factor was competent, professional and politically aware actors, which played a major role in the evolution of alignments.

The evolution of the three forms of alignments in the third group was influenced by three main factors. The first factor is once again politics but in an inverse manner compared to other clusters because this case decided not to engage in politics. This decision would have been hard for the case if it had been founded when the political system was powerful. Thus, the novelty, as the second factor, enabled this case not to engage directly in politics. The third factor is the role of organizational actors and the power games that connected them with external stakeholders in order to achieve mutual benefits.
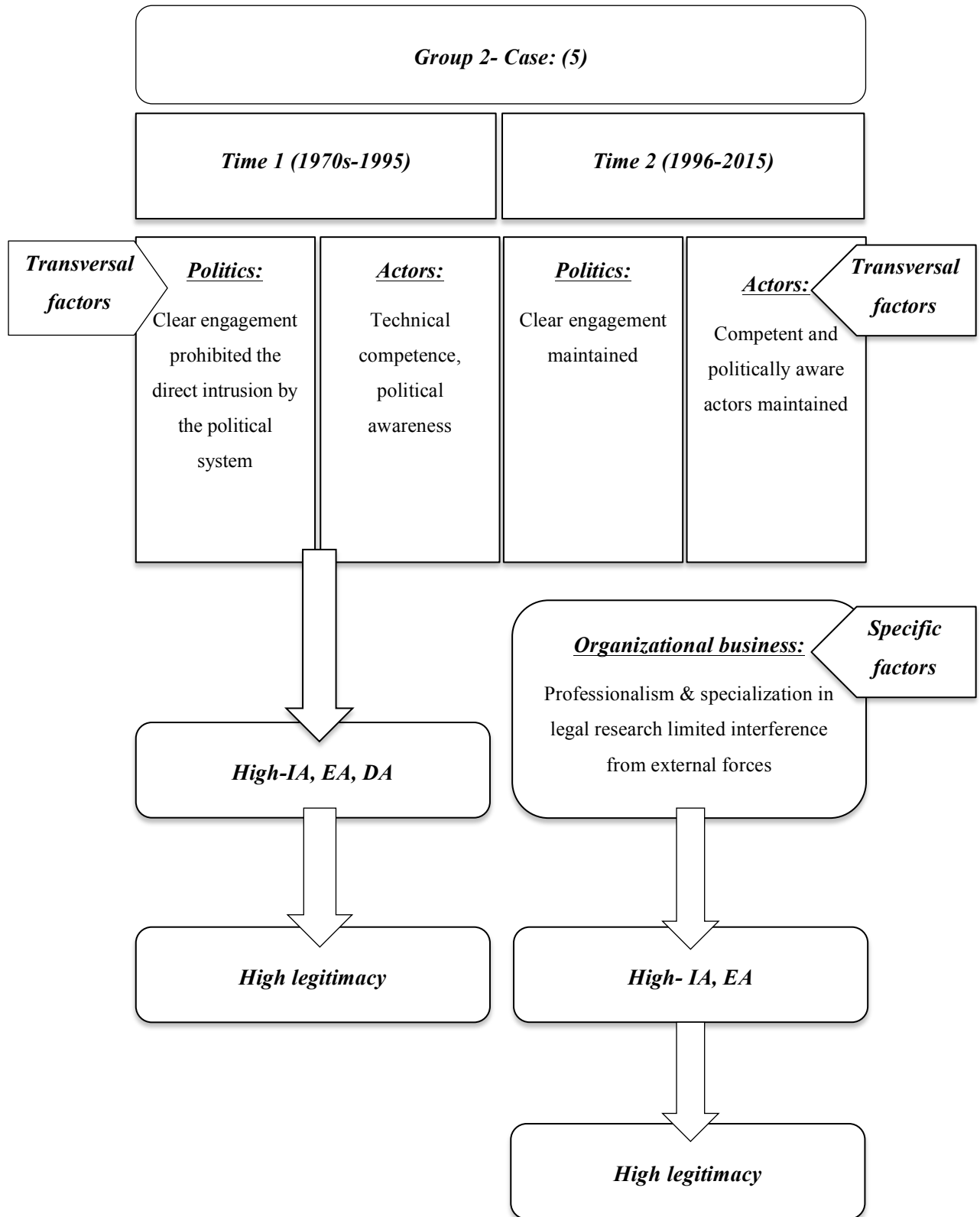
We highlight in table (8.5) the factors behind the contrasted evolutions across the three groups of the cases, and then present three different figures (8.6; 8.7; 8.8) with the impact of transversal and specific factors on the level of legitimacy for each group of cases.

Table (8.5): the factors behind the contrasted evolutions of the three forms of alignments across the three groups

	Group 1 (Cases: 2,3,4,6)	Group 2 (Case 5)	Group 3 (Case 1)
Transversal factors	*Politics:* the political system lost its power, & the political parties started to interfere in the daily aspects of the cases, to use the latter to conceal its weakness	*Politics:* clarified engagement in politics prohibited the direct intrusion by the political system	*Politics:* no engagement in politics, because this case was founded at the time when the political system became weak & fragile
	Actors: the actors who belonged to the old generation quit the cases. The changes took place in different ways such as restructuring, turnover & resignation	*Actors:* this case maintained competent actors with wisdom, who were professional & had political awareness	*Actors:* this case connected organizational actors with external stakeholders. This game connected actors with interests & influence to achieve mutual benefits
Specific factors	*Financial resources:* some cases faced financial crisis, while others earned generous funds which inflated their financial power, in both situations, the cases experienced financial dependency	*Organizational business:* working in legal research implied working with certain communities, sustained professionalism & limited the influence of external forces	*Organizational age:* the young age of this org. during the weakness of the political system led to not engaging directly in politics

Figure (8.6): Transversal factors and specific factors behind the evolution of the three forms of alignments-group 1

Group 1- Cases: (2,3,4,6)

Time 1 (1970s-1995)

Time 2 (1996-2015)

Transversal factors

Politics:

Powerful political system

Actors:

Technical competence, political awareness

Politics:

Weak political system

Actors:

Lack of technical competence & political awareness

Transversal factors

Financial Resources:

Financial crisis & inflated financial power both led to financial dependency

Specific factors

High-IA, EA, DA

High legitimacy

Low- IA, EA, DA

Low legitimacy

Figure (8.7): Transversal factors and specific factors behind the evolution of the three forms of alignments-group 2

Group 2- Case: (5)

| *Time 1 (1970s-1995)* | *Time 2 (1996-2015)* |

Transversal factors

Politics:
Clear engagement prohibited the direct intrusion by the political system

Actors:
Technical competence, political awareness

Politics:
Clear engagement maintained

Actors:
Competent and politically aware actors maintained

Transversal factors

High-IA, EA, DA

Organizational business:
Professionalism & specialization in legal research limited interference from external forces

Specific factors

High legitimacy

High- IA, EA

High legitimacy

Figure (8.8): Transversal factors and specific factors behind the evolution of the three forms of alignments-group 3

Group 3- Case: (1)

Time 1 (1970s-1995)

Time 2 (1996-2015)

Transversal factors

Politics:
Powerful political system

Actors:
Technical competence, political awareness

Politics:
Weak political system

Actors:
Connected org. actors with interests & influence to achieve mutual benefits

Transversal factors

Specific factors

Organizational age:
The young org. age during the weakness of the political system led to not engaging in politics

Low-IA, EA, DA

Low legitimacy

Low- IA, EA

Low legitimacy

III. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study is to investigate the legitimation process undertaken by the NPOs working in a turbulent context like Palestine. Our study has paid attention to the Palestinian context because the literature lacks knowledge of legitimation processes in contexts like Palestine. The focus centers on the legitimation process and different strategies undertaken by the Palestinian NPOs to respond to a crisis of legitimacy.

The Palestinian NPOs underwent a crisis of legitimacy when multiple sequences of changes experienced in the Palestinian context critically impacted NPOs. The changes we introduced earlier in our study included the creation of the PNA as well as the existing Israeli Occupation. With these critical political changes external international funding accelerated and new actors with different interests donated to the Palestinian NPOs.

Consequently, NPOs embraced new working approaches and new, short-term organizational interventions in correspondence with the thematic interests of donors which were irrelevant to the local context. Most critically, NPOs revoked their historical political roles and connections with the popular uprisings. This led the Palestinian NPOs to not taking part in the political struggle and the socio-economic needs of Palestinians.

External funds, a fragile national economy, a passive position towards national political issues, corruption and the exploitation of resources for the sake of narrow individual interests generated criticism and questions over the "raison d'être" of NPOs (Deegan et al., 2002). All these changes led NPOs to become vulnerable to legitimacy threats; several studies show that when organizations provoke criticism, the probability of losing support is high (Deephouse & Suchman 2008; Rao 1997; Oliver 1992). We therefore argue in this study that NPOs desperately needed to take proper actions to repair their threatened legitimacy.

However, our focus is not the loss of legitimacy of NPOs, but the various legitimation attempts that the NPOs could take in order to (re) construct and preserve legitimacy over time. We have thus developed our study on the basis of twofold research

questions; how *do NPOs in a turbulent context construct their legitimacy? how do these NPOs preserve their legitimacy over time?*

We proceeded to answer the research questions by considering three forms of alignments which would help NPOs construct and preserve legitimacy. The first form was internal alignment (IA) through which we examined the extent to which organizations managed to launch actions in relation to the values they pursued. The second form was external alignment (EA) which helped us understand how organizations interpreted contextual evolutions and developed responses accordingly. The third form was dynamic alignment (DA), which supported our investigation of how organizations constructed alliances and support to create or transform the organizational field. The three forms of alignments were the pillars by means of which organizations gained high or low legitimacy.

We examined these interdependent forms of alignments by mobilizing three theories. Each theory examined one form of alignment, and was integrated within the contextualist framework (Pettigrew 1987,1990) as the major analytical framework. This framework helped to decipher the interactions of particular content (the change object) with the internal and external contexts, and the process through which the concerned stakeholders defended their interests.

Justification theory (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006) supported our analysis of the internal alignment by looking at the relation between the content and the internal context. In other words, we examined the relation between what organizations do in terms of what they say.

We assessed the external alignment by sensemaking theory (Weick 1995), through which we examined the relation between the content of the organizational interventions and the evolutions of the external context. In particular, we analyzed how organizations interpreted the contextual signals and evolutions and how they responded accordingly.

Finally, we explored the dynamic alignment through institutional work theory (Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca 2009). In particular, we examined the capacity of organizations to transform the external context through organizational interventions (content), theorization of activities and alliances building (process).

By examining these three forms of alignments we answered our research questions through the findings presented in the empirical part in three different chapters dedicated to each form of alignment.

The findings of the internal alignment revealed that organizations working in a turbulent context shape a compromise based on combining three different polities (civic, industrial & market) in a certain way. We found that the sustainable compromise at issue was determined by political allegiance. Organizations referred to the compromise to justify actions and the rightness of combining three polities in order to relate values to actions.

Changes in combining the polities over time affected the compromise shaped and degraded the level of internal alignment. Justifying actions based on the constructed compromise as well as changes in the type of compromise has been one of the answers that we pursued in our study through justification theory to investigate the questions of legitimation process in a turbulent context.

The findings of the external alignment through sensemaking theory demonstrated that organizational actors succeeded in constructing shared interpretations and common meanings regarding contextual evolutions and signals. These common meanings were generated through inclusive horizontal discussions, which led to developing organizational interventions in relation to the evolutions and signals.

Changes over time in enacting and interpreting the contextual evolutions disturbed the shared interpretations and common meanings, and therefore changed the responses. Interpreting the contextual evolutions through horizontal interactions, and changes in the interpretations gave answers to the questions of legitimation in a turbulent context through sensemaking theory.

Finally, the findings of the dynamic alignment showed that problematization was an obligatory institutional work required to create organizations and initiate actions in relation with the local context. In addition, we found that other types of institutional works were performed by organizations, enabling them to exist vis-à-vis the local context.

Problematization as an obligatory institutional work along with the other types of institutional works, including changes over time of institutional works, has been one of the answers we found in our study using institutional work theory to investigate the questions of legitimation process in a turbulent context.

Hence, our methodology and theoretical framework enabled us to answer our research questions. We next highlight our theoretical contributions.

3.9. Theoretical contributions

The well-known research settings favored in the existing literature are mainly centered on developed countries (Zilber 2009). The originality of our study is that it addresses the Palestinian context as an understudied context. The Palestinian context is unique, featuring the longest occupation in history with thick external influence.

The significance of this context has revealed how it shapes and influences organizations. In order to have nuanced understanding of the influences of the context, we studied diverse cases, which allowed us to recognize the commonalities as well as the different approaches taken by the studied cases in order to construct and maintain legitimacy vis-à-vis the turbulent context.

As we used the contextualist framework of analysis, we were able to mobilize three theories that corresponded to the three pillars; context, content, and process. We combined the economies of worth (Boltanski & Thevenot, 2006), institutional work (Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca 2009), and sensemaking (Weick 1995). These three theories addressed the construct of legitimacy, with different focus across these three theories.

The institutional theories considered legitimacy as a property and a status that organizations worked to obtain by conforming to the social norms agreed on by the overall social system (Scott 1992; Suchman 1995; Deephouse & Suchman 2008). The attempts put in place to earn legitimacy took different forms, such as creating organizational templates and arrangements, and managerial practices (Battilana & D'aunno 2009).

The different forms resonate the external context, which push organizations to adjust and respond (Meyer & Rowan 1997; Zucker 1997; DiMaggio & Powell 1983). Legitimacy in the EW framework is related to a set of higher principles that arrange social spheres which the competent actors (K.P Konhausner 2014) refer to when talking about the organizational choices, actions and evolutions. The higher principles are known as orders of worth that detail the beliefs and actions (Patriotta et al., 2011).

Combining these theories made us realize their compatibility for tackling the question of legitimacy. We assumed that organizations work in a turbulent context, need to undertake a series of actions to accommodate their work to the context. We expressed these series of actions in three forms of alignments to understand the interaction between the organizations and the context in different ways, thus yielding the conceptual contributions we underline below.

The first form of alignment is internal, where we assumed a consistent relation between organizational values and interventions. We examined the relation by economies of worth (Boltanski & Thevenot 1991), delineated with the content from the contextualist framework. Investigating the internal alignment was achieved through specifying the ex-ante compromise constructed by the NPOs to align between the raison d'être of the NPOs and the work they do.

By assessing the internal alignment we added to the contribution made by Whelan & Gond (2016) who argued that organizations could shape a compatible relation between inherent incompatible elements coming from different orders of worth. Our contribution to this argument has been made by meticulously specifying that organizations working in specific contexts can shape a compatible relation between orders of worth by blending elements and mobilizing them to deal with the turbulent external context.

We then extended our analysis, specifying the turbulence of the external context and where it ends. We thus introduced political allegiance as one of the main outcomes of our research which despite its significance to the organizations' life in a turbulent context has not been studied.

Hence, we concretely illustrated how organizations responded to the question of political allegiance through conceptualizing it, in order to shape the internal

arrangements accordingly (Besharov & Smith 2014), such as the values, tangible objects, competent actors and long term-time orientation. It could be argued that the external context shaped the capacity of the organizations to deal with the politics through this political allegiance.

The temporality in the contextualist framework enabled our study to further validate that the external context keeps shaping organizations, and the latter keeps accommodating with situations emerge due to changes (Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury 2011). To elaborate, when the political system weakened and its composition changed, the organizations started to disassociate the social action from politics. The organizations confused national-based with narrow-based politics, and the internal arrangements dramatically shifted to non-tangible objects, new management oriented actors, and short-term time orientation.

Actions, interpretations, and actors have been sufficiently studied in literature, however, separately (e.g. Scott 1995; Zilber 2007; Colville et al, 2012; Maitlis & Christianson 2014). Our study exhibited a direct relation between actions, interpretations, and actors, detailing how this direct relation takes place. By exhibiting and detailing such relation, we contributed to sensemaking literature.

Our findings implied that if all actors engaged in interpreting the external signals, there was a high probability of reaching a common vision and consensus; this ultimately helped the organizations studied to develop appropriate responses to the context. The consensus was reached as the actors interacted actively generating meanings that corresponded to the institutional references such as resistance and nationalism.

If the actors endured their role as interpreters, the common vision and consensus would be sustained, and organizations would engage with the external context and respond to its signals. If actors stopped interpreting the signals, and excluded some actors, while others dominated the interpretations, the probability was high that the consensus would diminish. As a result, the diminished consensus implied that the actors became vulnerable to international impositions requiring responses and interventions that corresponded to international interests.

We also found that when interpretation was limited to only one actor, such as the founder, the latter would indoctrinate other actors with his meanings, eventually creating inappropriate responses to the external context.

In deploying institutional work (IW) to understand the process which correlates the context and the content, our study revealed that organizations in a turbulent context like Palestine need to construct their legitimacy through problematization as a key institutional work.

Problematization was the first building block of the legitimation process through which the NPOs put in place the rules of the game. We unpacked problematization in the analysis to include the approach applied by the NPOs in order to first analyze the factors and elements that created problems touching the daily life of Palestinians. Second, problematization included the type of relations the NPOs established in order to understand the local problems. Third, problematization was about the language used and tools utilized to approach people and understand their problems.

Thus, we defined problematization as the process of concretizing the intended actions to respond to the defined public local problems in such a way that local people could understand and relate to. The intended actions presented by the NPOs to the locals were tuned into every day reality in the local context. This is our major contribution in IW, because problematization makes us realize that in some institutional environments organizations are unable to construct legitimacy if they propose and theorize abstract ideas (Mena & Suddaby 2016) that correspond to fantasies or imported models that are not decontextualized.

The five NPOs studied applied problematization in this way, while the sixth case decided to skip problematization, and presented ideas and actions to the local context that people could not grasp. As a result of neglecting problematization, this organization was a case of failure in terms of institutional work (Leca et al., 2006; Malsch & Gendron 2013; Marti & Mair 2010). This case had to re-initiate problematization to overcome the failure and be able to survive. Therefore, problematization is the particular institutional work needed to create institutions in a turbulent context.

Furthermore, as most studies have focused on explaining social change as such (Delbridge & Edwards 2008; Greenwood & Suddaby 2006), maintenance and stability (Currie et al., 2012; Dacin et al., 2010), or the practical steps to shape and diffuse the rules (Greenwood et al., 2002), we know little about the shift organizations make from creation to maintenance, and how it can change over time.

In this study, we specified the institutional works (e.g. experimentation, establishing support, etc.) that the NPOs applied to put problematization into action. The institutional works specified were local. For example, experimentation relied on technical competences of local actors empowered by social capital. The local-based institutional works were the main blocks of the legitimation process of the NPOs for more than 30 years.

The form and content of the identified institutional works dramatically changed over time to take a global form and content. Organizations predicted the loss of legitimacy as their actions changed (Suchman 1995; Dowling & Pfeffer 1975) to think of tactics and rhetoric (Gill & Wells 2014) that could mask the dramatic changes. The NPOs we studied started to repeatedly refer to the initial process of problematization, and the actions achieved in the past.

The combination of the three theoretical lenses were used to understand the compromises between different orders of worth, the key institutional works undertaken to face the evolutions of the external funding and the decline of the political system. Finally, the interpretation process by the organizational actors offered a nuanced comprehensive understanding of the legitimation process of NPOs in a turbulent context.

To summarize, the key contribution of our study is that there are three main initiatives to construct and preserve legitimacy in a turbulent context. The first includes the organizational capacity to shape a meaningful compromise with a primacy of the civic order of worth, especially when facing the question of political allegiance. The second represents the organizational capacity to maintain consensual interpretations of external signals through a permanent and inclusive dialogue between internal stakeholders and external stakeholder. The third initiative comprises the necessity to

pay particular attention to problematization, precisely when the political agendas shifts from local to global orientation.

3.10. Managerial implications

The findings of our research imply managerial contributions in terms of a legitimation process for organizations that work in a turbulent context. The contextualist analysis we applied for this research revealed the significance of the external context and its historicity in shaping the organizations. The nuanced implications of the importance of the context indicated the interactive relationships between the organizational values, organizational interventions and contextual evolutions.

The local political parties founded the NPOs we studied in order to carry out political and development work. The political engagement took different forms across the studied organizations although they agreed together on the nationalist-based politics.

We captured the subtle differences in this engagement, and examined the relation between the organizational raison d'être and the organizational interventions by following certain principles.

The NPOs designated the capacity to demarcate the boundaries between nationalist and narrow interests-based politics. As a consequence, they historically succeeded in creating a common language shared by all the actors. The common language and collective vision enabled the NPOs to attract competent actors who optimized their technical capacities to materialize objects that translated the collective visions. Such an internal atmosphere permitted the actors to talk and explain their work, and to eventually reinforce their convictions, belongings and feelings.

The internal consistency of the NPOs helped to handle the debates and strengthened their legitimacy, as the actors were themselves convinced of the work they did, and so succeeded in transmitting these convictions to others. In this sense, our research invites the NPOs to maintain or rejuvenate common language as a fundamental basis to work in accordance with the raison d'être, and utilize the capacities of local people.

The loss of internal coherence over time stemmed from the confusion over nationalist-based politics and narrow-based interests. Confusing politics led to the loss

of internal coherence which was manifested in work irrelevant to the organizational raison d'être, and the emergence of internal disagreement.

We grasped this disagreement in the contradictions and disputes that prevailed across the NPOs with a loss of common language, and subsequent loss of a sense of legitimacy. The actors did not understand what they were doing, and in many cases there was high turnover, underestimation of the technical skills of the actors, and many rumors.

Interestingly, some organizations that worked in the same context experiencing the same changes, managed to maintain internal coherence based on a stable conceptualization of politics. These organizations, however, added elements such as specialization and competent actors causing the organizational raison d'être to be sustained as the superior rule. This in turn led to optimizing those elements (e.g. competent actors) to serve the raison d'être. As a result, we noticed that those organizations had internal coherence, with a shared understanding and common language to explain their work and manage exchanges and debates.

Internal coherence required that the NPOs work in a turbulent context, need to recall the common language if they wanted to avoid tension and debates, and eventually re-legitimate their actions and existence.

The interaction between organizational responses, contextual features and evolutions, took place as a result of a shared interpretation of those evolutions. The latter happened due to the active selection and interpretation of contextual features, open dialogue and interaction of all actors which led to consensus. The consensus indicated shared understanding of the contextual signals, and collective agreement of the organizational interventions in relation to those signals.

If the NPOs maintain dialogue and inclusion of actors, there is a high probability of producing appropriate responses in relation to the context, so enabling them to see the real picture of what happens around them, and avoid living in a bubble. The shared interpretations, if maintained, are the stepping-stone for the organizations to live in reality, which is another essential building block for legitimation and re-legitimation.

The NPOs performed various actions to legitimize their existence and work vis-à-vis the context. Earlier, these actions were guided by local agendas, which stipulated identifying the constituting elements of the problematic situations, to be solved by combining local resources. Contextualizing the problematic situations and relying on the human and social capital of the organizations legitimized the work of the NPOs who in this way managed to obtain the recognition of the local context.

The techniques that the NPOs generated to win local recognition established close and direct relations with the local people and eventually progressed in horizontal, informal networks.

With the external changes, however, the actions shifted to work based on global agendas. This entailed using global terms and resulted in earning global recognition and abundant fiscal resources. On the other hand, the NPOs experienced critical drawbacks at the local level and needed to re-initiate direct connections and talks in local terms with the local people in order to refurbish the informed understanding of local problems, which would result in re-legitimation.
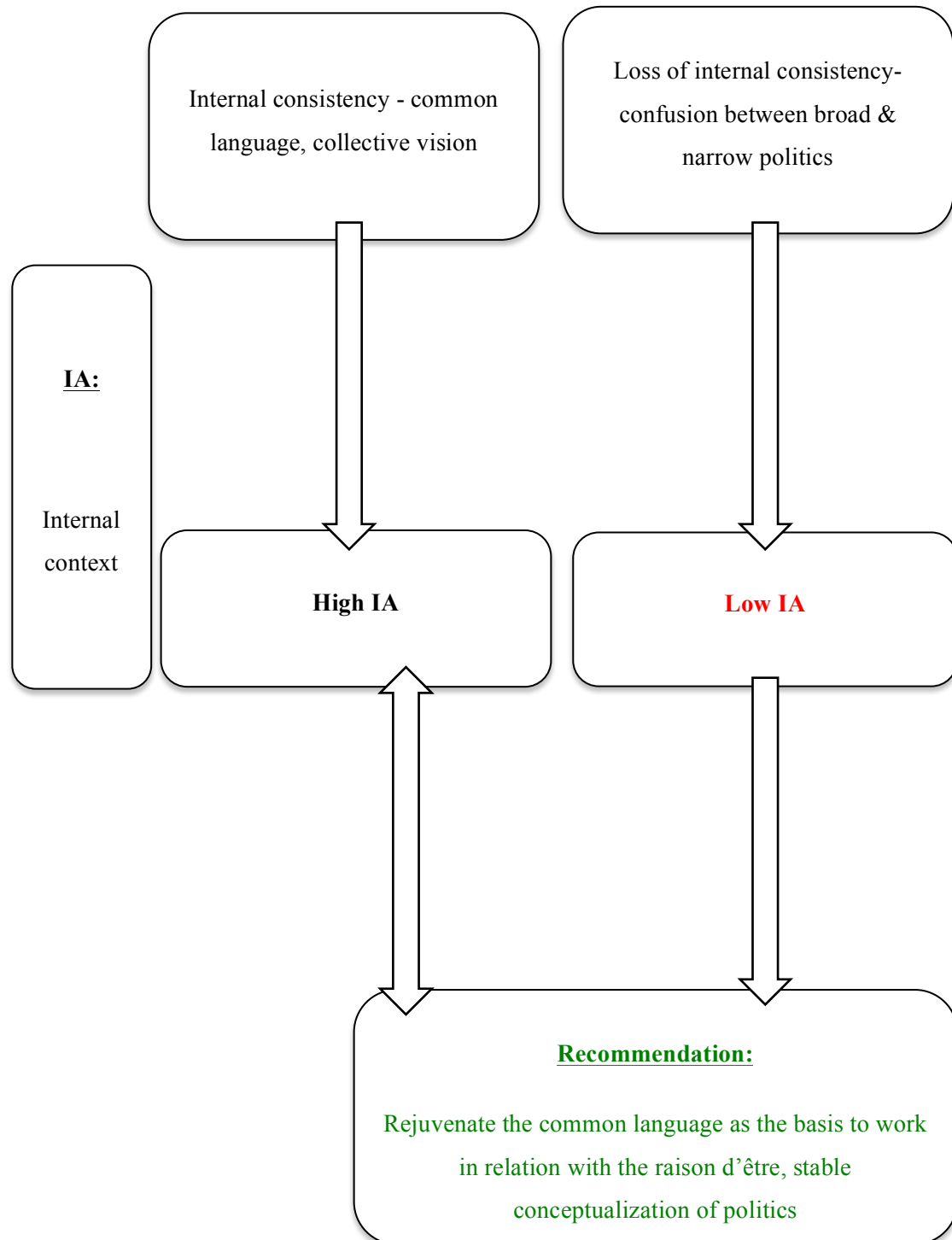
Final practice implication was related to the overall assessment of the three forms of alignments over the two time periods, which condensed in table (8.4) are presented in section (4). This assessment could serve as a dashboard for organizational actors to track any gaps in the three alignments, and so take measures to overcome them.

The managerial implications could be extended to other organizations, not limited to NPOs or to the Palestinian context, since other types of organizations may potentially face the same challenges, especially in a turbulent context with thick external influences. Hence, other organizations, if confronted with the same conditions and changes we have presented throughout this study, may need to decide what basis they need to handle conflicting demands, and at the same time resonate with the organizational vision.
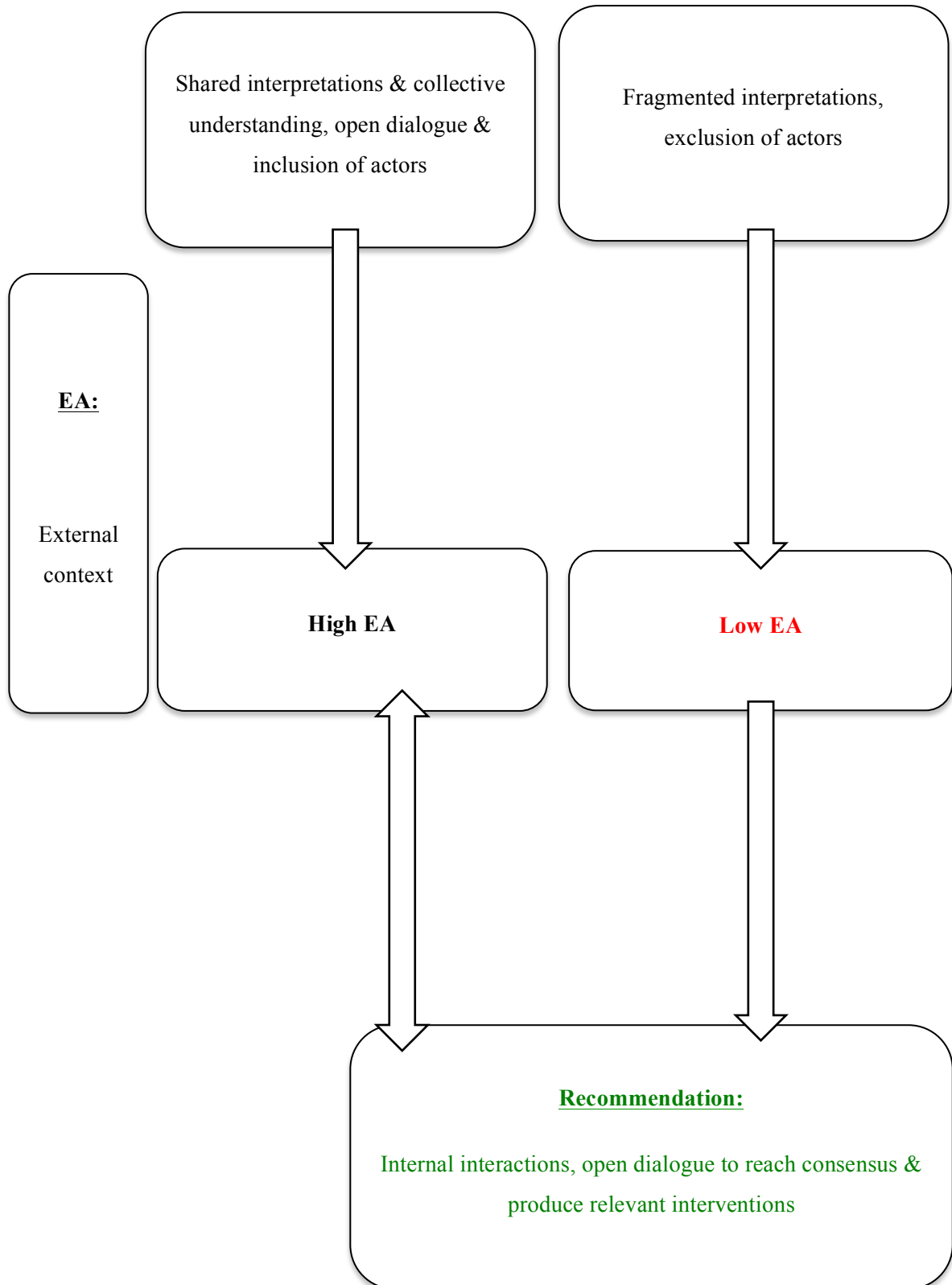
Moreover, organizations must pay attention to stabilizing political engagement in order to avoid deviance which would lead to a situation of political interference. Actors, as we have noticed, play a central role, so organizations may need to pay thorough attention to attracting competent and aware actors, who would immunize against external influences. We have developed the managerial implications in the

operational dashboard figure (10.1, 10.2, 10.3), synthetizing the main initiatives that have to be kept in mind through the three kinds of alignment.

Figure (10.1): operational dashboard for managerial implications to maintain the internal alignment

Figure (10.2): operational dashboard for managerial implications to maintain the external alignment

Shared interpretations & collective understanding, open dialogue & inclusion of actors

Fragmented interpretations, exclusion of actors

EA:

External context

High EA

Low EA

Recommendation:

Internal interactions, open dialogue to reach consensus & produce relevant interventions

Figure (10.3): operational dashboard for managerial implications to maintain the dynamic alignment

Local agenda, local resources combined, informal horizontal networks, local recognition

Global agenda, loss of local recognition, complex indirect networks

DA:

Relation with the local community

High DA

Low DA

Recommendation:

Re-initiate direct connections with locals to renew the informed understanding of local problems
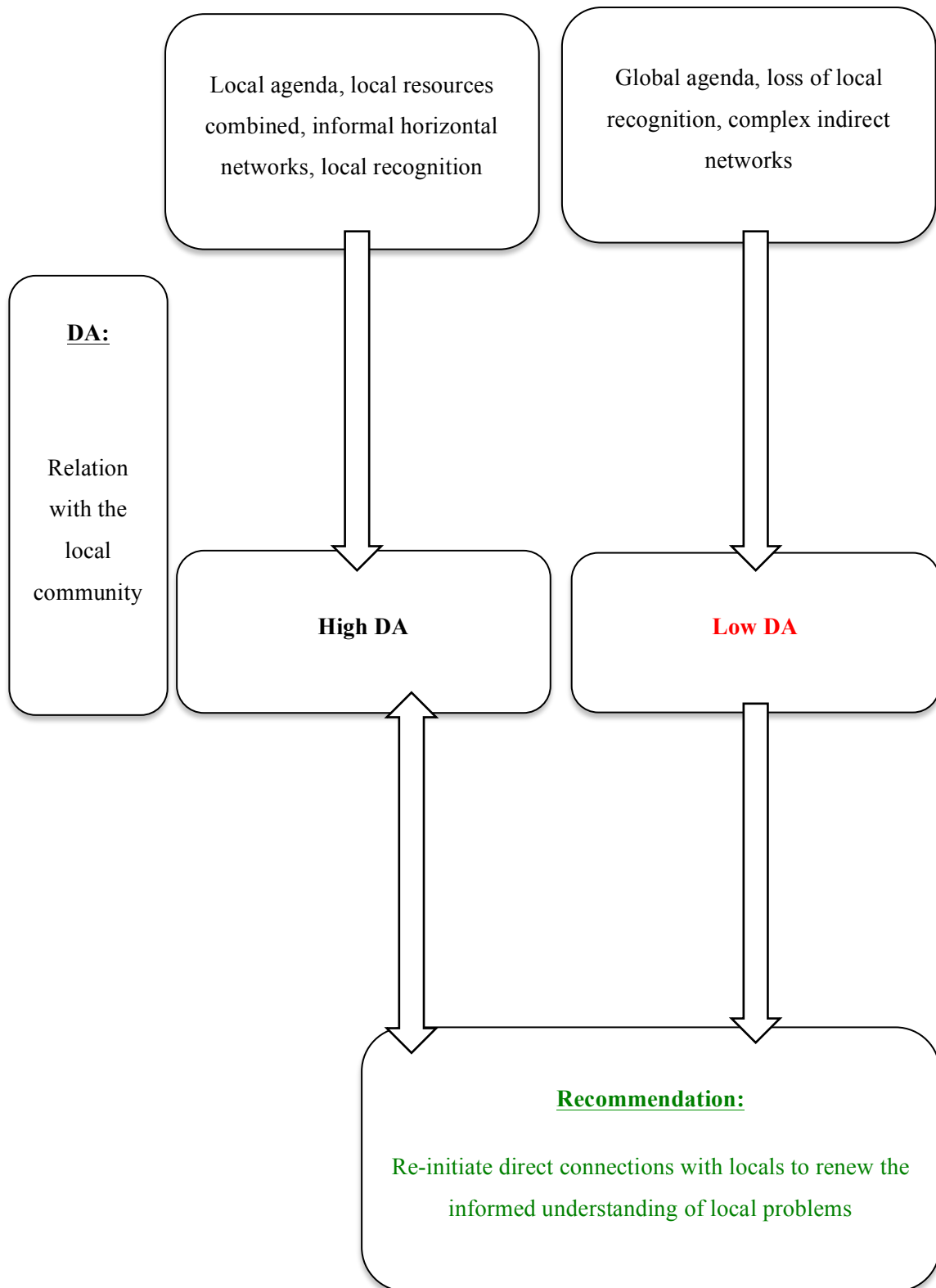
3.11. Research limitations

The limitations we faced during our study included first, lack of prior research studies regarding the context we addressed. This lack complicated our literature review and research design requiring us to collect extensive data from different resources and review research studies that addressed similar contexts or topics. The second limitation was the selective memory of some informants when they talked about past events. We minimized this limitation by interviewing a few informants who belonged to the same age group and witnessed the same events and evolutions.

Mobility constraints were the third limitation and prevented the researcher from reaching different locations such as Gaza Strip (GS) as well as having limited access to Jerusalem. This prohibited us from obtaining the perspective of informants based in those areas.

The fourth limitation was language; we conducted our entire study in English, but had to conduct the interviews in Arabic, transcribing them into English for the analysis. The translation increased the probability of losing some meaning.

The fifth limitation was the limited number of informants from the external stakeholders. The few informants we interviewed had potential bias as they had been nominated by the NPOs we investigated.

3.12. Recommended research areas

Although we have succeeded in answering our research questions, have contributed to literature, and generated practice implications, we nonetheless think there are still some areas that could be investigated in future research.

The detailed relation connecting NPOs to international donors could be examined further. It would be interesting to understand how this relation has changed after the increase of funds and growth in the number of NPOs in Palestine.

Specific studies could be undertaken to focus only on the NPOs based in GS and Jerusalem. The focus on these areas could deepen our knowledge of the changes affecting NPOs work in those areas.

As the vast majority of NPOs in Palestine were founded by historically left-wing political parties we mainly focused on leftist-based NPOs, but it would be important to study the implications of changes in NPOs founded by other mainstream political parties such as Fateh or Hamas.

We noticed that organizational actors at the NPOs faced critical contradictions because of the changes that we thoroughly examined in this study. Hence, it would be interesting to study how these contradictions affect work on a daily basis.

One of the major issues that has emerged from our empirical work is that of the three different generations working within the same NPOs. The relation between the three generations including the tensions, sense of ownership, and various approaches of management across the generations could all contribute to further develop our knowledge.

It would be interesting to explore the nature of relation, including its dynamics, which connects the NPOs with the external stakeholders such as the PNA, the local community and the beneficiaries.

A promising future research area would be to examine legitimacy initiatives undertaken by other types of organizations such as private and public organizations, for dealing with changes in a turbulent context. These initiatives could be investigated through combining the three theoretical lenses which we mobilized in our study.

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