



Events, Rituals, and Organizational Field Formation

Anand Narasimhan

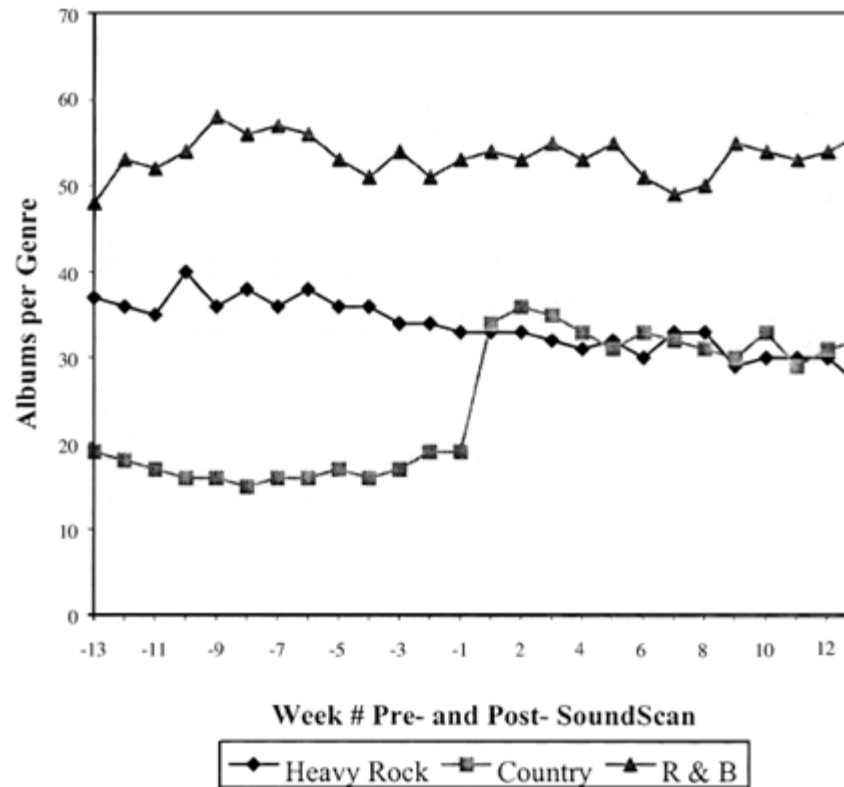
SHELL PROFESSOR OF GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

IMD

In collaboration with
Gregoire Croidieu, GEM

Event as Research Opportunity

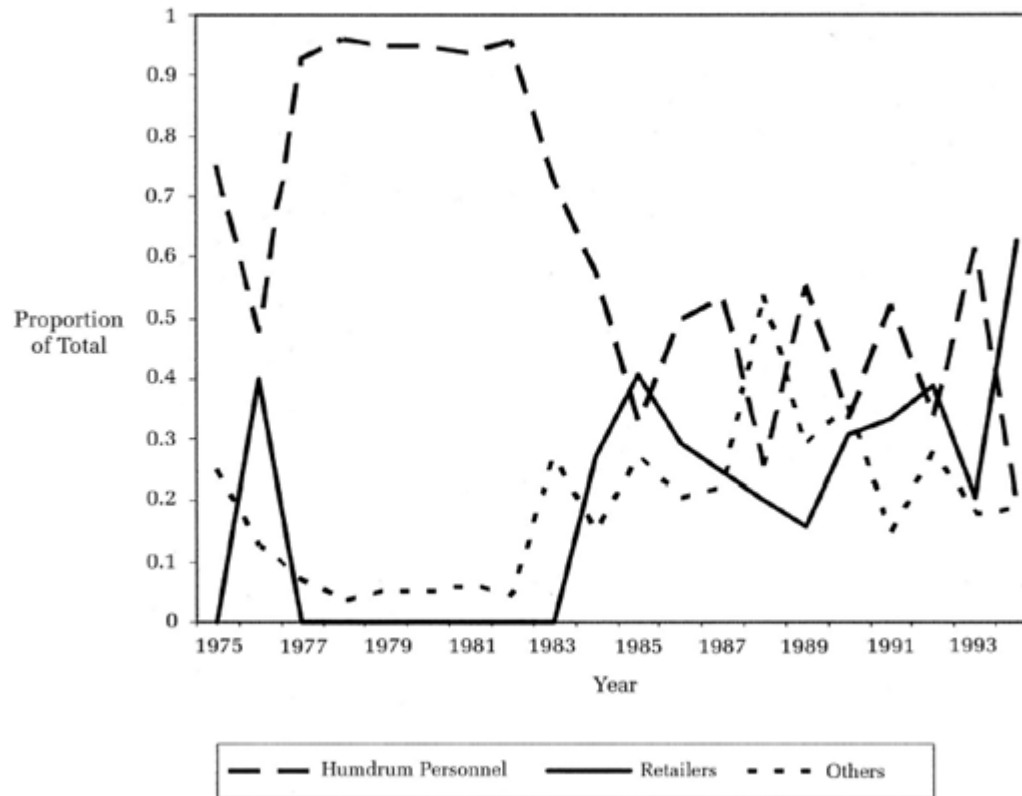
Figure 1 Genre Composition of the *Billboard* Chart



Anand & Peterson, 2000.

Event as Research Opportunity

FIGURE 1
Social Actors by Year^a



^a Reported in proportion of text units of total; raw numbers show similar pattern.

Anand & Watson, 2004.

Event as Research Opportunity

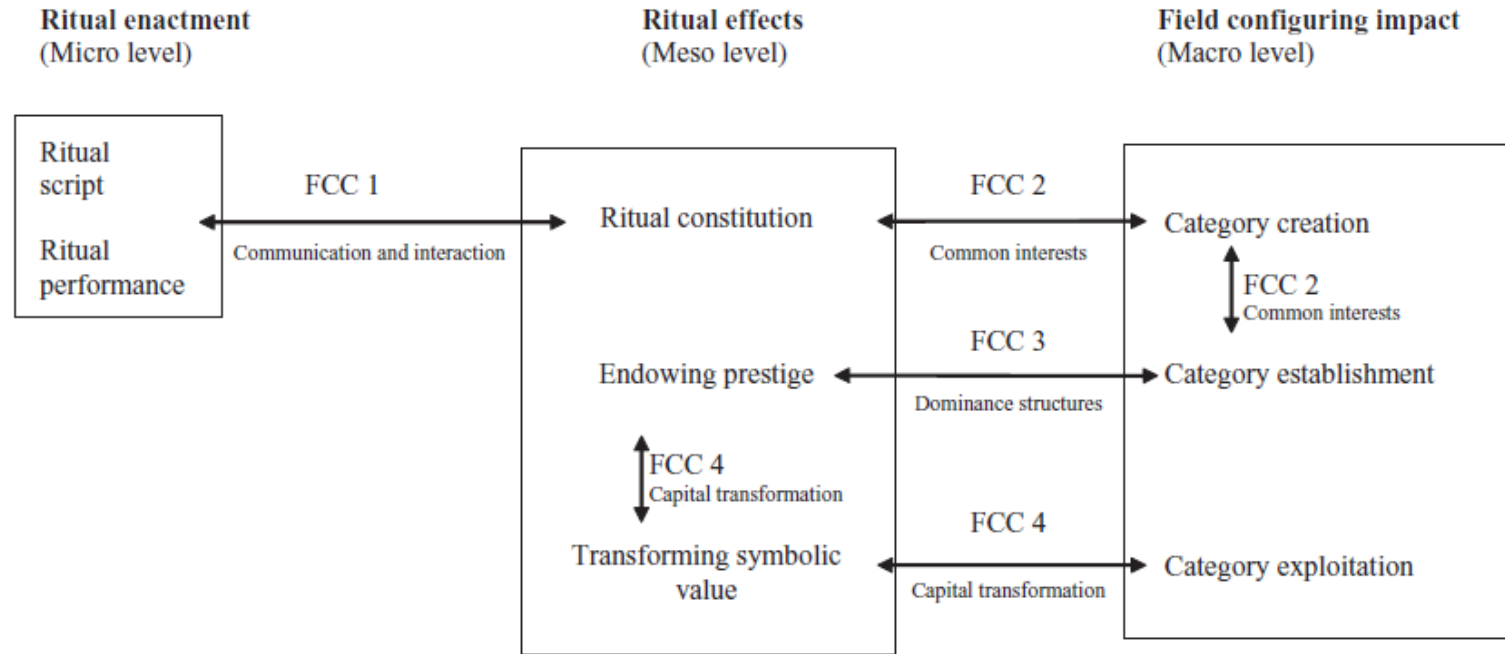


Figure 6. From ritual to field configuration

FCC 1: Enabling increased communication and interaction

FCC 2: Providing sense of common interests

FCC 3: Facilitating structures of dominance

FCC 4: Allowing transformation of capital

Anand & Jones, 2008.

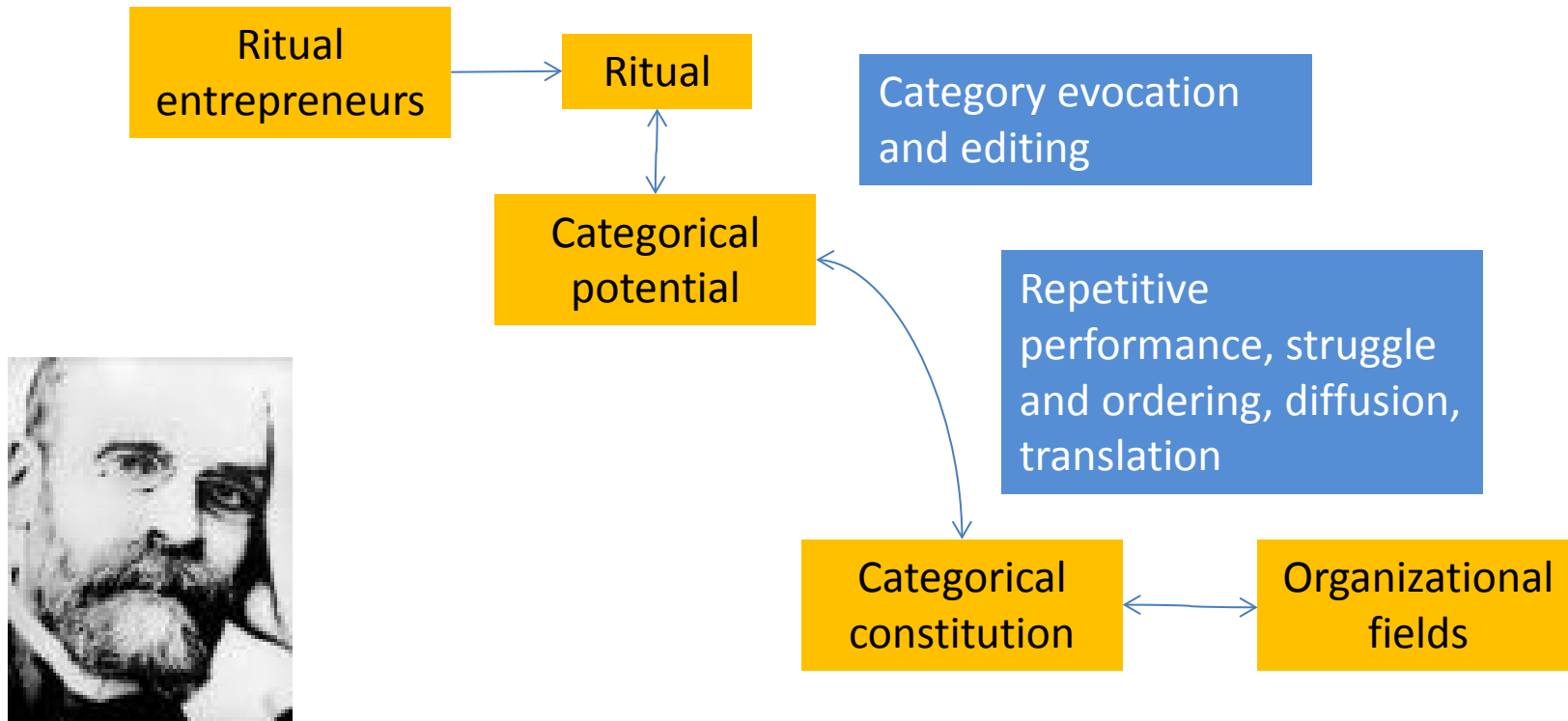
The case for event enactments

“ There is a tide in the affairs of men.
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
On such a full sea are we now afloat,
And we must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures.

”

William Shakespeare
Brutus (Julius Ceaser, Act 3, Scene 4)

Prospective process of field formation*



* A DURKHEIMIAN PERSPECTIVE

The Incidental 1976 “Paris Tasting”

Comparative blind tastings: a 1970s fad

Steven Spurrier’s coup for the bicentennial of the US revolution

California won!

Punctuated US and limited French press attention

Popularized in the 2000s as the ‘Judgment of Paris’ (JoP)



Becomes a turning point 30 years later...

“ May 24, 1976 was a **landmark** for Napa Valley wines...These tasting triumphs proved that Napa Valley wines belonged among the best international wines and signaled that Napa Valley wineries should shift toward varietals rather than "jug" wines. Within the next twenty years, sales from Napa varietals leapt from \$150 millions to 2.5 billion. ”

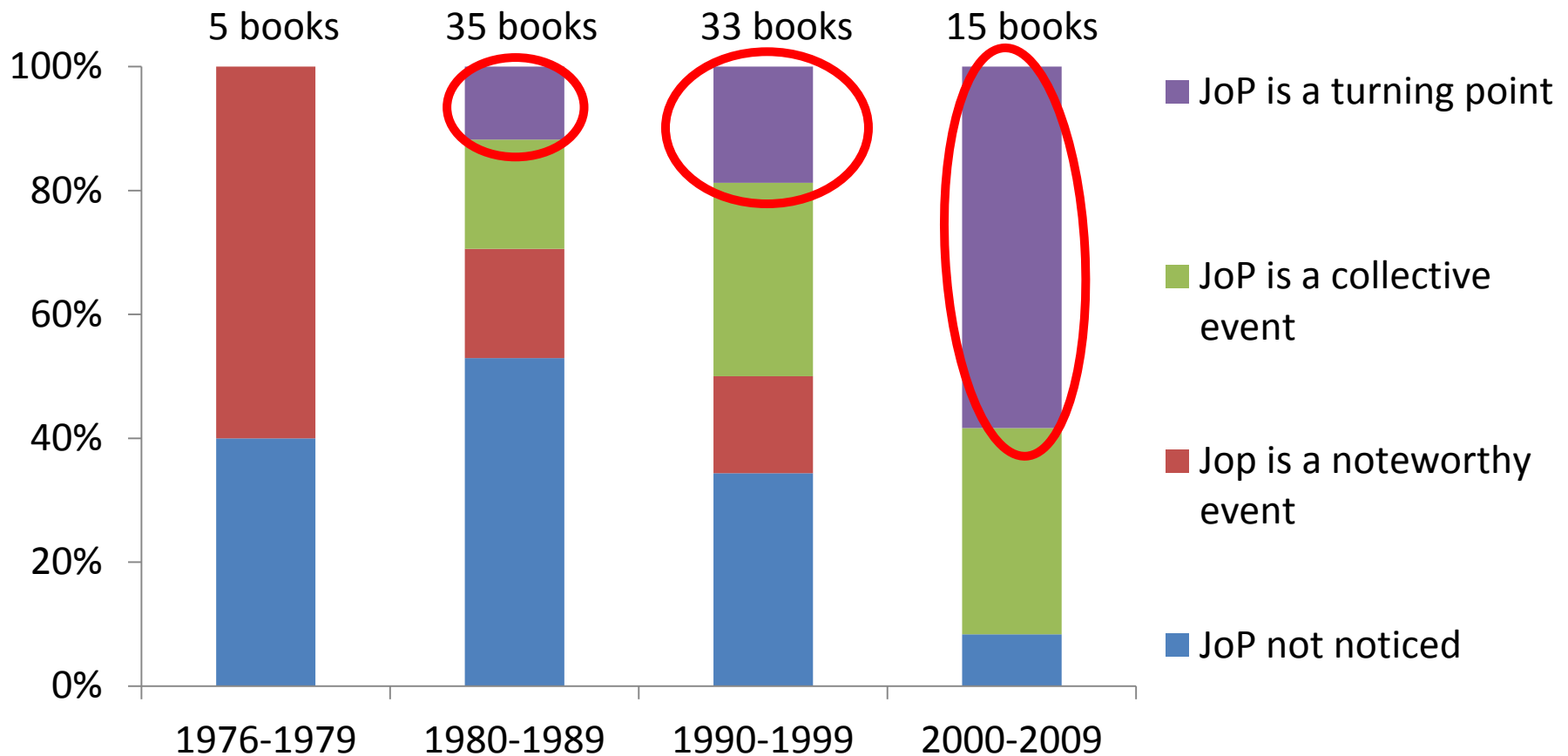
“ The **watershed** event that changed the Wine Country forever happened in Paris in 1976 ” Thompson-Hill & Thompson, 2005

Doerper, 2004: 39

“ Fine wine no longer required historic dirt [...] It was a distinctly American, even Californian, revelation [...] History is bunk [...] In America, it inspired the wine industry to raise its standard and to begin thinking of world-class' as a goal ”

Leffingwell, 2002: 30 about *The **Turning Point***

How has a minor ritual, only once enacted, become retrospectively a field-wide turning point, a fork in the road?



The case for *memories* of event enactments

“ Life is lived forwards but *can only be understood backwards* ”

Soren Kierkegaard

Organizational field formation

“A community of organizations that partakes of a common **meaning system** and whose participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside the field” (Scott, 1995: 56)

Two perspectives to understand field formation

A ‘facticity’ perspective highlighting the interaction between constituents

(DiMaggio and Powell, 1983)

A ‘construal’ perspective highlighting shared classification schemas or **categories**

(e.g., DiMaggio and Powell, 1991)

A focus on the cognitive infrastructure of fields: **categories are the bedrocks of fields**

Field formation involves a process of evolution of these categories

Rituals and field formation

Rituals are a culturally patterned, often **repetitive**, rule-governed social activity, like events, **infused with symbolic value** for participants and observers (Lukes, 1975)

Rituals include **schema encoding** and public performance (Anand and Jones 2008; Anand and Watson, 2004; Appadurai, 1986; Dacin et al. 2010; Harrison, 1992; Maguire and Hardy, 2009)

Hence they have a **categorical potential**

Agency, i.e., ritual 'entrepreneurship' is inevitable (Collins, 2004)

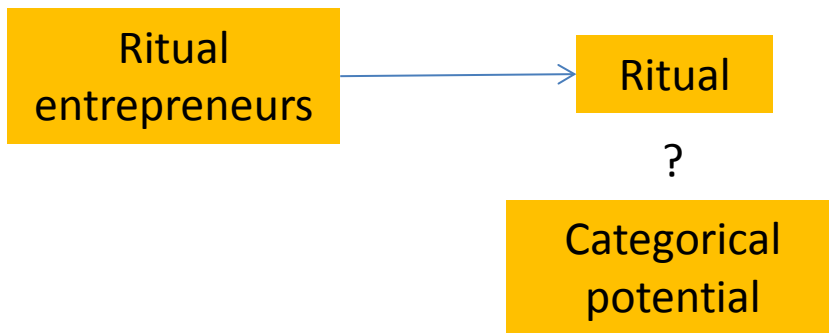
Three perspectives highlight how rituals influence field formation:

- Rituals foster social solidarity and **coherence** in shaping cultural order (Durkheim 1912)
- Rituals express **conflicts** inherent in communities that help dominant actors to exert social control through mystification (e.g., Lukes, 1975)
- Rituals have a **sensemaking** function and provide symbolic models of the social world that can be internalized (e.g., Turner, 1969)

In a nutshell

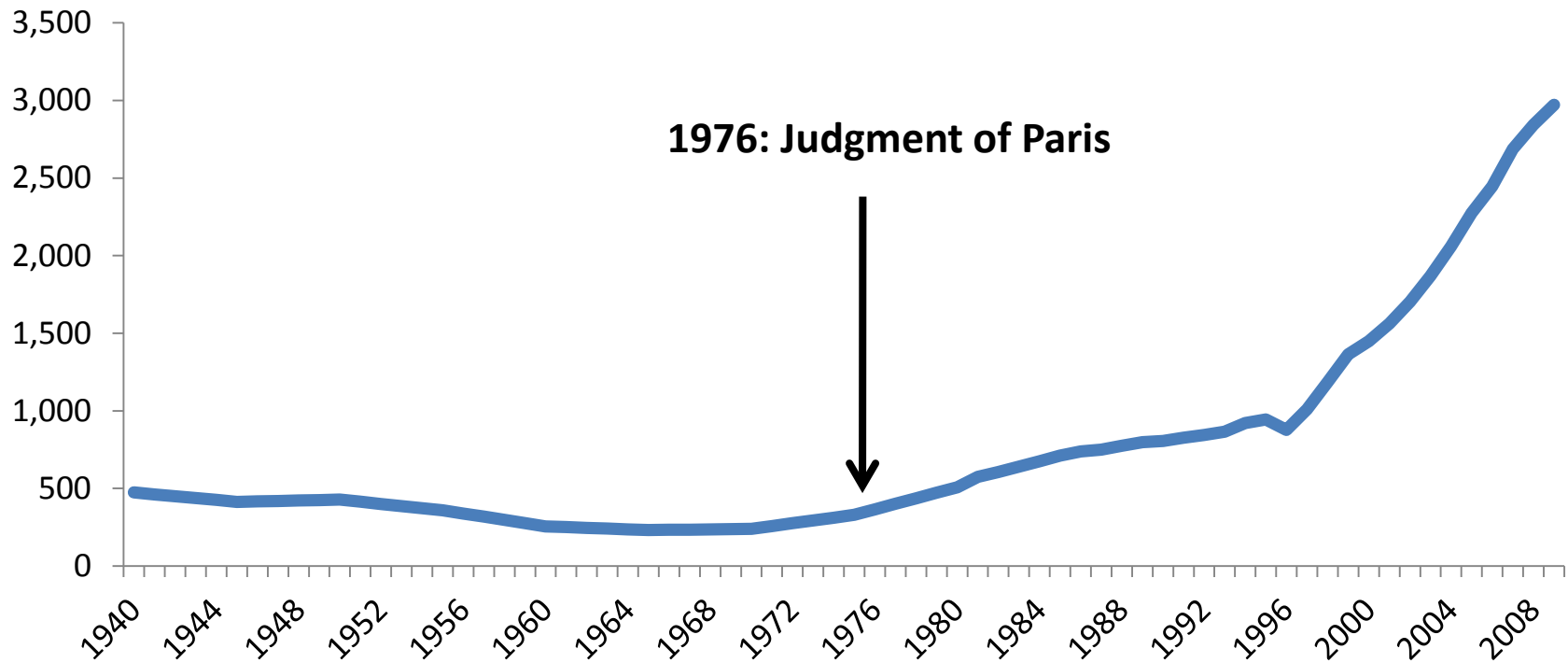
- How do ritual shape field formation by transforming their underlying (cognitive) categorical structure?
- The case of the 1976 wine tasting
 - Seemingly incidental, now a “fork in the road”
 - Once enacted, not repetitive (commemoratives as weak re enactment)
 - A retrospective process, not a prospective one
- Exploration of retrospective interpretive processes of field formation that gave categorical potential to this once enacted ritual
- How do ritual remembrance shape field formation? Who remembers? When? What?

Field formation process



Internal categorical struggle: Factories vs Wineries (*Base::Superstructure*)

Bonded wineries in California,
1940-2008



External categorical struggle: From “jug wine” to “fine wine” in a global industry

Wine category	Retail prices	Unit	1991	1995	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Ultra-premium	over \$14	millions cases	2	3	6	10	14	15	16	17	19	21	22
Super-premium	\$7 to \$14	millions cases	7	10	21	25	25	26	29	30	33	38	42
Pop-premium	\$3 to \$7	millions cases	28	35	48	50	53	51	53	53	53	55	57
Jug Wine	below \$3	millions cases	69	69	68	66	55	53	53	56	56	53	50
Total			107	117	143	150	147	145	151	156	161	167	171
Ultra-premium	over \$14	%	2	3	4	7	10	10	11	11	12	13	13
Super-premium	\$7 to \$14	%	7	9	15	16	17	18	19	19	20	23	25
Pop-premium	\$3 to \$7	%	26	29	34	33	36	35	35	34	33	33	33
Jug Wine	below \$3	%	65	59	47	44	38	36	35	36	35	32	29

Source: Various Frederikson and Gomberg reports.
Wine US retail prices, 1991-2006.

Research design

- **Goal:** to explore how the remembrance of a ritual event influences field formation
- Field-level revelatory case study, 1977-2009
- **Content analysis of books** - what is remembered
 - First-order and second-order coding of text
 - Counts of books, coding categories and events
 - Selection biases for books and events
- **Life courses of Authors** – who remembers
- **Network analysis of acknowledgments** – how this remembrance is produced
 - Which sources? Which audiences? Which medium? Which context?
- **Triangulation**

Data sources

- **Books**
 - From 136 to 89 accessible books published from 1977 to 2009 with a history section – ca. 2,000 pages
 - Reliability - 4 full codings, cross-checking with databases, book references, wine bibliographies and experts
- **Authors**
 - 69 authors , only the first author (70% single-authored)
 - Databases, personal websites, book-based information
- **Network**
 - 1,800+ individual and organizational actors acknowledged
- **Context**
 - Fieldwork: exploratory interviews, visits, archival work in multiple sites, in France and in the US
 - Triangulation: confirmatory interviews, local, national and professional press in the USA and France, Industry statistics

Coding scheme

Theoretical categories	Major themes	Writers' concepts and illustrative quotes
Salience	No attention to JoP	<p>“Whether one puts the starting date a few years earlier (for example 1961 and Heitz Cellars) is not important; the next 25 years were to witness a tidal wave of investment” James Halliday, 1993: 32.</p>
	JoP as noteworthy	<p>“Meanwhile, the Winiarski’ 1973 Cabernet made them world-famous, out-scoring four first growth chateau reds in the blind tasting by French experts in Paris in 1976.” Leon Adams, 1978: 341.</p>
	JoP as a collective event	<p>"In 1976, California gave notice to the world that a new premium winegrowing region was emerging, when the Chateau Montelena Chardonnay took the honors at the Paris Wine Tasting. Later, Stag's Leap Wine cellars shook the wine establishment again, by winning a blind tasting of Bordeaux style wines with its cabernet sauvignon.” L.K. Brown 1988.</p>
	JoP as a turning point	<p>“The watershed event that changed the Wine Country forever” John Doerper, 1996: 42.</p>

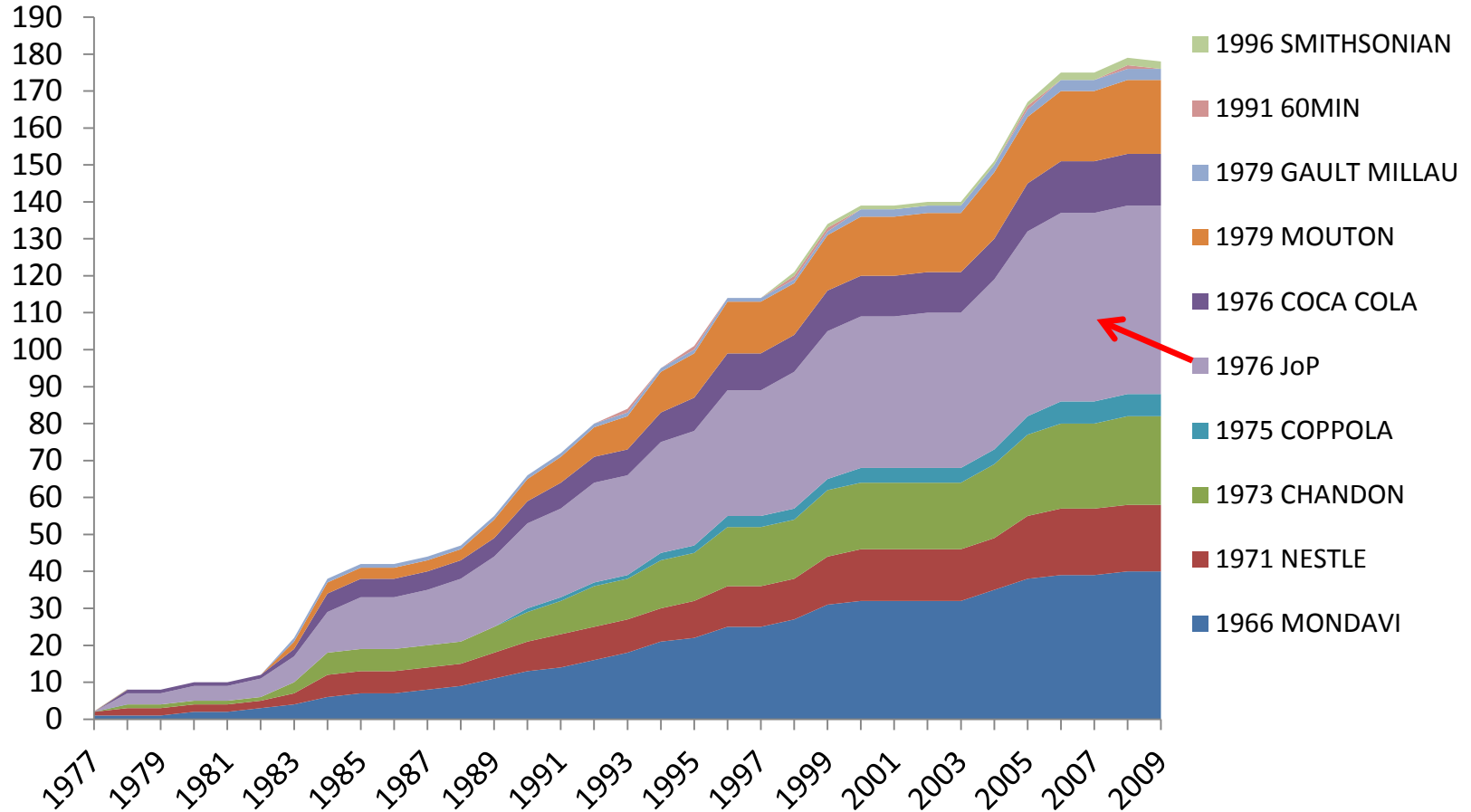
A temporal consensus about the facticity of the “wine revolution”

Author(s)	Year	Expressions about the growth of the California wine industry
Leon D. Adams	1973	Wine revolution
Michael Topolos, Betty Dopson, Jeffrey Caldewey	1977	California winemaking has come of age
Peter Quimme	1980	This rapidly growing, increasingly competitive, anything-but-static industry
Roy Andries de Groot	1982	The dazzling upsurge in prestige and quality
Charles E. Olken and Earl G. Singer and Norman S. Roby	1982	Incredible growth
Ruth Teiser, Catherine Harroun	1983	The wine explosion, the wine revolution
Doris Muscatine, Maynard A. Amerine, Bob Thompson (editors)	1984	Boom, wine revolution, the boom year
Robert S. Blumberg, Hurst Hannum	1984	Wine boom, golden age, new renaissance
Bob Thompson	1985	Avalanche of new cellars and vineyards, “like taking a census in a rabbit warren”
Hilde Gabriel Lee	1986	Winery revolution
Gary L. Peters	1989	Rapide changes
John Thoreen	1990	New age
Baljeet Sangwan	1990	A new era

Author(s)	Year	Expressions about the growth of the California wine industry
Bob Thompson	1990	Avalanche of new cellars and vineyards
François Gilbert, Philippe Gaillard	1991	Boom, revolution
Matt Kramer	1992	Revival
Dennis Schaefer	1994	Wine boom, to have come of age
Jancis Robinson	1994	Boom time between 1966 and early 1990s
Norman S. Rolby, Charles E. olken	1995	Renaissance
John Doerper	1996	A wine renaissance
Norman S. Rolby, Charles E. Olken	1998	Booming wine business
William F. Heintz	1999	Wine boom
James Laube	1999	A whirlwind of change, a wine boom
Randy Leffingwell	2002	Wine boom
Larry Walker	2005	Then, in the 1970s, came the deluge
Thomas Pinney	2005	Wine boom, wine revolution, New California gold rush

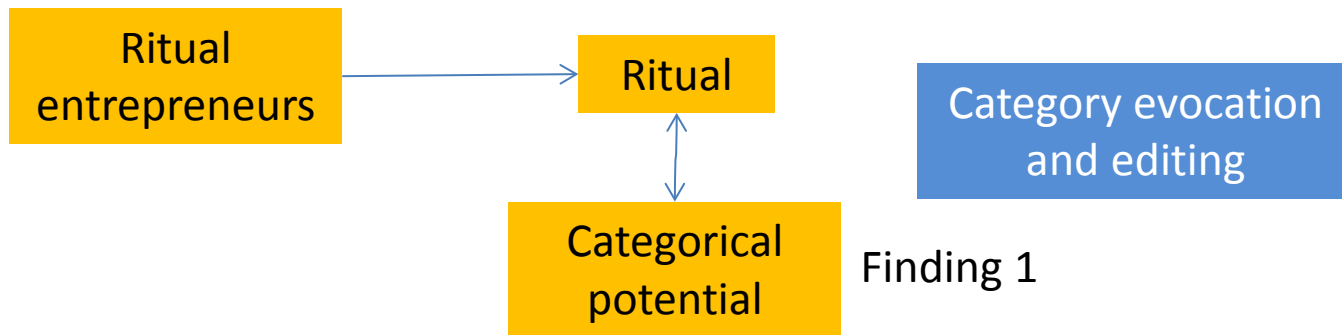
Finding 1: The ritual gains categorical potential

Cumulative Number of Citations

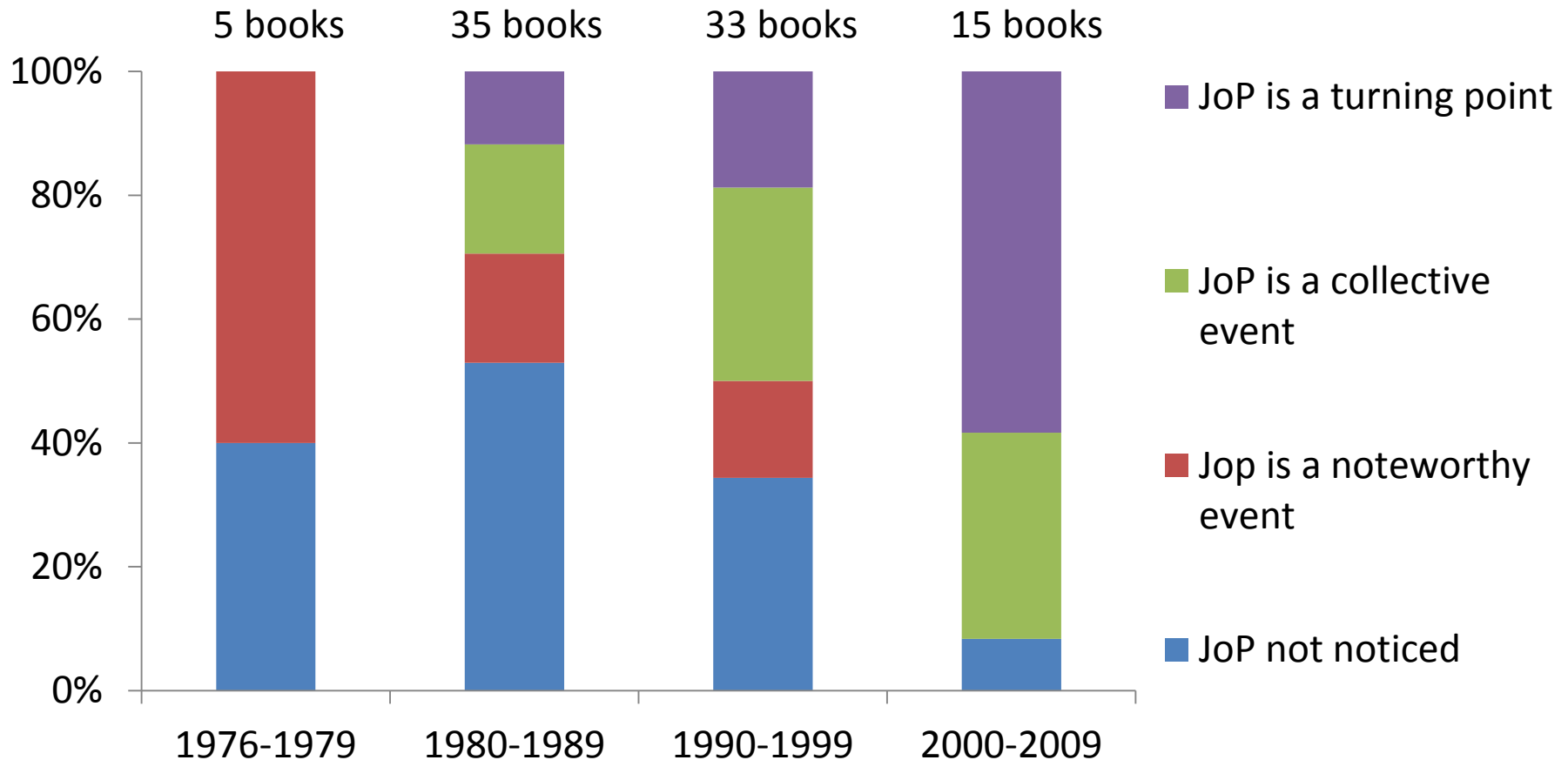


Which events are being mentioned by the authors over time? *Over time, JoP emerges as the predominant event*

Field formation process



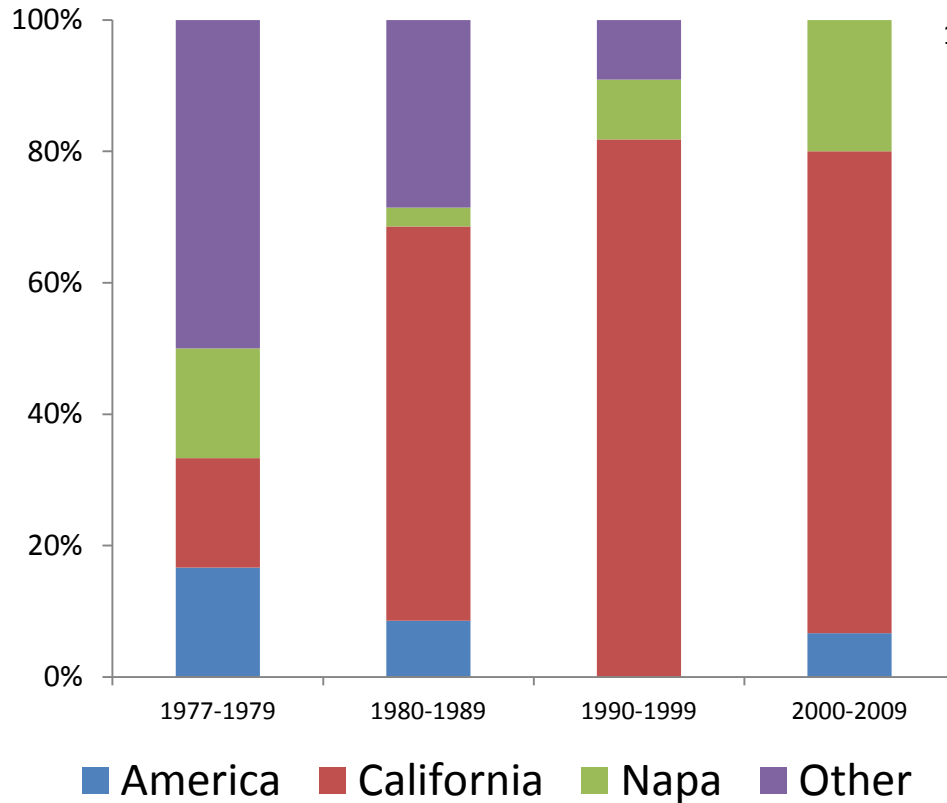
Finding 2: The category becomes reified



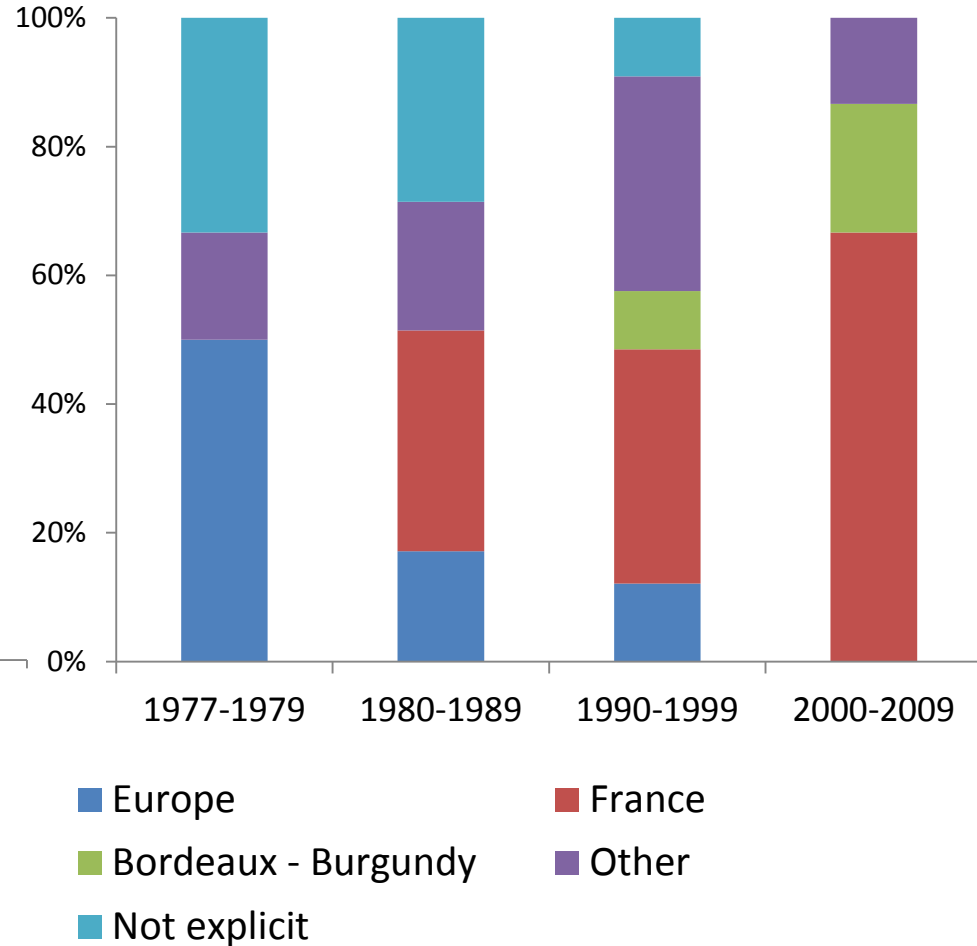
Do the authors mention JoP or not? If yes, how? *The number and proportion of authors referring to JoP increases over time. The mention of JoP as a turning point increases over time.*

Finding 3: The category gains in clarity

The Californian underdog...

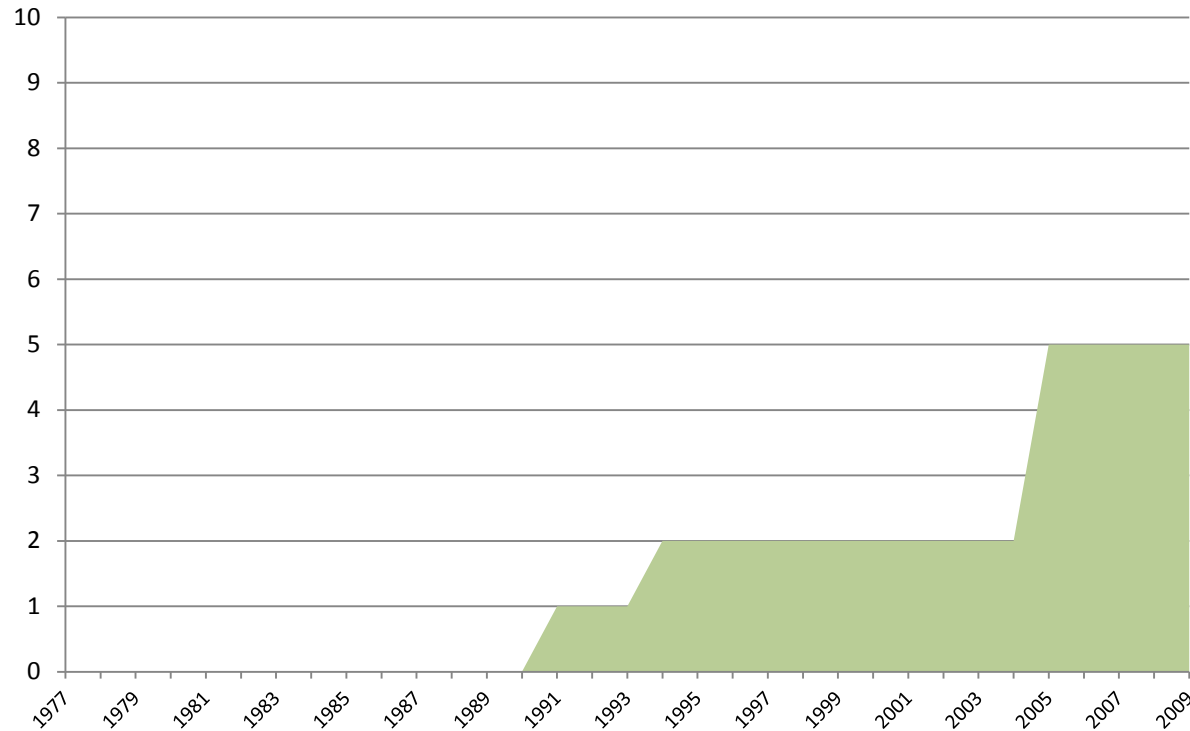


...champions the world leader, France



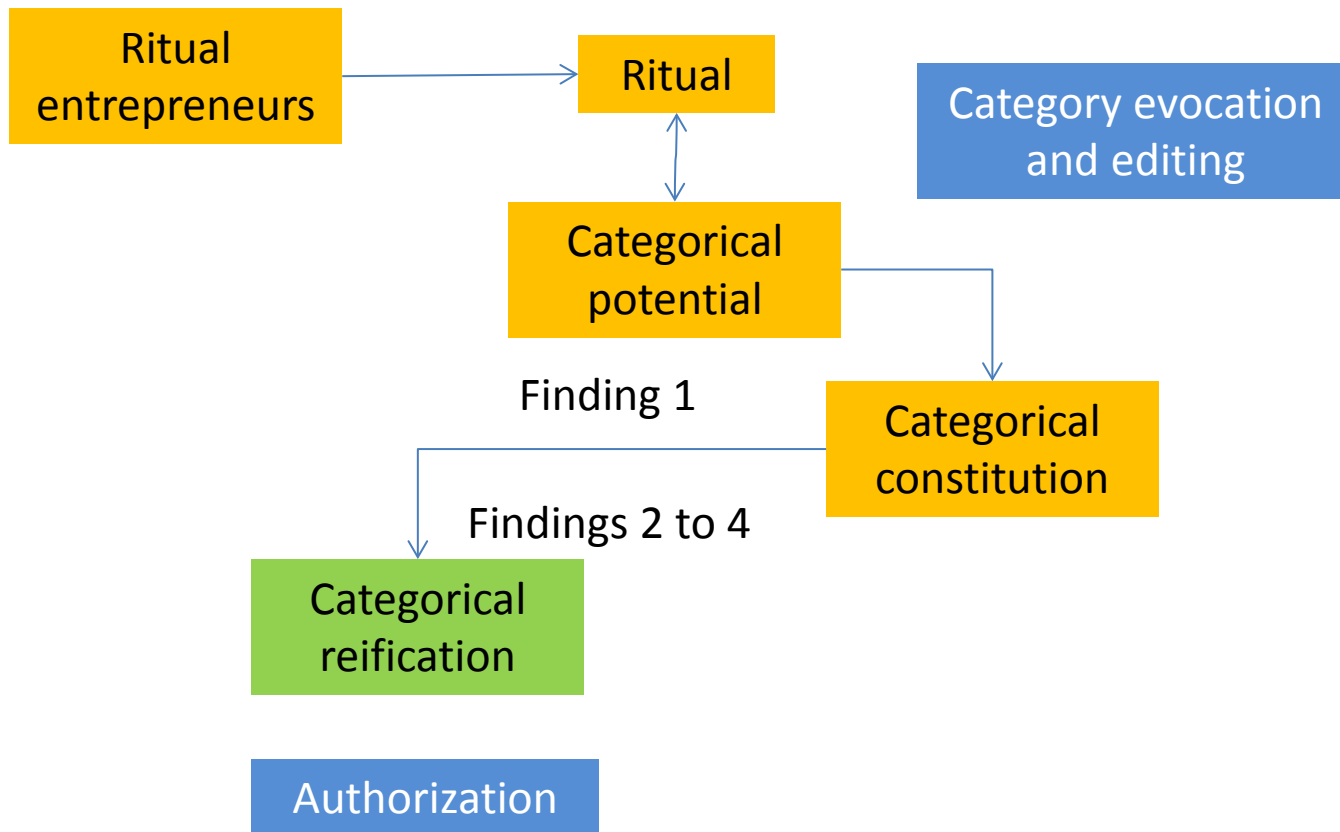
If JoP is framed as a struggle between two actors, who are the actors depicted over time? *One actor is increasingly identified as "California"; the other as "France"*

Finding 4: A minor event is authorized as a reified category

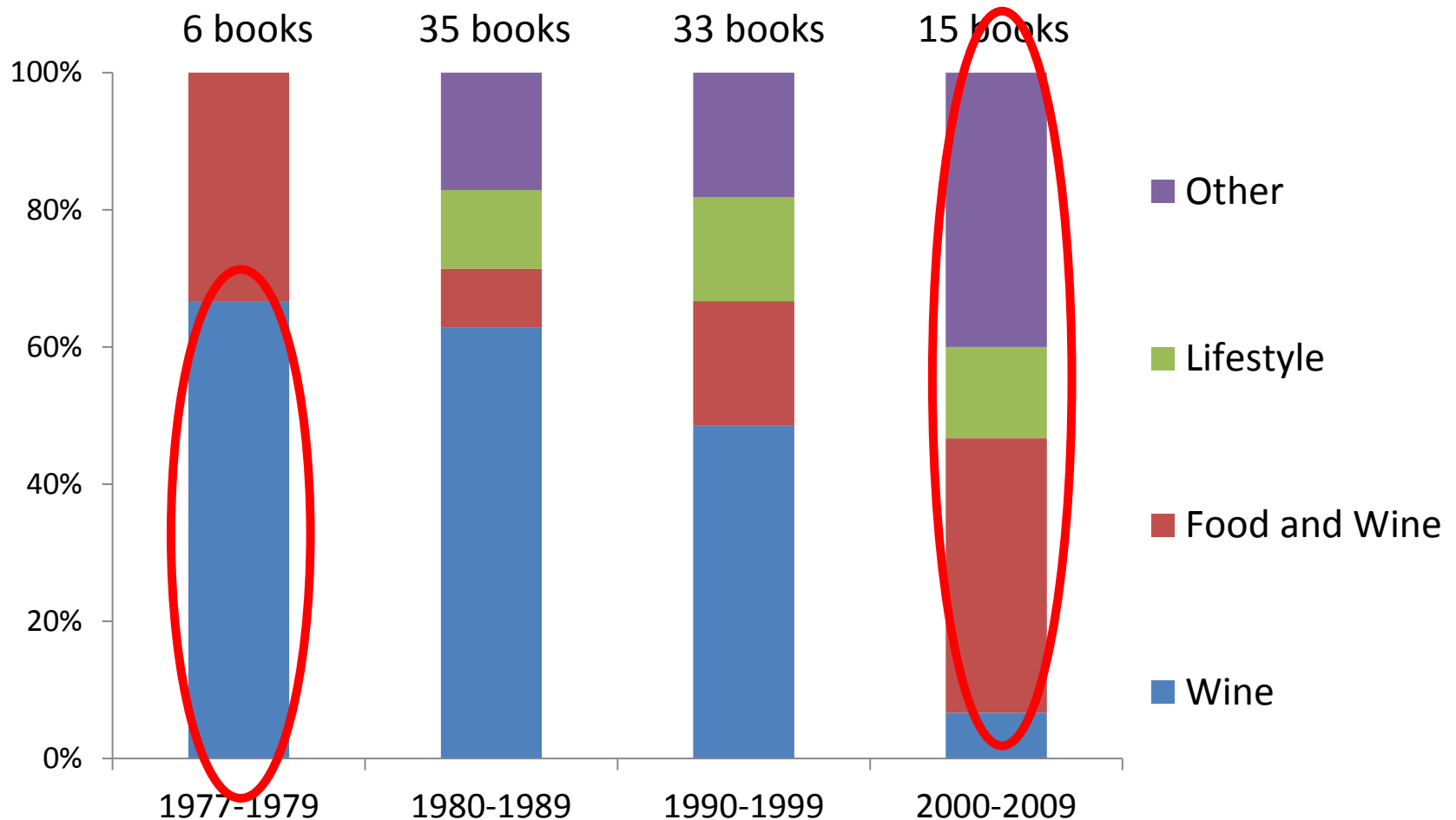


How many books have used the JoP label when referring to the 1976 tasting? *Variety of labels initially, but from 2005 onwards as JoP*

Field formation process

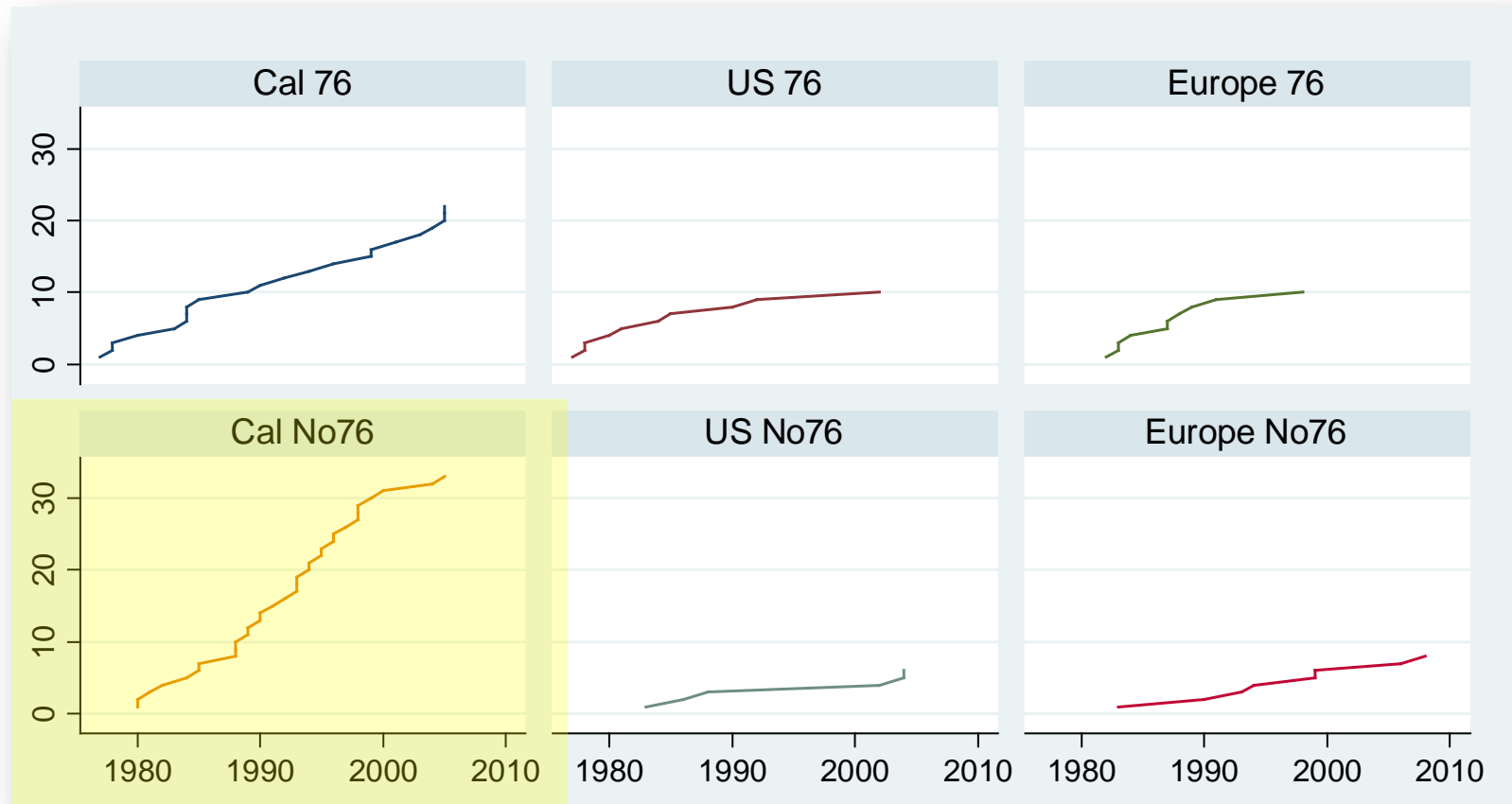


Finding 5: The retrospective cooptation of the ritual by the formation of a community of memory workers



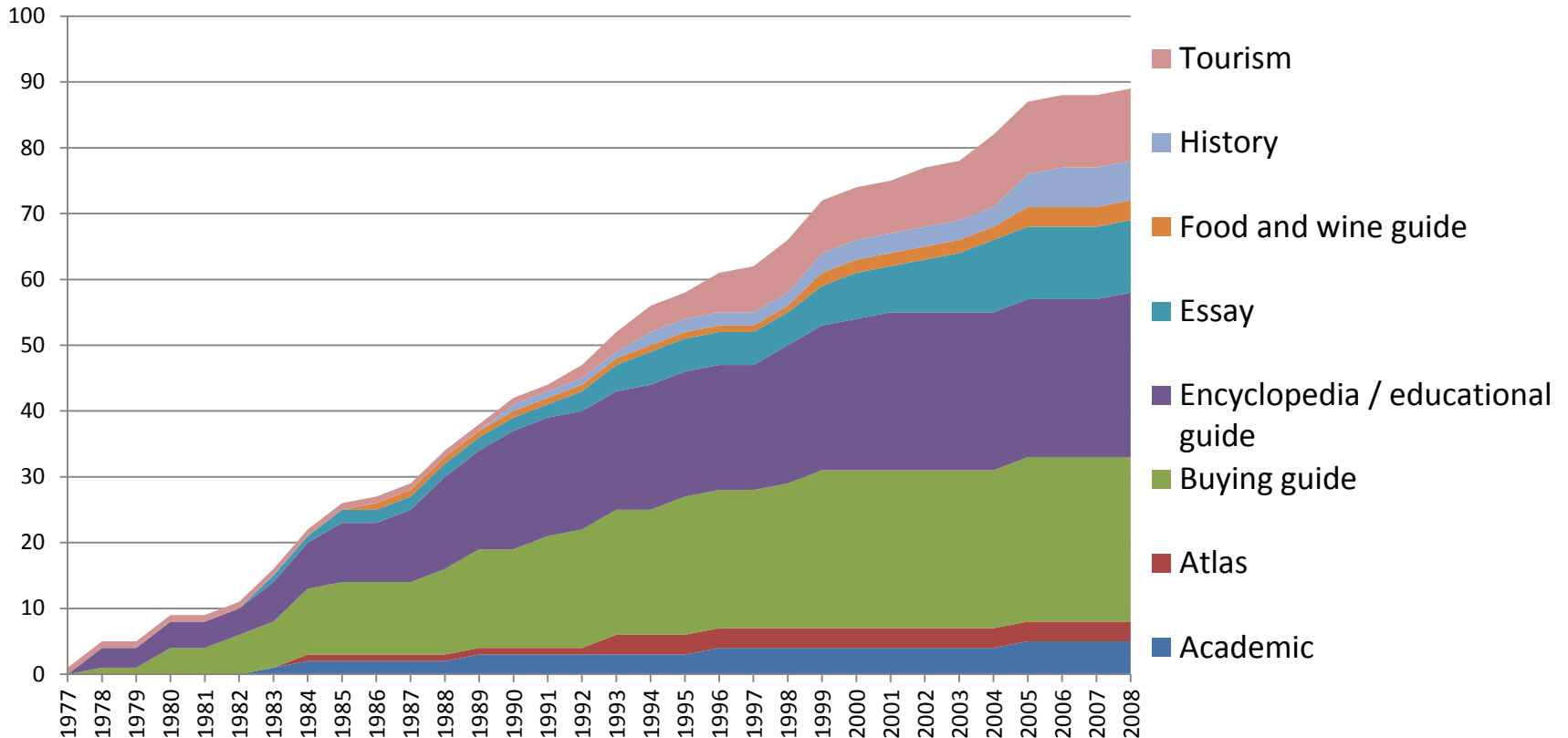
From which literary field do the book authors come from? *Initially, those writing exclusively about wine; later, those writing about food and wine in general.*

Finding 6: The memory workers becomes an 'imagined community'



Legend: What is the 'nationality' of the authors, and were they active at the time of the event?
Interpretation: From 1990 onwards, the authors are still predominantly Californian but were not active at the time of the event

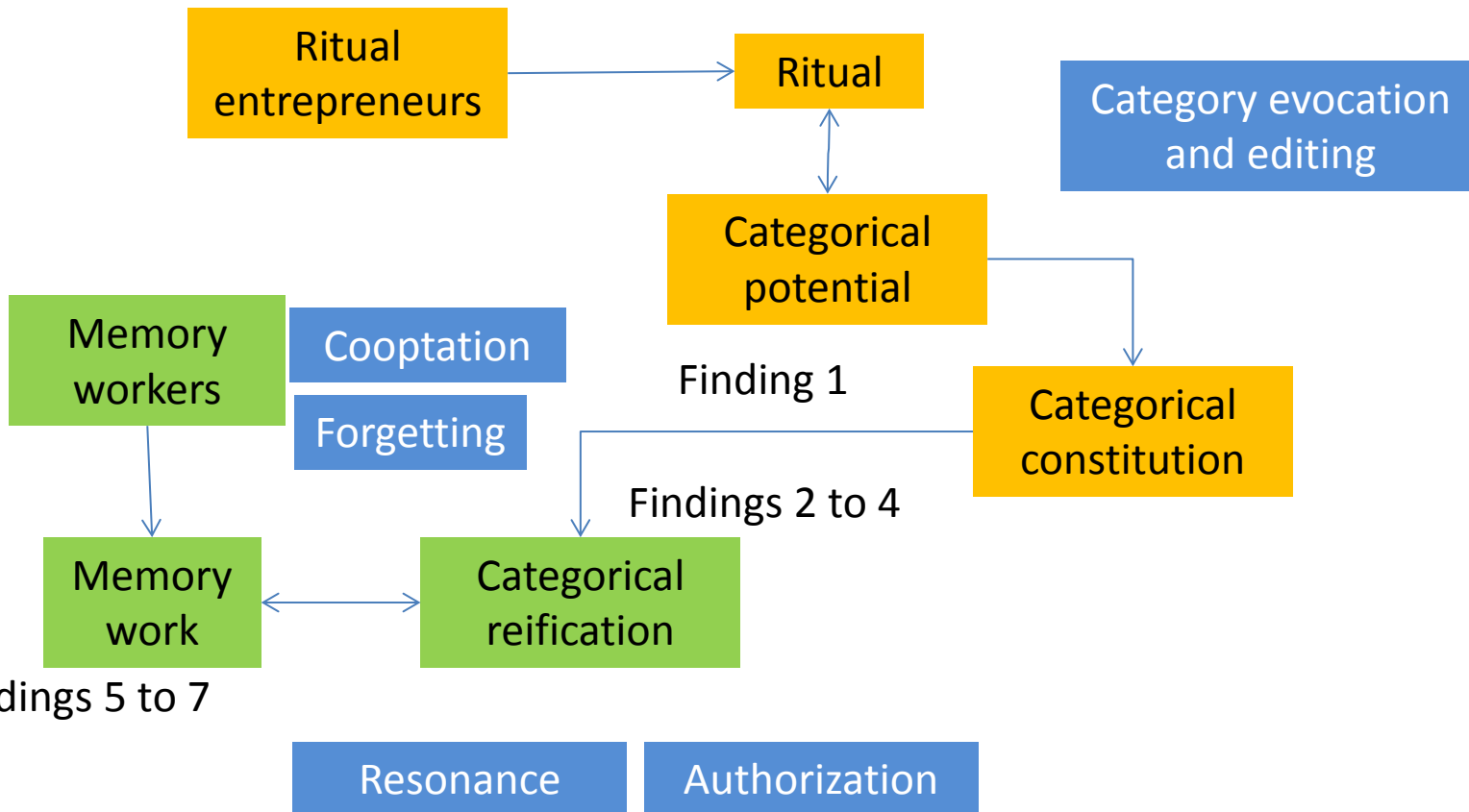
Finding 7: A new carrier of memory work amplifies and broadens the resonance of the ritual



Legend: Which genre of books do the authors write? For which audience?

Interpretation: The rise of the wine guide literary genre fosters the remembrance process

Field Formation Process



Finding 8: The reframing of the categorical struggle through commemorative vocabulary reinforces reification and the resonance of the category

	1970s	1977-79	1980s	1990s	2000s
European Cultural Authority	80%	100%	63%	74%	100%
Rejection of the European Authority	30%	20%	44%	39%	0%
Nationalistic or regionalist claims	40%	40%	41%	29%	50%
References to the Colonial US History	40%	40%	25%	39%	75%
Use of Colonial Vocabulary	50%	40%	34%	42%	88%
Infusion of these meanings with the narration of the Judgment of Paris	10%	20%	16%	32%	75%

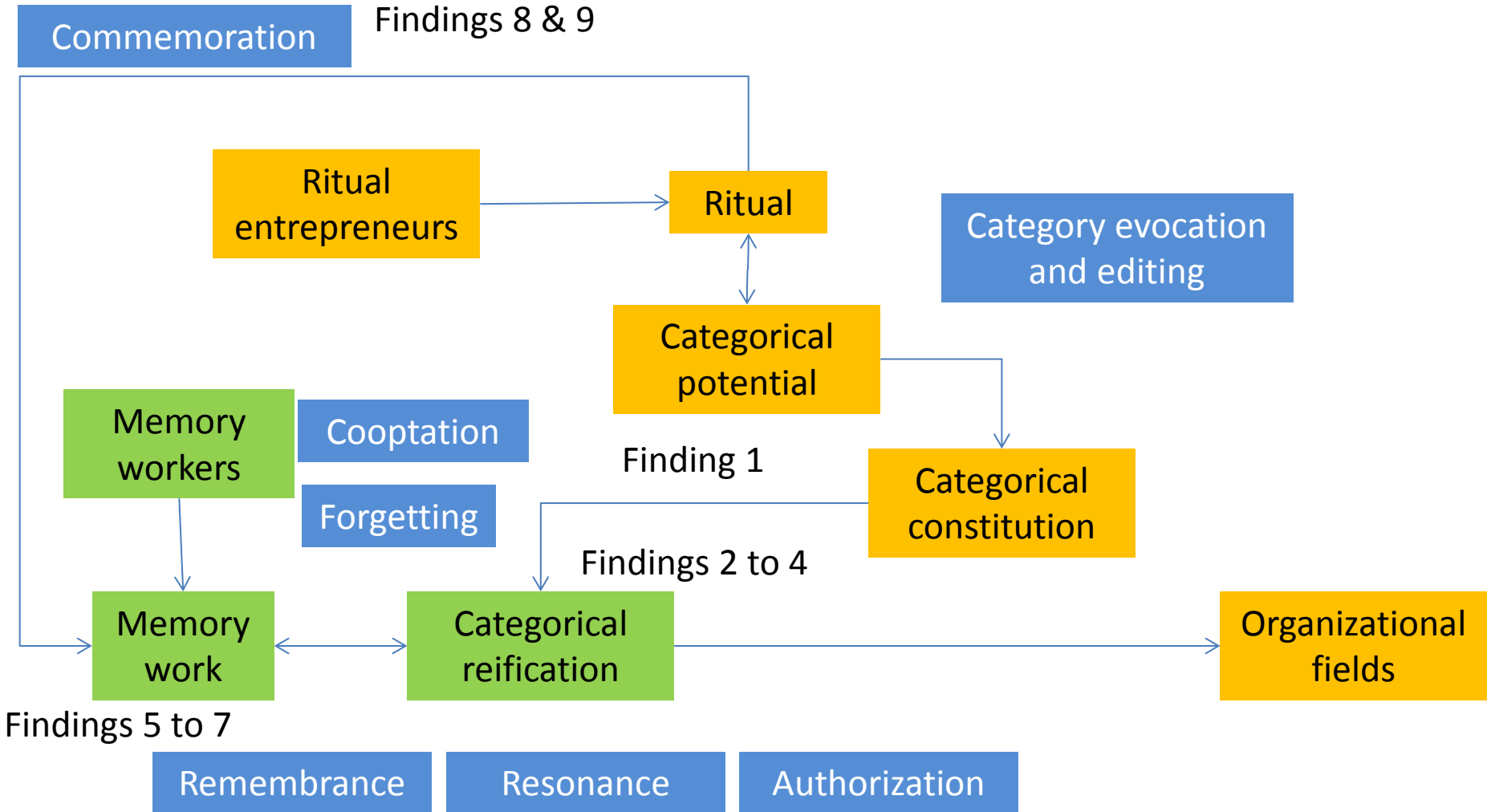
Which vocabulary do the authors use to depict the field categorical struggle and do they connect this categorical struggle with JoP? *The categorical struggle is increasingly depicted with a colonial vocabulary and JoP is increasingly depicted with this vocabulary.*

Finding 9: The replacement of traditional cultural field authorities as memory carriers reinforces the constitution of the new category, which gains potency

Social domains of the authors	1970s	2000s
Universities	31,7%	14,5%
Historians	12,6%	3,6%
Professional associations	10%	1%
Government	2%	1%
Press	6,7%	2,4%
Wine producers	30,8%	58,20%

Who do the authors acknowledge as helping them with the source materials in their books? *Historians and individuals associated with professional associations and universities decline over time. Wine producers increase over time, mostly wineries.*

Retrospective Field Formation Process



Implications for rituals

- Ritual and pro-active prospective field formation (e.g., Anand and Watson 2004; Anand and Jones, 2008; Dacin et al. 2010; Maguire and Hardy, 2009)
 - Ritual is one mechanism by which the underlying cognitive constitution of field is articulated
- Through memory work, we highlight retrospective field formation rituals
 - Identifying the fork in the road (Armstrong and Cragg, 2006)
 - Coopting the past (Sewell, 1996)
 - Sustaining fashion and fads (David and Foray, 2006)
 - Creating and sustaining rhetorical turns (Green, Li and Nohria, 2009)
- Ritual entrepreneurship is also one way of mitigating the categorical imperative (Zuckerman, 1999)

Implications for social memory

- Presentism thesis (Olick and Robbins, 1998; Schwartz, 1986)
 - Collective memory as an aggregate of individual memories through experiences and generation (e.g., Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Mannheim 1952/1928)
 - Collective memory as becoming a salient and resonant schema depending upon social context in which individuals live (e.g., Douglas 1986; Schwartz, Zerubavel and Barnett 1986)
 - Collective memory as the outcome of “socio-biographical memories” (Zerubavel 1996), i.e. individual memories that are affected by specific social contexts (Halbwachs 1950).
 - Towards a network approach to social memory formation
 - The interaction between a mnemonic community and an organizational field

Implications for field formation

- The ‘facticity’ and ‘construal’ perspectives on field formation are interdependent
 - Field formation is occurring retrospectively
 - Identity cannot be sustained independently of a mnemonic community
- *“Who are the actors shaping field formation” becomes “what is the mnemonic community creating the representations of the actors”*
 - Implicit agency of the actors in the mnemonic community
 - Sedimentation of categories and logics is impossible without memory work